

CALEDONIA.

CALEDONIA:

OR,

A HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

ACCOUNT OF NORTH BRITAIN

FROM THE MOST ANCIENT TO THE PRESENT TIMES,

WITH

A DICTIONARY OF PLACES

[CHOROGRAPHICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL.

BY

GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S., F.S.A.

NEW EDITION.—VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

In issuing this edition of CHALMERS' CALEDONIA it is right to explain its character, and the extent of the matter now for the first time published. As is well known, the original edition of CALEDONIA is rare, and this fact, together with the esteem in which the work is held as an authority on all that concerns Scotland, makes its republication desirable. CHALMERS' original scheme was not completed; three only of the four volumes he projected having been published when his death arrested the progress of the work. He left, however, in Manuscript the "Accounts" of most of the counties north of the Forth, and the "Topographical Dictionary of Places" to which he repeatedly refers. The permission of the Faculty of Advocates having been granted, the publisher proposes to issue the hitherto unprinted portion of CALEDONIA as left by the Author, carefully revised, and with the addition of much fresh matter. The CALEDONIA will then furnish a body of information relating to the history, topography, and antiquities of Scotland, such as the literature of no other nation supplies. The notices of parishes will be revised, verified, and brought up to date, and every care will be taken to make this portion of the work as accurate as possible. The purely historical portion, comprised in this and the following volume, is given without material change, as the interpolation of fresh matter would inevitably lead to confusion, and impair the value of the work as containing an original view of the History of the country. This section of the work is so full of controversial matter that it is felt it would be unwise to attempt to readjust or amend the conclusions of an author renowned as the exponent of a well-defined system of Scottish history. For

the use of such readers as desire to compare CHALMERS' opinions with the results of later research, a list of works by more recent writers is appended to this notice. From these, and the Additional Notes at the end of Volume II. of the present edition, a fair notion may be obtained of the many points with regard to which writers on the history and national antiquities of Scotland hold conflicting views. The only alterations which have been made in the historical part of CALEDONIA are connected with orthography and punctuation. The spelling of place-names has been modernised when the change does not interfere with the Author's etymological deductions, and the work throughout has been repunctuated. The titles of the more important authorities, imperfectly cited or abbreviated in the text, are given with greater fulness at the end of this notice; and a few notes have been inserted within brackets to explain obscure passages. In other respects the text is that of CHALMERS.

NOTE.—The paging of Volume I. of the original edition runs through Volumes I. and II. of this edition, and so on in the other Volumes.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES IN VOL. I.

[The following bibliographical list of the works quoted by Chalmers will be found useful in aiding those who wish to collate the text of "Caledonia" with the authorities on which it is based, and have difficulty in identifying the books to which reference is made by the abbreviations given.]

- ANDERSON (JAMES). *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus*, Edin. 1739, fo.
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- ARCHAIOLOGY, THE MYVYRIAN, OF WALES, collected out of Ancient Manuscripts. Lond. 1801-7, 3 vols.
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- BLAEU (J.) *Le Grand Atlas, ou Cosmographie Blaviane*. Amsterdam, 1663, fo., 12 vols. (Vol. 6 is Scotland, by Gordon and Pont.)
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- CORDINER (CHARLES). *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland*...Lond. 1780, 4to.
- CRAWFURD (GEORGE). *Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland*...Edin. 1726, vol. 1 (all published), fo.
- DALRYMPLE (SIR JAMES). *Historical Collections concerning the Scottish History, preceding the Death of King David I., 1153*. Edin. 1705, 8vo.
- DAVIES (JOHN). *Antiquæ Linguae nunc vulgo dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ*. Lond. 1632, fo.
- DOUGLAS (JAMES). *Nenia Britannica: or, a Sepulchral History of Great Britain, from the Earliest Period to its General Conversion to Christianity*. Lond. 1793, fo.
- DOUGLAS (SIR ROBERT). *Peerage of Scotland*. Edin. 1764, fo. New edit. by J. P. Wood. Edin. 1813, 2 vols., fo.
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- FLORENCE OF WORCESTER. *Chronicon*...Lond. 1592, 4to. (Also republished in English in Bohn's Historical Library.)
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- GEBELIN (A. C. DE). *Le Monde Primitif, analysé et comparé avec le Monde Moderne*. Paris, 1773-82, 9 vols., 4to.
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- GORDON (ALEXANDER). *Itinerarium Septentrionale: or a Journey through most of the Counties of Scotland, and those in the North of England*. London, 1726-32, 2 parts, fo.
- GOUGH (RICHARD). *British Topography: or an Historical Account of what has been done for illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland*. Lond. 1780, 2 vols., 4to.
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- LLOYD (HUMPHREY).** *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum.* 1572.
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- MAJOR (JOHN).** *De Historia gentis Scotorum libri sex...* Paris, 1521, 4to, and Edin. 1740, 4to.
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- MAULE (HENRY).** *History of the Picts.* Edin. 1706, 12mo. Also reprinted in the *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. 4.
- O'BRIEN (J.).** *Focaloir Gaoidhige-Sax-Bhéarla; or, an Irish-English Dictionary.* Paris, 1768, 4to. Dublin, 1832.
- O'CONOR (CHARLES).** *Dissertations on the History of Ireland.* Dublin, 1766, 8vo.
- O'CONOR (CHARLES).** *Ogygia Vindicated against the Objections of Sir George Mackenzie.* Dublin, 1775, 8vo.
- O'FLAHERTY (RODERIC).** *Ogygia, sive rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia.* Lond. 1685, 4to. Trans. by Jas. Heley, 1793, 2 vols., 8vo.
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- RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER.** *Britannicarum gentium historiæ antiquæ tres: Ricardus Corinensis, Gildas Badonicus, Nennius Banchorensis.* [Ed. by C. Bertram.] Copenhagen, 1757, 8vo. Also, *An Account of Richard of Cirencester, with his Ancient Map and Itinerary of Roman Britain.* By W. Stukeley. Lond. 1757, 4to.
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- SIEBALD (SIR ROBERT).** The History of the Sherifdoms of Linlithgow and Stirling. Edin. 1710, fo.
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- Description of the Isles of Orkney and Zetland. Edin. 1711, fo. (Also Edin. 1845, 8vo.)
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- Historical Inquiries concerning the Roman Monuments and Antiquities in the North Part of Britain called Scotland. Edin. 1707, fo.
- SIMEON OF DURHAM.** *Historia Ecclesiæ Dunhelmensis.* Lond. 1732, 8vo.
- SMITH (JOHN).** *Galic Antiquities*, consisting of a History of the Druids, particularly of those of Caledonia. Edin. 1780, 4to.
- STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.** Drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes. By Sir John Sinclair. Edin. 1791-99, 21 vols., 8vo.
- STILLINGFLEET (EDWARD).** *Origines Britannicæ: or, the Antiquities of the British Churches.* Lond. 1685, fo.
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- ULSTER ANNALS.** The best printed edition is contained in vol. 4 of O'Connor's (Charles) *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*. 1814-26, 4 vols., 4to.
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- WHARTON (HENRY).** *Anglia Sacra, sive collectio Historiarum de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ ad annum 1540.* Lond. 1691, 2 vols., fo.
- WHITAKER (JOHN).** *History of Manchester.* Lond. 1771-5, 2 vols., 4to.
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- Genuine History of the Britons* asserted in a full and candid Refutation of Mr. Macpherson's Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Lond. 1772, 8vo.
- WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.** *History of the Kings of England...*Ed. by J. Sharpe. Lond. 1815, 4to. (Also early editions.)
- WOOD (JOHN P.).** *The Ancient and Modern State of the Parish of Cramond.* Edin. 1794, 4to.
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Chronica de Mailros. Edin. 1835, 4to.
*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis...*Ed. by C. Innes. 1843, 2 vols., 4to.
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- ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, Proceedings of the Society of. Edin. 1851-1886.
- BURTON (JOHN HILL). History of Scotland, from Agricola's Invasion to the Extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection. Edin. 1876, 8 vols., 8vo.
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- INNES (COSMO). Sketches of Early Scotch History and Social Progress. Edin. 1861, 8vo.
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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

BY GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S. and S.A.

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"Antiquities may be looked upon as the planks of a shipwreck, which industrious and wise men gather and preserve from the deluge of time."—BACON.

P R E F A C E .

I PRESUME to lay before the public a work which has been the agreeable amusement of many evenings.

The earliest ages of the Scottish annals have been considered by able writers as the wild region of pure fable, and have been fastidiously resigned by great historians to the vain credulity of industrious antiquaries. Yet was I not discouraged from persevering in the purpose which I had long entertained of rectifying the ancient history of North-Britain, whatever might be its fabulousness, or obscurity, or its difficulties, arising from disputes. I thought I saw "a clue to guide me through this gloomy maze," and I was not in the habit of being very apprehensive of "certain contentious humours which are never to be pleased." I soon formed my plan, and began to collect my documents, knowing that in the details of history, as well as in the distribution of justice, he who proposes what is not admitted as incontrovertible, ought to give the best evidence which the nature of the subject allows. I immediately perceived that the ancient chronicles which the critical Innes first submitted to the public did not plunge the curious reader into the abyss of fabulous antiquity. It was during the vehement competition for the Scottish crown that the two nations, the one contending for superiority and the other for independence, carried up their several pretensions to the utmost verge of "antiquary times." Those great examples were followed by the two earliest of the Scottish chroniclers, Fordun and Wyntoun, who brought the aborigines of Scotland from Egypt by a direct transmission during the remotest ages. Boece and Buchanan, who might have derived a better spirit from the recent revival of learning, went beyond those useful chroniclers in the grossness of their fables and the absurdities of their theories. It was wittily remarked by the late Lord Hailes that "although we have been long reformed from Popery, we are not yet reformed from the fictions of Hector Boece." Lord Bacon complained, in his *Advancement of Learning*, "of the partiality and obliquity of the history of Scotland in the latest and largest author [Buchanan] that I have seen." Yet did the late learned author of the *Ancient Peerages* declare "the sceptical doubts of Buchanan as entitled to more consideration than the laborious researches of shallow antiquaries." Till the scholars of Scotland shall be reformed from such "speculative heresies," it will be scarcely possible to rectify the errors of fabulists, or to repress the dogmas of her polemics. Of those veracious chronicles, as they have been published in the *Critical Essay* of Innes, I have made some good use; of the fablers who succeeded them, I have hardly made any.

By pursuing a very different track, and using quite dissimilar proofs, I have been able to ascertain the *Aborigines* of Caledonia by evidence which comes near to demonstration. Without appealing to doubtful authorities, I have traced the *Roman Transactions* in North-Britain, and have illustrated the obscure histories of the Picts and Scots from such satisfactory documents as convey moral certainties.

The earliest disputes touching the Scottish history began with the petulant attack of George Buchanan on Humphrey Llyud, for presuming to suppose the Britons to be more ancient than the Scots. But a thousand facts which are now stated collaterally attest that Buchanan was wrong, while the Welsh antiquary was right. The effluxion of a century brought very different polemics upon the stage. Sir George Mackenzie, a scholar of various erudition, was so heroic as to come before the public in defence of the length of the royal line of the Scottish kings against Bishop Lloyd. This heroism of the *Lord Advocate* called out that able controvertist, Bishop Stillingfleet. There are documents now introduced for a very different purpose, which prove, with full conviction, that Sir George attempted impossibilities, while Stillingfleet only showed how much he over-rated his own knowledge. The King's Advocate was thus drawn into a dispute with the Irish antiquaries touching the original country of the Scots. The genuine history of this Gaelic people, which from satisfactory information is at length submitted to the reader, demonstrates that the antiquaries were historically right, while the Lord Advocate was completely fabulous. This success led the Irish writers to claim the family of the Stewarts as by descent their own. They were encountered by Richard Hay, a professed antiquary, who pointed out their errors without being able to ascertain the truth. The genuine origin of the Stewart family will be found to be fully discovered after the researches of learned men had altogether failed. The true descent of the Douglas family had been equally sought for by intelligent zeal, but without success, whatever diligence and learning were employed in the search. Their origin will be seen in the following work, as it was discovered in charters. Thus will it appear, from the perusal of the following Account of North-Britain, that there has been scarcely a controversy in her annals which is not therein settled, a difficulty that is not obviated, a knot which is not untied, or an obscurity that is not illustrated from documents as new as they are decisive, though they are introduced for different purposes. Such is the elaboration of this work; it may perhaps supply hope with expectation that the wild controversies of the elder times may be now consigned to lasting repose.

"The history of Scotland," saith the late *historiographer royal*, "may properly be divided into four periods. The first reaches from the origin of the monarchy to the reign of Kenneth II. The second from Kenneth's conquest of the Picts to the death of Alexander III. The third extends to the death of James V. The last from thence to the accession of James VI. to the crown of England. The first period [from 0 to 843, A.D.] is the region of pure fable and conjecture, and ought to be totally neglected or abandoned to the industry and credulity of antiquaries. Truth begins to dawn in the second period [from 843 A.D. to 1286] with a light, feeble at first,

“but gradually increasing; and the events which then happened may be slightly touched, but merit no particular or laborious inquiry. In the third period [from 1286 to 1512] the history of Scotland, chiefly by means of records preserved in England, becomes more authentic; not only are events related, but their causes and effects are explained; and here every Scotsman should begin not to read only, but to study the history of his country. During the fourth period [from 1542 to 1603] the affairs of Scotland were so mingled with those of other countries, that its history becomes an object to foreigners. — The following history is confined to the last of these periods.” Thus far the historiographer royal, who thus tells, in specious terms, what part of the annals of his country ought to be written, and what ought to be read.

Yet the late Lord Hailes, when he wrote his “Annals of Scotland from the Accession of Malcolm III.,” pushed his inquiries far into the obscure regions of the *second period*, which is indicated by the royal historiographer. Nay, he even went back to the accession of Duncan, in 1034 A.D., declaring, however, “that the history of Scotland, previous to that period, is involved in obscurity and fable.” The critics of his country cried out with alacrity, “Thus has his lordship happily freed from fable the whole reign of Malcolm Canmore!” In this manner, then, were left a thousand years of *obscurity* and *fable* to my “credulity and industry as an antiquary,” to enlighten the one and to dispel the other. Yet I doubt whether any writer can be fairly charged with credulity who reduces his *historical topics* to *moral certainty*, or fitly accused of fabulousness, who ascertains his facts by a comparison of charters with circumstances. *Id est certum, quod certum reddi potest*: Every thing is certain which may be made certain. Buchanan did not know who built the Roman wall between the Forth and the Clyde; but Camden, by throwing his antiquarian eyes on the lapideous records which had been dug from its foundation, ascertained that curious fact. Nor is there any thing more certain in any period of the Scottish history, than the Roman transactions in North-Britain, as they have been now investigated, and at length ascertained. In them there are much less debate and certainty than in the history of Mary Stewart and her son.

The Society of Edinburgh for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures, offered, in 1756, a *gold medal* “for the best history of the *Roman*, and afterwards of “the *Saxon* conquests and settlements to the north of Severus’s wall.” But the scholars of Scotland remained sluggish and silent. And I now submit to the reader’s judgment a history of both those interesting events. The same Society offered a *gold medal* “for the best account of the rise and progress of commerce, arts, and manufactures in North-Britain.” But the scholars of Scotland remained inert, and uncommunicative of what they did not know; and I presume to submit such an account of the origin of commerce, arts, and manufactures to the curious eye of inquisitive men. I come, however, too late to claim the *gold medals*. And I fear the last of that Society expired with the recent deaths of Sir William Pulteney and the Earl of Roselin! But I may shelter myself under the authority of the most learned, the most intelligent,

and the most accomplished men in Scotland, who offered those prizes, from the charge of folly in treating of trifles, and from the sneer of self-sufficiency for scribbling of events *which merit no particular inquiry*.

I was ambitious, I will avow, to offer my countrymen the *ancient history* of Scotland, elaborated into detail, and illustrated into light, without regarding previous opinions or fearing contentious opposition; without dreading difficulties or apprehending disappointment. I have divided my work, without regarding fantastical conceits of fabulous epochs, into such periods as were analogous to the genuine history of each successive people. The *Roman period*, extending from Agricola's arrival in North-Britain, A.D. 80, to the abdication of the Roman authority in A.D. 446, forms the first book, from its priority in time, as well as precedence in importance. In discussing this interesting subject I was not content with previous authorities. I engaged intelligent persons to survey Roman roads, to inspect Roman stations, and to ascertain doubtful points of Roman transactions. I have thus been enabled to correct the mistakes of former writers on these curious topics. Much perhaps cannot be added to what has been now ascertained, with respect to the engaging subject of the first book. Yes, since *Caledonia* was sent to the press, a discovery of some importance has been made. A very slight doubt remained whether the Burghead of Moray had been a Roman station, as no Roman remains had there been found; but this doubt has been completely solved by the recent excavation, within its limits, of a Roman bath. The first Chapter of the following work will be found to be as much the first chapters of the annals of England and of Ireland, as it is of Scotland. The *Pictish period* naturally succeeds the *former Book*, as it extends from the Abdication of the Romans, in A.D. 446, to the overthrow of the Picts, in A.D. 843. It will be found to comprehend interesting events: The affairs of the Picts; the fate of the Romanized Britons; the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons on the Tweed; the adventures of the Scandinavians in the Orkney and Western Isles; the colonization of Argyle by the Scots from Ireland. It is the business of the *Pictish period* to trace the singular history of all those people, various as they were in their lineages, throughout the different events of their obscure warfare, and the successive turns of their frequent changes. Add to those topics of peculiar interest the *introduction of christianity*, which in every age and in every country has produced such memorable effects. The *Scottish period*, forming the *third Book*, and extending from A.D. 843 to 1097, will be found to comprehend historic topics of equal importance: The union of the Picts and Scots into one kingdom; the amalgamation of the ancient Britons of Strathclyde with both; the colonization of Galloway by the Irish; the annexation of Lothian to the Scottish kingdom; the history, both civil and ecclesiastical, of all those people of various races, with notices of their antiquities, their languages, their learning, their laws; all these form historical matters of singular interest to rational curiosity if they be investigated from facts in contempt of fabulosity. The *fourth Book* contains the *Scoto-Saxon period*, which extends from A.D. 1097 to 1306, and which details many notices of varied importance. At the first and at the second of those epochs, momentous revolutions took place, though they have passed unnoticed by the Scottish historians, and were unknown to the historiographer

royal. With this period began a new dynasty of kings, who introduced new people, new manners, new usages, and new establishments. In this period the Saxon colonization of proper Scotland was begun. In this period was the Scotian church reformed. In it was introduced the municipal law of North-Britain, in the place of Celtic customs. In this period originated her agriculture, her commerce, and shipping and fishery, her manufactures and her coins. The beginning of this period formed the pivot on which turned the Celtic government of ancient ages, and the Anglo-Norman polity of subsequent times. Yet is it of a period so crowded with changes, and so varied with novelties, that the late historiographer royal says, "the events which then happened "may be slightly touched, but merit no particular inquiry." But I have dwelt on those revolutions and have marked every change. By a vast detail from the *Chartularies* in respect to the civil history, from 1097 to 1306, to the ecclesiastical annals, to law, to manners, and to domestic economy, I have tried to ascertain every interesting circumstance, and to render the national annals of that interesting period quite familiar to every reader; and to give completeness to the whole are added supplemental views of subsequent times, which have their details to instruct, and their curiosity to amuse. Such is the plan which I have formed and essayed to execute for reforming and ascertaining the ancient history of North-Britain, which has been so long distorted by controversy, obscured by fable, and disregarded by fastidiousness.

It is the common complaint of intelligent readers that there is nothing *new* in history, as the same facts are again served up in different forms with some interpersions of sentiment. It is very seldom, indeed, that any history contains so many new facts, new discoveries, and new documents, as the following Account of North-Britain discloses. What can be more novel than ascertaining the *aborigines* of the country, by proofs which are as curious in themselves as they are decisive in their inferences. Roman camps in North-Britain had been already brought before the curious eye; but it is quite new to show their location amidst the prior forts of the Britons for some hostile purpose. Roman roads and Roman stations had been before mentioned by tourists and traced by antiquaries; but it is altogether new to investigate their policy, and to form the whole of the Roman transactions in Caledonia into a connected body of genuine history during four interesting centuries. The Picts had been sometimes casually mentioned; but it is quite a novelty to give the history of the Pictish people, their lineage, their language, their antiquities. It was known from Bede that the Picts had defeated and slain the Northumbrian Egfrid in the battle of Nectan's Mere; but it is altogether new to ascertain the true site of that consequential conflict. The genuine chronology of the Scottish kings, their civil wars, their hostilities with the Picts, the Scottish laws and literature are all novelties. The colonization of Scotland by the Anglo-Saxons, Anglo-Normans, and Flemings, comprehending the origin of the Stewarts and the descent of the Douglasses is quite new. The history of law during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including the origin and epoch of the *Regiam Majestatem*; the history of manners in this period; the account of agriculture, of manufactures, of trade, and of the various topics which are connected with them,

are entirely new. The whole volume may be regarded as a novelty, considering its arrangement, its matter, and its documents. Few histories can be found wherein there are so many charters called for, so many records avouched, so many facts ascertained, and so many documents quoted.

Yet this volume, which comprehends the history of so many people during ages of darkness, does not comprehend my whole plan for rectifying the annals and ascertaining the antiquities of CALEDONIA. I propose to offer to the public three other volumes successively, and soon, if my health and spirits should continue. As the present volume has given the history of the several people, the next volume will form a DICTIONARY OF PLACES, *Chorographical* and *Philological*, for the investigation of the various languages which have been ever spoken within that country. This volume will be immediately sent to the press. The two subsequent volumes will contain the local history of every shire in Scotland, upon a new plan, and from the most authentic informations. The materials for all these are already collected, and they are mostly all worked up; so that there is little to prevent me from sending the whole to the printers, except that I should certainly feel this circumstance too fatiguing, and the public might perhaps regard it as too repulsive. We must always remember with MILTON that,

“————— God hath set
 “Labour and rest, as day and night, to men,
 “Successive,—————

I will conclude with a passage from honest Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, 1605. “Abeit it may seeme unto some a rash, and unadvised attempt, that after so many the great, and woorthy labors of our learned antiquaries, a new work under the name of [CALEDONIA] should now be presented unto publyke view; yet, when it shall have pleased the courteous reader to have considered of the contents of the chapters, I trust he will see, that the ensuing matter will be answerable to the foregoing title; much of it being so extraordinary, and unwonted, that perhaps not any (especially of our nation) hath thereof written before. I know, I have herein made myself subject unto a world of judges, and am lykest to receive most controlement of such, as are least able to sentence me. Well I wot, that the works of no writers have appeared to the world, in a more curious age than this; and that, therefore, the more circumspection and warynesse are required in the publishing of any thing that must endure so many sharpe sights and censures; the consideration whereof, as it hath made me the most heedy not to displease any, so hath it given me the less hope of pleasing all.” After so long a preface I will beg leave to add only four words:

“FACILIUS CARPERE
 “QUAM IMITARI.”

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P. S.—This work is illustrated with a *British Roman Map of Caledonia*; with a *Plan of the Roman Camps at Normandykes*, which is quite new to the curious reader; with a *Plan of the Roman Fort at Clattering-bridge*, that is also new; with *Sketches of the Roman Turrets on the Spey*; of the *Roman Varis*; and of the *British hill fort on Barrahill*; all which are now submitted to the Public for the first time.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
NORTH-BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

THE ROMAN PERIOD, A.D. 80—446.

CHAP. I.

Of the Aborigines of North-Britain.

THE first Book naturally extends from the colonization of North-Britain to the abdication of the Roman government. It will be found to contain many matters of great importance. The investigation with regard to the *Aborigines* is not only curious in itself, but will comprehend, in its progress, sketches of the peopling of Europe, of the history of the Celts, and of the origin of the Goths; topics these, which are intimately connected with that investigation, either by original analogy or by subsequent opinions. When it shall be made apparent, by the most satisfactory evidence, who those *Aborigines* were, every inquiry must cease concerning the first settlers of North-Britain. The reader, when every tribe who inhabited that country during the first century of our common era shall be exhibited before his curious eyes, must read, with more satisfaction and intelligence, the account of their struggles in defence of their original land against their powerful invaders. The campaigns of Agricola, the transactions of Urbicus, the conflicts of Severus, the treaty of Caracalla, in four divisions, will conduct the diligent inquirer

about the affairs of the Romans, in North-Britain, through the Roman period, from the arrival of the Romans, in A.D. 80, to their abdication in 446 A.D. The Picts first, and the Scots afterwards, will merely appear in the dawn of their obscure histories, when they were scarcely known to classic authors under those celebrated names. It is the common complaint of well-informed readers that there is nothing novel in history. It must be the business of this first period of the North-British annals to introduce new notices, and to inculcate uncommon truths; to spread out before the inquisitive eye the geographical position of the Aboriginal tribes, with their natural antiquities, as they are evidenced by remains; and to settle on immoveable foundations the itineraries, the roads, and stations of the Romans, while their empire was at its greatest extent in North-Britain; illustrating the obscurity of their relics, and explaining the objects of their policy: Yet, must all those topics be introduced to the attention of the more judicious reader by retrospections to the pristine ages, and by sketches of the first movements of the most illustrious nations.

In the history of every people *the dispersion* of the human race ought to be considered as the earliest epoch. To that event the various tribes owe their discrimination and their origin (*a*). Then it was “that mankind were divided in the earth, after the flood, after their tongues, in their countries, “and in their nations.” (*b*). Chronology has fixed the epoch of the *dispersion* seventeen hundred and fifty-seven years after *the creation*, and two thousand two hundred and forty-seven years before the birth of Christ (*c*). When the mind contemplates those dates, it becomes familiarized with the most distant objects by the steadiness of its own views; and it gains fresh energy while it makes the most difficult inquiries by the constant exercise of its own powers.

The chief place of our regard as the preserver of *the Patriarch*, and as the refuge of his issue, is *Asia*, the fairest quarter of the earth, where the sun of

(*a*) Bryant's *Myth.*, 3 v. 95.

(*b*) Genesis, ch. 10. *The Scriptures*, says Sir William Jones, after all his researches, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more important history, and finer strains of eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books that were ever composed. *Asiatic Researches*, v. iii. p. 15, 16. The President Goguet had already expressed a similar opinion on this interesting topic. There is nothing certain, he says, with regard to the early annals of mankind but in *the Scriptures*. Moses, he adds, is the only guide in the first peopling of countries. *De L'Origine des Loix*, &c. Liv. 1, art. v.

(*c*) Moore's *Chron. Tables*, 1593, p. 3; Helvicus *Chron. Hist.*, p. 4; Usher's *Chron.*, Geneva Ed., p. 5; Raleigh's *Hist. World*, 1614, p. 132; Goguet's *L'Orig. des Loix*, tom. 1, Table Chronologique; Well's *Hist. Geog.*, v. i. p. 378.

science first rose, and the arts of society were originally cultivated. On this scene mankind began to multiply, and early commenced their career. The most fruitful soil enabled the children of men to increase; and a climate the most pure called forth the energies of the human genius. In the progress of settlement, and in the pursuits of ambition, empires successively arose; flourished for their several periods; and, from domestic weakness or from foreign invasion, sunk into non-existence. While conquest, by extension enfeebled the influence of her own success, the genius of commerce at length raised up the Phenician people, who, cultivating the arts of peace, accumulated wealth by their practice of every art, with characteristic perseverance. As the parent and the instructor of nations, Asia will always appear, in the pages of history venerable for her antiquities and respectable for her knowledge (*d*).

From Asia, meanwhile, went out the colonists who were destined to settle Africa, to plant America, and to people Europe. If Asia were, indeed, the nursery of mankind, every other quarter of the globe must necessarily have been colonized by the superabundance of her populousness.

It is demonstrable that the west was peopled from the east; allowing the Hellespont to be the meridian. The track of colonization cannot be precisely ascertained: but it is certain that Ion the son of Japhet, with his children, found a temporary abode, after a short period of migration, near the shore of the narrow strait which separates Asia from Europe (*e*). During the agitations of mankind, their pursuits are not to be stopped by any barrier. The curiosity which is natural to man, the restlessness that is incident to colonists, urged the posterity of *the Patriarch* to cross the Hellespont in such vessels as necessity would direct, and ingenuity provide (*f*). In this manner did the children of Ion pass into Europe during a very remote age (*g*). This division of the earth was already settled as we may learn from the intimations of Moses, at the epoch of *the Exodus*, fourteen hundred and ninety-five years before our common era (*h*).

(*d*) See the *Asiatic Researches*.

(*e*) Genesis, ch. 11; Josep. Antiq., L. 1, ch. 6; Goguet's *L'Orig. des Loix*, tom. 1, p. 57.

(*f*) Many ages after that event five thousand Bulgarian horsemen had the courage to swim across the Hellespont, without the aid of either float or bark. Geb. Monde Primit., 9 tom. xxxiii. The narrowest part of the strait is scarcely a mile broad.

(*g*) Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae*, b. iii., ch. 3; Bedford's *Animad. on Newton's Chron.*, p. 40. The sons of Ion, or Javan, says Bryant, were certainly the first colonists, who planted Greece. Myth., 3 vol., p. 378—9. *Javan* is thought, says Shuckford, to have first planted *Greece*. *The Seventy* were of this mind: and, they constantly translated the Hebrew word *Javan* into Έλλας, or Greece. Shuckf. Connect., v. 1., p. 158. Well's Hist. Geography, vol. i., ch. 3.

(*h*) Usher, Bedford, Calvisius, Helvicus.

The period of the ancient Greeks commenced at *the Exodus* (*i*). The patriarchal emigrants first occupied the nearest districts of that vast triangle which is formed by the Danube on the north, the Egean sea on the east, and the Adriatic on the west (*k*). In regions that offered to their inquiries every advantage of soil, and every commodiousness of water, the original settlers began to cultivate those districts, which, however sterile, for ages produced in after times the fair fruits of valour, literature, and the arts. Whether it be that childhood is captivated with the variety of adventures, or that youth is charmed by the allurements of letters, or that age delights in the lessons of wisdom, it is certain that the annals of a country which abundantly gratified all those propensities, have found, in every period, many readers.

Yet is the history of the aborigines of Greece involved in all the gloom of uncertainty; because it is confounded with all the misrepresentations of fiction (*l*). Alas! when the luminous torch of Moses ceases to blaze before our eyes, every step of our inquiry must be made in the anxiety of darkness. The ablest of the Greek writers neither knew the origin of their own ancestors, nor understood the etymology of their own language (*m*). A few hints, indeed, were handed down from the earliest times by means of doubtful traditions (*n*). But what history could the first people have before there were events to record; and what etymology could they teach, before they had a formed language to write? From the epoch of *the dispersion* to the era of *the olympiads*, nineteen centuries elapsed; whilst the aborigines of Europe were searching for places of repose. During that long period, the children of Ion were continually in motion; having chiefs to guide their steps rather than rules to direct their actions; without the ease which settlement only can give, or the security that polity alone can afford. The paucity of events, during two thousand years of colonization, demonstrates their original insignificance; because in history want of incidents and want of importance are the same. Their annalists, indeed, speak of tyrants who enslaved the first people; of heroes who freed them; of legislators who civilized them; while those tyrants, heroes, and legislators, only existed in the strong remembrance of hatred, or in the feeble recollection of benefits.

It is apparent, however, from satisfactory notices, that during the first ages colonization was accomplished by journies on land, rather than by enterprizes at

(*i*) Petavius Hist. of the World.

(*k*) Geb. Monde Prim., tom. 1. p. 33.

(*l*) Bryant concurs with Stillingfleet in reprobating the early annals of Greece, as a congeries of fable, mythology, and imposition.

(*m*) Goguet's L'Orig. des Loix, tom. i., bk. 1; Bryant's Myth., vol. i., p. 306, vol. iii., p. 392.

(*n*) Geb. Monde Prim., tom. 9, p. 156.

sea. While the art of ship-building was yet unknown ; while the nearest bays were yet unexplored ; it was the direction of the countries along the course of the rivers which conducted the unenlightened steps of the original emigrants. It is extremely probable that western Europe was explored and settled by means of the Danube and the Rhine ; these great rivers showed the natural openings of the regions, and furnished the necessary accommodations to the settlers along their banks.

In penetrating from the Euxine to the Ocean, the more adventurous colonists easily explored and early planted Italy. The original people carried a strong principle of division along with them ; the nature of the country corresponded with their general habits : and, they formed many distinct settlements which had no other connection between them than a common language, the same worship, and similar customs. It was in a much later age that new migrants, who were easily distinguished from the aborigines, crossed the Adriatic sea from Arcadia, and formed fresh plantations ; which, as they gave rise to disputes, necessarily produced events. A thousand years elapsed from the settlement of Italy to the foundation of Rome, while that fine country was yet inhabited by several distinct tribes, which were again subdivided into clans and towns that were connected only by a common origin, and joined merely by political confederacies. Among those tribes the *Latins*, who occupied the country between the Tiber and the Liris, were at that epoch conspicuous ; and became in after ages most pre-eminent, at least for their language. After the Roman epoch, four centuries of bloody warfare contributed, by the subduction of all those clans, to gratify the ambition and augment the greatness of Rome.

Whoever may be disposed to pause here, for the useful purpose of surveying the eighth century before our common era, would see a new order of things commence. The face both of the east and of the west was at once changed : the Greeks established the Olympiads (*o*) ; Rome was founded (*p*) ; the epoch of Neboassar took place (*q*) ; the empire of the Assyrians, which had domineered over Asia for thirteen hundred years sunk under its own weight ; and the Chinese began to move. History at length attempted to free herself from fable ; and the heroes of antiquity fell back into their original obscurity as soon as the sun of truth shot forth the irradiations of a clearer light on the dark events of the most ancient times (*r*).

(*o*) In 776, A.A.C.

(*p*) In 753, A.A.C.

(*q*) In 747, A.A.C.

(*r*) Geb. Monde Prim., 8 tom. p. 34. At those great epochs of universal history, the judicious Prideaux began his *Connection* between sacred and profane history. Those early dates form one of the epochs of Bossuet's *Histoire Universelle*. And those dates are called by the ingenious le Sage, in his *Atlas, Epoque historique*, when something like history begins to appear.

Meantime, the impulse which had been given to the human race, at the epoch of the *dispersion*, filled the European regions with people. The kindred tribes of those colonists, who settled Greece and planted Italy, penetrated from the Euxine to the Atlantic, and occupied the ample space from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, and perhaps to the Frozen Sea (*s*). Yet, were not the aborigines of Europe, who in subsequent ages acquired the name of *Celtæ*, any where found in large assemblages of men. While Asia and Africa show several examples of empires vast and flourishing in the earliest times, we only see, among the *Celts*, clans disconnected from habit, and feeble from disunion. At the recent period when the Romans entered Gaul, with whatever design of revenge or conquest, that extensive country, the appropriate seat of the Celtic people, was cantoned among sixty tribes who were little united by polity, and still less conjoined by the accustomed habits of natural affection. Wherever we turn our inquisitive eyes on the wide surface of Europe, we look in vain for a Celtic empire, however the Celtic people may have agreed in their language, in their worship, and in their customs. Yet, at the dawn of history, we see the European nations who dwelt to the westward of those waters which flow eastward to the Euxine, denominated the *Celtæ* (*t*).

Disunited, however, as the Celtic clans were, and dispersed in their several positions, they often made themselves felt. During the reign of the elder Tarquin, if we may believe Livy, more than five centuries and a half before our era, the Gauls under Belovesus seized the country on the Po; while another swarm under Segovesus settled in Germany (*u*). Four hundred years before our common era the Gauls invaded Italy in such a numerous body as to evince the extent and populousness of the country whence they proceeded. Brennus their leader sacked Rome. They were repulsed by the genius of Camillus; but they were not dismayed by their disaster. They again over-ran Italy by a second invasion. And it required all the valour and all the skill of the Roman armies to repress the daring of the Celtic people (*x*). The Gauls

(*s*) The learned authors of the *Universal History* have diligently shewn what was sufficiently probable in itself, that the Celtic nations peopled originally the whole extent of Europe, vol. vi. p. 10, 13. Plutarch, in the Life of Camillus, speaks of the vast extent of the Celtic countries; stone monuments and tradition attest that they extended from the Baltic even to the Northern Ocean.

(*t*) Herodotus. Melpomene; Ptolomy; and, among the eastern nations, says Selden, the term *Celts* was a general name, for all the Europeans: the Greeks applied the name to the western Europeans. Tit. Hon. 8 Ed., p. 75.

(*u*) Bossuet Histoire Universelle. p. 41; M. le Comte du Buat's Histoire Ancienne. v. i. chap. 2.

(*x*) Universal Hist., v. xi. p. 532; ib. xviii. p. 604; ib. xi. p. 533—4—9.

overspread Thrace, and plundered the temples of Greece, whatever genius and force could be opposed to their inroads. They invaded Asia, which had already acknowledged the superior character of European firmness and discipline; and which gave their irresistible invaders a settlement that was long known by the vivid remembrance of their perseverance and their prowess (y).

Those intimations of history seem to demonstrate that western Europe throughout its wide extent was already filled with Celtic inhabitants. It was the superabundance of its populousness which discharged itself, during successive ages, in quest of plunder or in pursuit of settlement. It is thus apparent, from every notice of history and every specification of geography, that *the Celtæ* was the aboriginal people of Europe throughout its ample limits (z). Yet, has it been debated by ingenuity and inquired by learning, whether the Celtæ or the Scythes were the most ancient people; as if there could be priority of origin while they were both descended from a common, though distant origin. It is of much more importance to inquire when, and on what occasion, the Celtæ who were thus for ages the sole inhabitants, as they were the original colonists of Europe, became mingled with a dissimilar people either by colonization or conquest.

A history of the Celtic nations has long been a *desideratum* among intelligent antiquaries. Such a work has, indeed, been essayed by Pelloutier: but, *bescreened in night, he so stumbled on his subject* as to confound the Celts with the Scythians (a). While the Mosaical account of the peopling of Europe is so distinct, who would plunge into the cloud of uncertainty which perpetually hangs in ever-during darkness over the remote annals of the Scythes and Scythia!

(y) See Petavius, and the Universal History.

(z) The Geographer Ortelius was so persuaded of the foregoing truths, that he considered the names of *Europe*, and of *Celtica*, to be synonymous.

(a) “Les Celtes ont été connus anciennement sous le nom général de Scythes.” Such is the hallucination of his first chapter! From this opening, which is not quite consistent with the fact, it is easy to perceive that he must constantly confound the ancient Celts with the modern Goths. The ingenious vindicator of the ancient history of Ireland has also entangled his subject, and embarrassed his readers, by connecting the Scythians with the Irish. Our erudite mythologist has shown, however, with his usual learning and research, that in ancient times there were tribes of Scythes in Asia, Africa, and in Europe. Ancient Mythol., vol. 3, p. 143. wherein he treats distinctly, of the *Scythæ*, *Scythia*, and *Scythismus*. As Britain was undoubtedly peopled from Gaul, and Ireland from Britain; the early annals of our islands seem to have no relation to the Scythes and Scandinavians, who, like the Scandian Vikings during the middle ages, infest our researches by the frequency of their intrusions, and perplex our reasonings by the obscurity of their aberrations.

It is a singular circumstance in universal history, that the migration of the second race of colonists throughout western Europe is much more obscure than the progress of the first. The torch of Moses lights the steps of the original settlers of Europe, while every motion of the second emigrants is involved in peculiar darkness. The silence of history seems to prove that the introduction of the new people upon the old was made without any great change, which must have been transmitted by tradition, and much less of warfare, that must have been noticed by historiography. As language is the genealogy of nations, philology may lend her aid: but it is geography which must exhibit to our unenlightened eyes the distant positions of the various people at successive epochs.

The pretensions of the Scythes have created confusion through every age. They assumed so many shapes; they appeared in so many places; they arrogated such superior antiquity; that inquiry has been bewildered in following their steps, and judgment is perplexed in settling their pretensions. Bryant and Gibbon, seem to concur in opinion that their name has been vaguely applied to mixed tribes of barbarous nations in distant countries, during the expanse of time. In this view of a curious subject it is in vain that paradoxical writers attempt to ascertain the antiquities, to trace the progress, or to fix the chronology of that devious people. Epochs of "the first Gothic progress over Europe" have, indeed, been assigned with more confidence than authority. And, in order to establish those fanciful epochs, the *Scripture chronology*, which Kennedy has demonstrated to be morally certain, has been rejected for a fictitious chronology that has been obtruded in the appropriate place of "the Hebrew verity (*b*)."

Yet are we told, with the specious tongue of historic certainty, that the first dawn of history breaks with the reign of Menes in Egypt, before Christ 4000 years (*c*). This fictitious reign is thus placed *before the creation* according to Petavius, Calvisius, and Helvicius; and four years *after the creation* according to Usher, Dufresnoy, and Bossuet. (2.) The Scythians are said to have conquered Asia 3660 years *before* the birth of Christ (*d*). This fabulous event is thus placed several centuries before the *dispersion* of mankind, according to Usher and Dufresnoy, Petavius, Calvisius, and Bossuet. (3.) Ninus, the first monarch of the Assyrian empire, establishes that empire on the ruins of the

(*b*) See a Dissertation on the origin and progress of the Scythians, or Goths, 1787 [By Pinkerton]. But the Scythian chronology say the learned authors of the *Universal History*, after all their researches, is not to be ascertained. Vol. vi., p. 87. See, in the same volume, "the few fragments, which antiquity has left of the Scythians." There is, indeed, scarcely any thing but fable to be related of the *ancient Scythians*.

(*c*) Dissertation on the Scythians, 186.

(*d*) *Ib.* 187.

Scythian: and the Scythiæ evacuate Persia, and settle around the Euxine, 2160 years *before* the birth of Christ (*d*). These fictitious events are thus said to have happened eighty-seven years *after* the dispersion, and eight and twenty years after the settlement of Egypt, as we know from Usher; and Ninus, as we learn from Bryant and Gebelin, is merely a mythological personage like the Gothic Odin. (4.) The Scythians are said to begin their settlements in Thrace, Illyricum, Greece, and Asia-minor, 1800 years before the birth of Christ (*e*). These settlements are thus made to begin four years *before* the *flood* of *Ogyges*, according to Usher, Petavius, and Dufresnoy: yet, all those settlements are said to have been completed 1500 years *before* the birth of Christ (*f*). These fabulous settlements are thus stated to have been formed only nine and twenty years *before* the *flood* of *Deucalion*, according to Usher and Dufresnoy, and fifteen years according to Calvisius. (5.) Sesostris attacks the Scythians of Colchis 1480 years before the birth of Christ (*g*). Sesostris is another mythological conqueror, as we learn from Bryant and Gebelin. (6.) The Scythians peopled Italy 1000 years before the birth of Christ (*h*). This fictitious event, about which history and chronology are silent, is thus said to have happened during the age of Solomon, two hundred and forty-seven years before the building of Rome (*i*). The Scythians on the Euxine are said, however, to have held the supreme empire of Asia, by conquering Media 740 years before the birth of Christ (*k*). This event, for which there seems to be some foundation, though it is mixed with much fable, happened more than a century afterwards, according to Usher and Raleigh. (8.) Yet, the Scythians, we are told, peopled Germany, Scandinavia, a great part of Gaul, and Spain, 500 years before Christ (*l*).

(*d*) Id.(*e*) Id.(*f*) Id.(*g*) Id.(*h*) Id.

(*i*) For the genuine letters and ancient language of Italy, see Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*. t. vi. Disc. Prelim.

(*k*) Dissertation on the Scythes, p. 187. This event is stated by chronology, in 634, A.C.

(*l*) Id. Herodotus, whose geographical notices extend from 450 to 500 years before the birth of Christ, included the inhabitants of western Europe, from the sources of the Danube, under the general name of *the Celta*. Rennel's *Geog. Syst. of Herodotus*. p. 42. Diodorus Siculus, whose geographical informations may be deemed *five hundred years* later, placed the Scythians to the *eastward* of the Celtae. Id. Pliny concurred with Diodorus. Id. Eschylus, who was born forty years before Herodotus, concurred with the father of history in his position of the Scythes on the Euxine. See the *Mem. Liter.* 1750, p. 217. "of the situation of *Scythia*, in the age of Herodotus, by T. S. Bayer." Until we are better informed with regard to the origin of the Scythians, who were attacked by Darius on the western shores of the Euxine; until a specimen of their language be produced: I shall not admit that either those Scythians or their descendants ever came into western Europe.

We are now arrived, after a tedious march through the absurdities of fiction and the obliquities of prejudice, at an important period in the real history of the Scythic people and country which are undoubtedly ascertained. The well known expedition of the Persian Darius against the European Scythians took place at the beginning of the sixth century, before the birth of Christ (*m*). He passed the Bosphorus into Thrace; he crossed the Danube by another bridge; he pursued the flying Scythes along the *western shore* of the Euxine to the bank of the Wolga; he followed them south-westward through the desert to the Carpathian mountains; and he was obliged to recross the Danube by the same bridge while he was pursued by the Scythians (*n*). We thus perceive that history concurs with geography in placing the European Scythians on the north-western shores of the Euxine, from the Danube to the Don, at the very period of 500 years before Christ, when system supposes them to have inhabited Scandinavia and Germany, Gaul, and Spain (*o*). It is a fact, then, that the Scythians continued at that epoch to live on the rivers and shores of the Euxine, and not in western Europe. The Scythians still remained on the Euxine more than a century and a half later than the age of Darius, during the conquests of Alexander, whom they were studious to court, in 334 A.C. (*p*).

All attempts to trace the migrations of the Scythic people from the Palus Mæotus and the Euxine to the Baltic and the Atlantic have failed (*q*). These migrations, as we may learn from the silence of history, if they were ever made,

(*m*) Usher places this expedition in 514 A.C.; Prideaux concurs with Usher; Petavius fixes this epoch in 508; Dufresnoy places the building of the bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus, by Darius, in 508 A.C.

(*n*) See Rennel's Map, in his Herodotus, No. iii., facing p. 50, of Western or "Euxine Scythia, "with the surrounding countries, and the march of Darius Hystaspes." And see the map in Wells's Hist. Geog., v. 1, facing page 109. Arrian, bk. 1, ch. 3. And Gibbon concurs with all these. Hist. v. iv. p. 355.

(*o*) Dissertation on the Scyths and Goths, p. 187. Herodotus, says this writer, p. 173—4, places most of his Scythians in Germany. The context of Herodotus might have shown him the true position for his Scythians, which Arrian confirms. Bk. iv. ch. i. The safe line of demarcation between the *Celte* and the *Scythians*, during the successive periods of Darius and Alexander, is the points of partition whence flowed the waters in contrary direction, westward to the Atlantic, and eastward to the Euxine.

(*p*) Id.

(*q*) This difficult task was attempted, indeed, in the dissertation on the Scythians or Goths, ch. v., wherein "the progress of the Scythians into Scandinavia is especially considered." But, the dissertator has failed, like other theorists who try to perform impossibilities. He acknowledges, like the more learned and judicious writers of the Universal History, "that the narrower the bounds to which we confine the knowledge of the ancients about Scandinavia, we shall be the "nearer to the truth." Dissertation, p. 168.

must have proceeded quietly, without the efforts of war, or the perturbations of revolution. The chronology of such migrations cannot possibly be fixed, if they ever existed. If, however, we compare the notices of Eschylus and Herodotus with the much more recent intimations of Diodorus and Pliny, we shall be convinced that the Gothic migrations westward did not happen much more than a century before the Christian era. But, whether Scythic or Gothic migrations came into Western Europe at that recent period, they arrived too late to augment the populousness of the original tribes, much less to change the Celtic language of the British isles.

That Gothic colonists came into Western Europe, from whatever country, at some period, we know from the prevalence of their speech, which has almost superseded the aboriginal tongue. But, whence came they? is a question that has been often asked; yet has not hitherto been answered (*r*). With a view to that question, we must throw our inquisitive eyes over the instructive course of the Danube, from its spring among the Celtæ to its issue into the Euxine among the Getæ (*s*). There, we may see, on the banks of the Danube, Dacia, the country of the Daces, Getia, the region of the Getes, and Moesia, which in after ages gave subsistence and a name to the Moeso-Goths. On the northern side of the Danube flowed the sister stream of the Tyras, which gave rise to the name of the Tyro-Goths, who lived either upon its banks or within its isles; and who in subsequent times were denominated by Ptolomy the Tyran-Goths. In his time the appellation of Goths, by the philological changes of seven centuries, had displaced the more ancient name of Getes: and there can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt whether the Goths were any other than the same people who in more early times had been known by the kindred designation of Getes and Daces (*t*). Thus, the Goths, the Tyro-Goths, and the Moeso-Goths, the Dacians, and the Getes, were the same people, who, like other barbarous tribes in successive ages and in varying situations, were differently denominated by writers who viewed them in different lights.

(*r*) One of the latest and ablest inquirers about the *origin* of the *Goths* is Gibbon. As he does not admit the Mosaic account of the *dispersion* and the subsequent migrations of mankind, he knows not how to trace the dubious descent of the Gothic people. He is disposed to consider SCANDINAVIA as their original country: yet, he durst not say, as J. Cæsar had said before him, of the Britons, that they had grown like meaner matter from the virgin earth. Gibbon is glad to find the Goths on the Vistula at the epoch of Christ, though he is unable to ascertain whence they came.

(*s*) See the Geograph. Antiqua, Tab. ix., the map of Paunonia, Illyricum, Moesia, and Dacia.

(*t*) Pliny says, that the Getæ were called by the Romans Daci. lib. iv., c. 12; see Stephanus's Dict. in vo. *Getæ*. Yet, in Pliny's age, the name of *Goths* had scarcely displaced the ancient ap-

The Gothic tribes, however denominated, formed one of the aboriginal people of Europe. On this event history is silent; but philology is instructive. The Gothic language is certainly derived from a common origin with the most ancient languages of the European world; the Greek, the Latin, and the Celtic (*u*). Ancient Thrace, comprehending Getia, Dacia, and Moesia, was the original country of the Goths. Every inquiry tends to demonstrate that the tribes who originally came into Europe by the Hellespont, were remarkably different, in their persons, their manners, and their language, from those people, who, in after ages, migrated from Asia by the more devious course around the northern extremities of the Euxine and its kindred lake. This striking variety must for ever evince the difference between the Gothic and the Scythic hordes, however they may have been confounded by the inaccuracy of some writers, or by the design of others (*x*).

Long after Western Europe had been occupied by the Celtæ, the Gothic people still appeared within their original settlements (*y*). During the fifth

pellation; and the Gothic people were but little known in that age by their new designation. The first appearance of the Goths, as a great and united people, was in the year 250. A.D., when they were felt by the Roman empire: in 328. A.D., the Gothic empire on the Danube was formed by Hermanrick: and was destroyed by the Huns: in 375. A.D., the Huns from the borders of China chased the Alans from the Black sea: overpowered the Goths; and sapped the foundations of Rome. Writers who mention those several hordes do not sufficiently advert to those *recent epochs*.

(*u*) Geb. Monde Primitif, t. ix., p. 41—51: Schilter's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum; Wachter's Glossarium Germanicum: these vastly learned authors demonstrate, without intending it, that the Celtic and Teutonic languages had a common origin.

(*x*) This interesting investigation has been very learnedly discussed by the ingenious, and erudite William Clarke, in his *Connexion of Coins*. (1.) Even as early as the revival of learning in Europe, scholars observed a great similarity of the Greek and the Teutonic tongues. But neither Henry Stephens, Joseph Scaliger, nor Camden draw any inference from *the fact* which so forcibly struck their curious eyes: and it was Salmasius, Francis Junius, and Meric Casaubon who first inferred that the Greek and Gothic languages, which were so similar in many respects, must have undoubtedly come from a common parent. (2.) Yet, was it reserved for Salmasius to assume, with modest erudition, that people speaking the same language must necessarily be descended from a common stock. De Hellen, p. 364. This evidence of speaking the same tongue may be acknowledged, says the very intelligent Clarke, as one of the surest proofs of original descent. *Connexion*, p. 77. (3.) That the Getæ were undoubtedly Thracians was observed by Herodotus. L. iv. c. 93. That the Getæ, Daci, and Gothi, were but different appellations for the same people was strongly intimated by Strabo. V. 1. p. 466. That the Germans and Goths were sister nations, is a conclusion which results from their common language. (4.) The same circumstances led M. de Gebelin to the same conclusions on this curious subject, during our own times, in opposition to M. d'Anville, who was a geographer but not a philologist. Monde Prim., t. ix., § 7.

(*y*) Well's Hist. Geog., v. 1, the map prefixed to p. 109; Bayer's Dissert. in Mem. Lit. 1750, p. 211—259; Gebel. Monde Prim., t. ix., p. xlix.

century, before our common era, they inhabited the western shores of the Euxine on the south of the Danube. The Gothic people were found in that position by Darius when he crossed the Hellespont and the Danube in pursuit of the unsettled Scythians (:). The Gothic people felt his power, but maintained their possessions. They remained within Thrace, their pristine country, when Xenophon, a century later, finished the retreat of the ten thousand among the Thracian tribes, who acknowledged the Greeks as a kindred people. The Gothic nations still remained within their ancient dominions, when Alexander was preparing to invade Asia, a hundred and seventy years from the invasion of Darius, one of the earliest epochs of European history (*a*). Asia had hitherto predominated over Europe : Europe began now to domineer over Asia, when the superiority of Europeans over Asiatics was at length felt : and the grim visage of war during that memorable period turned steadfastly to the opulent weakness of the eastern regions. The pages of history are crowded with the continual enterprizes which resentment, or ambition, or avarice, prompted Greece and Macedon, and other nations of Europe, to send against the less hardy and worse informed people of Western Asia. Thus, during the effluxion of five centuries from the epoch of Darius's expedition, there does not appear an event which could have contributed to force the Gothic inhabitants on the Euxine and the Danube, in any great bodies, to remove westward, in search of new settlements on the Rhine and the ocean.

If the Gothic people continued to dwell on the Euxine and the Danube during the active age of Alexander, the same people could not have resided at the same period on the Atlantic and the Rhine : if the Gothic people did not reside at that epoch in Western Europe, they could not have emigrated thence to the British isles at some period three centuries before our common era. When, and on what occasion, and by what route, the Goths, with their associates, moved westward from their ancient settlements, are questions which the united scholars of Europe have been unable to answer. History has not always disdained to supply the defect of events by the fictitious adventures of mythological characters (*b*). The credulity of Cassiodorus, the ignorance of

(:) Herodotus, Melpomene : Pliny, l. iv., ch. 9 ; Count de Buat's *Hist. Ancienne des Peuple de L'Europe*, g. 1, ch. 1—8.

(*a*) Arrian, bk. i. ch. 3, bk. iv. ch. 1 ; Q. Curtius ; De Buat's *Hist. Ancienne*, t. 1, ch. 1—8.

(*b*) Even Gibbon has not hesitated to introduce the fabulous adventures of the mythological Odin into serious history. The *demons* of Rudbeck, and the *giants* of Torfaeus, are plainly the obscure representatives of the *Celtic aborigines* of Scandinavia. The good sense of Maseon preserved

Jornandes, the fastidiousness of Gibbon, concur in supposing that the Goths were indigenes of Scandia (*c*). We know that the Gothic tribes were not indigenous plants of that sterile soil: and the questions must ever be asked when, and from whence, did the Gothic people migrate into Scandia. Yet does fable, taking the place of history, send out the Goths, from that *storehouse of nations*, at the Christian era, to conquer and to colonize the world. When Gibbon has conducted the enterprising Goths from Sweden, by an easy voyage across the Baltic to the Vistula, at that era, he is induced, by an intimation of Tacitus, to cry out in the midst of his reveries, “Here, at length, we land “on firm and historic ground!” (*d*). He might have easily found other writers of as much knowledge and equal authority, who placed the Gothic people at the same period on the Euxine (*e*). The fact seems to be that there were Gothic tribes, at the Christian era, spread out in a scanty populousness among the aborigines from the Euxine to the Atlantic. The silence of history, and the unconsciousness of tradition, evince that the migrations of the Gothic people had been made without the perturbations of violence, in the progress of colonization. From the notices which have been collected with regard to the Germans, who were a Gothic tribe with a new name, it is apparent that they

him from the reproach of writing nonsense or fiction with regard to the antiquities of Germany: he considers the Gothic people as the first settlers of his country, though they were apparently only the second: they obviously came in on the Celtic aborigines; as we learn from J. Cæsar and Tacitus; from Schilter, and Wachter.

(*c*) Hist., v. i., p. 387—397. The learned Cassiodorus, and his abridger Jornandes, were the masters who taught the historians of the middle age to derive every people, however different, from the *Scandinavian hive*. With regard to the origin of nations, the silence and loquacity of history are equally uninformative. It is a maxim that the populousness of every country must be in proportion to the constant supply of its food. The dreary forests and uncultivated wastes of the Scandinavian regions preclude the notion of these desert countries having ever been the *officina gentium*, except in the systems of theory, or in the misrepresentations of fabulists.

(*d*) Hist., v. i., p. 392.

(*e*) Pliny, lib. iv., c. 11; Mela, l. 11, c. 2. Gibbon was aware that Ovid, being banished by Augustus to Tomi near the southern branch of the Danube, lived long among the Daces, a Gothic people whose Gothic tongue the poet learned. Ovid wrote a poem which he addressed to Augustus, in the *Gothic* language. When Ovid resided at Tomi, in A.D. 11, there were only two tongues (except the Greek) heard on the Western side of the Euxine; the *Getic*, and the *Sarmatic*; which were diversely spoken by two nations who were different in their origin, and still more distinct in the course that conducted them into Europe. See Clarke's *Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins*, p. 45—47.

were recent settlers among an ancient people (*f*). The other Gothic tribes cannot boast a more early settlement in Western Europe (*g*).

Meantime, the original impulse which had been given to mankind peopled the British Islands during the most early times. The stone monuments, which still appear to inquisitive eyes in Britain and Ireland, evince that the first settlement of those islands must have been accomplished during the pristine ages of the post-diluvian world, while only one race of men existed in Europe, and while a second impulse had not yet induced various people to quit their original settlements in Asia. As the current of colonization during those times constantly flowed from the east to the west; as the isles were necessarily colonized from their neighbouring continents; Britain must undoubtedly have been settled from adjacent Gaul, by her Celtic people (*h*). J. Cæsar and Tacitus agree in representing the religion, the manners, the language of Gaul, and of Britain, to have remained the same, when those curious writers cast their intelligent eyes on both those countries (*i*). But, it is the facts which are stated by ancient authors more than their opinions, respectable as they may be for their discernment and veracity, that ought to be the grounds of our conviction. The religion and manners of the two countries remained the same during ten centuries: their pristine language has continued the same in several districts to the present day. Britain, indeed, was a mirror of Gaul at the recent periods when the Romans invaded the British shores. The several tribes were

(*f*) Tacitus, Mascou, and Gibbon, severally attest the truth of that representation: and Cluverius, when he delineates ancient Germany as a region of uncultivated lands, rugged mountains, vast woods of horrible aspect, and stinking fens, sufficiently proves its late settlement by a new people of rude manners. When J. Cæsar and Tacitus speak of Celtic colonies proceeding from Gaul into Germany, they only confound those recent colonies with the ancient people, who appear to have been unknown to those celebrated writers. Strabo, who was not well informed with regard to Western Europe, acquaints us, indeed, that the *Daci ab antiquo* of old lived *towards Germany*, around the fountains of the Danube. V. 1, p. 446. If his notion of *antiquity* extended to the age of Herodotus, we might learn from the father of history that the Danube had its springs among the *Celtæ*.

(*g*) Rudbeck, and Torfaeus, had already proved this position when they scribbled of *thouens* and *giants*.

(*h*) Schoepplin's *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, § L., with his authorities, and facts.

(*i*) J. Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. v. c. 2; Tacitus Agric. § 11. "The present age," says Gibbon, "is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness, and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved, in the perpetual resemblance of language, religion, and of manners." Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Rom. Em., 8vo ed., v. iv., p. 291.

united by a polity which allowed but slight ties : they practised the same religious customs : they were actuated by the same personal habits : they spoke a common language : but, we see nothing of a body politic which fastened the disunited clans by the kindred bonds of civil society. Neither does there appear, within the narrow outline of their affairs, any event either of warfare or colonization, which would lead a discerning observer to perceive that their principles had been corrupted, their habits altered, or their speech changed, by the settlement among the aborigines of a new people.

Yet, has it been supposed by some, and asserted by others, that Belgic colonies emigrated to Britain, and occupied no inconsiderable portion of her south-eastern shores, three hundred years before the birth of Christ (*k*). If the Belgic colonists were of a *Teutonic* race, this supposition would settle them in Britain before the Teutonic tribes had sat down in Western Europe (*l*). If the Belgic colonists were a Celtic people, it is of little moment whether they came from Germany or Gaul, as they must have spoken a Gaelic and not a Gothic tongue. The topography of the five Belgic tribes of Southern Britain has been accurately viewed by a competent surveyor ; and the names of their waters, of their head-lands, and of their towns, have been found by his inquisitive inspection to be only significant in the Celtic tongue (*m*). I have followed his track in searching for *Gothic* appellations ; and finding only *Gaelic* names of people and places, I concur with him in opinion that the *British Belgæ* were of a *Celtic lineage* (*n*). It is even probable that the Belgæ of Kent may have

(*k*) Dissertation on the Scythians, p. 187.

(*l*) This inquiry, with regard both to the lineage and colonization of the Belgæ in Britain, has arisen, by inference rather than by direct information, from J. Cæsar, when he speaks of the Belgæ as occupying one third of Gaul, and as using a different tongue from the other Gauls. *De Bel. Gal.* l. i., c. 1. Yet, from the intimations of Livy and Strabo, Pliny and Lucan, we may infer that J. Cæsar meant *dialect* when he spoke of language. He ought to be allowed to explain his own meaning by his context. He afterwards says that the Belgæ were chiefly descended from the Germans ; and passing the Rhine, in *ancient times*, seized the nearest country of the Gauls. *Ib.* lib. ii. c. 4. But, Germany, as we have seen, was possessed by the Celtæ in *ancient times* ; it was occupied by them 500 years A.C. ; it was occupied by them 330 years A.C. ; and it was occupied by them 112 years A.C. ; when the Cimbri is supposed to have made an irruption from the Elbe to the Rhine ; and when those migratory people were repulsed by the Belgæ, as we learn, indeed, from J. Cæsar himself. Germany continued to be occupied by Celtic tribes during the subsequent century when it was described by Tacitus. See his *Treatise on the manners of the Germans* : and the same fact, or rather inference from the fact, is more strongly stated by Schilter, and by Wachter, in their elaborate Glossaries.

(*m*) Genuine Hist. of the Britons, p. 83—145. [By Rev. John Whitaker. Lond. 1772.]

(*n*) In every question with regard to our topography in those early times, Ptolomy must be our useful instructor : from him we learn that three of those Belgic tribes are named *Carnabii*

obtained from their neighbours, the Belgæ of Gaul, their Gaelic name; and even derived such a tincture from their intercourse, both in their speech and their habits, as to appear to the undistinguishing eyes of strangers to be of a doubtful descent. In the meantime the name of the *Belgæ* was derived from a Celtic and not a Teutonic origin. The root is the Celtic *Bel*; signifying tumult, havoc, war: *Bela*, to wrangle, to war; *Belae*, trouble, molestation; *Belawg*, apt to be ravaging; *Bely*, an overwhelming, or bursting out; *Belgiad*, one that overruns, a ravager, a Belgian; *Belgws*, the ravagers, the Belgæ (*o*).

Dannii, and *Cantæ*: we find also the *Carnabii*, in Cheshire, and Shropshire, and the *Carnabii*, and *Dannii*, in North-Britain, and also the *Dannii*, in Ireland: there are the *Cantæ*, in North-Britain, who, as well as the Belgic *Cantæ*, in Kent, derived their significant name from the districts which they inhabited; being the British *Caint*, signifying the open country. The rivers, in the country of the Belgæ, have the same Celtic appellations, as those in the other parts of Britain; such as the *Isea*, which led Lhuyd astray, the *Alanna*, the *Durius*, the *Abona*, the *Tamesa*, and the *Tamara*: there are other rivers, in different parts of Britain, named *Isea* and *Esica*, which derive their names from the Gaelic *Easc*, signifying *water*: the Belgic *Alanna*, as well as the *Alanna*, in Northumberland, and the *Alanna*, in Perthshire, derive their name from the British *Alwen*, which, like the analogous *Alain* of the Gaelic, signifies the *bright* or *clear stream*: *Durius* is merely the latinized *Dur*, which, in the British and Irish, signifies *water*, and gives names to several rivers in Britain and in Ireland; the *Abona*, as well as the *Abona* river in the country of the Cantæ, in North-Britain, and the *Avona* river in the country of the Iceni, derive their names from the British *Avon*, being the Irish *Abhan*, signifying a river. The *Tamesis*, and the *Tamer*, derived their names from the British *Taw*, *Tam*, *Tem*, Gaelic *Tamh*, signifying what expands or spreads, or what is calm: the other British rivers named *Tane*, *Tave*, *Tary*, and *Taw*, derive their appellations from the same source. The names of many of the Belgic towns end in *Dun*, or *Dun-um*; as *Dunum*, *Londonum*, *Vindonum*, *Milsidunum*: this termination equally appears, in the names of other towns, in different parts of Britain; as *Camelodunum*, *Rigadunum*, *Maridunum*, &c.; and, *Dunum* is the name of the chief town of the *Cantæ*, in Ireland, which is asserted to be a Belgic tribe: now, *Dunum*, and *Dinum*, are the latinized form of *Dun*, and *Din*, which, in the British and Irish, as well as in the ancient Gothic, signify a fortified place: the *Dun*, and *Din*, appear in the names of several towns in Gaul and in Spain. The towns of the proper Belgæ are named *Uxela*, and *Venta*: now, *Uxela* is the latinized form of the British *Uchel*, signifying *high*, *lofty*: and the same British word, which is still retained in the *Ochil*-hills, also appears in the names of the *Uxellum* promontorium, a *point*, at the mouth of the Humber, in the *Uxellum*, a town of the Selgovæ, in the *Uxellum*-Montes among the Novantes, in the *Uxellum*-Montes among the Cantæ, in Ross. *Venta* was also the name of the chief town of the Cenomani, in Norfolk: and all the *Ventas* derived their names from the British *Gwent*, which, in composition, is *Went*, signifying the open country: and thus was the British *Went* latinized *Venta*. Such, then, is the significant sameness, between the names of the Belgic tribes, their rivers and towns, in South-Britain, and those in every other part of the same island: all are indisputably Celtic, and all are descriptive, in the British and Gaelic languages; and, such are the *facts* which stand opposed to the *doubtful authorities* of ancient and modern times.

(*o*) See Owen's Welsh Diet. in Art. The root of this word does not appear in any of the

If the nearest shores of Britain were colonized from the neighbouring continent, we might easily be convinced, that Ireland must have been originally peopled from the nearest promontories of Great Britain, if fable, and system, and self-conceit, had not brought emigrants to the sacred isle from every country except the parental island. It is morally certain that Western Europe was originally settled by the Celtic people. Gaul, Spain, and Britain, remained in possession of Celtic tribes when Rome successively conquered those several regions. As there were no *indigenes* in Europe whatever Gibbon might think or Tacitus might talk; as the stream of colonization ran from the east of Europe to the westward, Ireland, lying to the west of all those countries within the bosom of Britain, must have been settled by her children in the subsequent age to the peopling of Gaul, Britain, and Spain (*p*). All the probabilities, then, are in favour of the reasonable proposition which refers the population of Ireland to the people of Britain.

With regard to this curious subject the taciturnity of history, and the loquaciousness of archaeology are equally uninformative. Yet, amidst this obscurity, topography offers her informations to those inquirers after truth who can listen patiently to her lessons. The most early maps of Ireland are Ptolomy's *Table* and Richard's Supplement, which exhibit the names of places and of waters in that island during the second century: these topographical notices may be compared with similar intimations in Britain: and, barbarized as those appellations are by tradition, and transformed by transcription, they yet evince to attentive minds, by their Gaelic names, that Ireland was originally colonized from Britain by Celtic tribes (*q*).

Gothic languages: yet, in some of the mixed dialects of the Gothic, a few derivatives from the Celtic root appear in analogous significations; a circumstance this which is far from uncommon in the Teutonic.

(*p*) Diodorus Siculus who lived under J. Cæsar and Augustus says, *Iris*, the Ierne, or Ireland of that age, was inhabited by *Britons*. The map of Europe, indeed, evinces that the British isles embrace Ireland within their kindred bosoms. The western point of Caermarthenshire is only distant from the coast of Ireland five and thirty English miles: and Holyhead is about six and thirty: the Mull of Cantyre is only sixteen miles, and the Rhins of Galloway nineteen miles from the opposite shores of Ireland: the nearest promontory of Gaul is distant from the nearest point of Ireland three hundred English miles: while Cape Ortegal, in Spain, is not nearer to Cape Clear, in Ireland, than five hundred and twenty of the same miles.

(*q*) We see as well in Ptolomy, as in Richard, the tribe of the *Brigantes* both in Britain and in Ireland. The *Damni* we perceive in Ireland, in North-Britain, and in South-Britain. There are, in Ireland, the *Coriondii*; and the *Coritani*, and *Cornabii*, in Britain. In Ireland, there are the

After the maps of Ptolomy and Richard, we have no other delineations of Ireland till much more recent ages (*r*). Yet, in these, we equally see the same names of many waters in Britain and in Ireland, which can only be shown to have significance and meaning in the Celtic dialects, which were spoken by the original colonists of the sister islands. The undoubted certainty of the facts is demonstrable by the subsequent detail; being a comparative

Voluntii; and in Britain, the *Voluntii*, or *Volantii*, and the *Sistuntii*. There, are, in Ireland, the *Vennicnii*, and in Britain, the *Vennicantes*. We see in Ptolomy, the *Gangani*, the *Cangani*, in Richard: the point of Caernarvonshire, which is the nearest land of South-Britain to Ireland, is called *Ganganorum* promontorium by Ptolomy, and by Richard, *Canganorum* promontorium: and he calls the bay, on the south side of this promontory, *Canganus* sinus: from these coincidences, we may easily infer, that the tribe of the *Cangani* emigrated from the opposite coast to Ireland. On the east coast of Ireland, as we see in Ptolomy and Richard, there is a tribe of the *Menapii*, whose metropolis is *Menapia*: on the opposite point of South Wales, there is the town of *Menapia*, as placed by Richard: and from these coincidences, we may reasonably presume, that the *Menapii* of Wales were the progenitors of the *Menapii* of Ireland. There was a tribe, which equally bore the name of the *Menapii*, in Belgic Gaul. The *Dur* river, and *Douron*, in Ireland, are obviously from the Celtic *Dur*, or *Dour*, signifying *water*: this word appears in the names of certain rivers in Britain, in Gaul, and in Spain. The *Iernus* river, in Ireland, is derived from the same Celtic source as the *Ierna* river in North-Britain, whereon stood the Roman station of *Hierua*. The *Aufona* river in Ireland, which is incorrectly written *Ausona*, in some maps, is obviously the Celtic *Aron*, the name of so many rivers, in Britain, which is merely latinized into *Aufona*. The *Senus* is the latinized form of the Celtic *Sen*, which signifies great, grand, and slow. In either sense, it is a very appropriate name, for this river, which, Ware assures us, is the most noble river in Ireland; and runs so slow as to stagnate into several lochs, in its extended course. Antiq. Hib. p. 43-4. The name of this fine river was first changed into *Senen*, then *Shenen*, and finally into *Shannon*. The *Burinda* of Ptolomy is the *Bui-on*, or *Yellow* river of the Irish, which is now called the *Boyne*. The *Banna* of Richard's map is the latinized name of the Celtic *Bann*, denoting a white coloured water, the same as the *Bain*, in Lincolnshire: there are, in Ireland, other two rivers named *Ban*. The *Darabona* of Richard's map, is obviously the Celtic *Dar-abhon*, or *Dar-avon*, the Oak river. The *Birgus* of Ptolomy, which is undoubtedly the *Barrow* of modern maps, may have derived its significant name from *Bir*, *Bior*, signifying *water*: whence, *Biorach*, watry. The *Dera* of Richard's map is the same as the *Dera's* in South, and North, Britain, the latinized name of the Celtic *Dee*. We may find a river *Dera*, in Ptolomy's map of Spain. On Ptolomy's and Richard's maps of Ireland, we may see the *Argita* river; and in Gaul, Ptolomy marks the *Argen*, and *Argentus*, rivers: the root of these names is the Celtic *Ar* or *Aer*, which denotes a clear stream, or a *rapid stream*: there are several rivers of this name and quality in Britain, and in the other countries of Europe, which were settled by the Celtæ.

(*r*) O'Connor has, indeed, given, in his Dissertations, p. 170, "a map of Ireland agreeable to the times of Ptolomy the geographer." This map is, in fact, compiled from the old Irish historians, rather than from any preceding geographer: yet, it is obvious, that the names of places are all Gaelic, and not Gothic.

statement of the names of *rivers* in Ireland and in Britain, with the subjoined meaning of each appellation from the Celtic language;

IN IRELAND :

The *Airds*, a remarkable peninsula, on the coast of Down.

Ard-more, a promontory on the coast of Waterford.

Arran isles, in Galway-bay ;

Arran isle, on the coast of Donegal.

Adar, a river, in Mayo-county ;

Aile, in Mayo-county ;

Allen-loch, in Leitrim county ;

Allow river, in Cork ;

Ara-glin river, in Cork ;

Ari-gadeen river, in Cork ;

Arrow river, Loch-Arrow, in Sligo ;

Aven-banna river, in Wexford ;

Aven-bui river, in Cork ;

Aven-more rivers, two of this name in Mayo ;

Aven-more river, in Sligo ;

Aven-gorm, in Sligo ; and several other *Avens*, in Ireland.

Aul-duff, or *Ald-dubh* water, in Cork ;

IN BRITAIN :

The *Aird*, a similar peninsula, on the east coast of Lewis.

Ard-more, a promontory, in the kindred Firth of Clyde (1).

Arran Isle, in the Firth of Clyde ;

Arran Isle, in Wales (2).

Adder, a river, in Wiltshire ; *Adur*, in Sussex.

Adder-black, *Adder-white*, in Berwickshire (3).

Ale, in Roxburgshire ; and *Ale*, in Berwickshire.

Allen, or *Allan*, is the name of several rivers in South, and North, Britain (4).

Allow, two rivers of this name, in Northumberland (5).

Arre river, in Cornwall ; *Are*, in Yorkshire ;

Aray, in Argyle ; *Ayr* in Ayrshire ; and

Ayr, in Cardigan (6).

Arrow river, in Hereford ; *Arro*, in Warwick ;

Arw, in Monmouthshire.

Several rivers, both in South, and North, Britain, are named *Avon*, which, in the ancient British and Gaelic languages, signifies a river (7).

Ald-dubh rivulet, in Perthshire (8).

(1) The Gaelic *Aird*, signifying a *point*, or *projection*, is applied to several promontories on the coast of Ireland, and on the shores of North-Britain.

(2) *Arran*, in the British, signifies a *high place*: it is the name of several mountains in Britain.

(3) *Aweddur* (Brit.) signifies running water.

(4) *Alwen* (Brit.) *Alain* (Gaelic) signify the white, or clear, stream.

(5) *Allow*, or *Ail-ow*, means the clear, or bright, water ; *Aw*, and *Ow*, in the British, and other dialects of the Celtic, signify water.

(6) *Air* (Brit.) denotes the bright, or lucid, stream ; and *Aer* signifies the violent, or tumultuous stream. *Aer-ow*, or *Aer-wy*, convey the same meaning. *Arw* in ancient Gaulish signified *rapid*.

(7) *Avon-ban*, signifies the white river ; *Avon-bui*, the yellow river ; *Avon-more*, the great river, and *Avon-gorm*, the blue river. These epithets appear frequently in the names of waters, and hills, in North-Britain.

(8) *Ald-dubh*, in Gaelic, signifies the black rivulet. The epithet *dubh* is frequently applied, in the names of dark-coloured waters, in Britain and Ireland. See *Duve*.

IN IRELAND :

Aw-beg river, in Cork ;
Aney river, in Meath ;
Anne river, in Clare ;

Bann river, in Down ;
Bann river, in Wexford ;
Avon Banna river, in Wexford ;
Bandon river, in Londonderry ;
Ben river, in Mayo.
Bar river, in Donnegal.
Barrow river, in Kilkenny.
Beg river, in Limerick ;
Bow river, in Louth ;
Bray river, in Dublin County ;
Brur water, in Galway ;

Callen river, in Kilkenny ;
Camon river, in Tyrone ;

Camlin river, in Longford ;
Car lake, in Armagh ;
Carra lake, and river, in Kerry ;
Cary river, in Antrim ;
Carron river, in Tyrone ;

IN BRITAIN :

Aw river, and *Aw* loch, in Argyle (9).
Auney river, in Devon ;
Annan river, in Dumfries (10).

Bane river, in Lincoln ;
Banney river, in York ;
Bann-oc-burn, in Stirling ;
Banon river, in Pembroke ;
Bain river, in Hertford (11).
Barle river, in Somerset.
Barrow river, in Westmoreland (12).
Biga river, in Montgomery (13).
Bow river, in Shropshire.
Bray river, in Devon (14).
Brue river, in Somerset (15).

Calne river, in Wilts (16).
Cam river, in Cambridgeshire ;
Cam river, in Gloucester.
Camel river, in Cornwall, &c. (17).
Car river, in Dorset ;
Care river, in Devon ;
Carran river, in Gloucester ;
Carron river, in Stirling (18).

(9) *Aw*, in the British, and in the ancient Gaulish, signifies water: *Aw-beg* signifies the *small water*; as, *Avon-beg* signifies the *little river*.

(10) *An*, *Ana'*, or *Annagh*, in the Gaelic, signifies a water, a river; *An*, and *Ana'*, are compounds, in the names of several waters in Britain.

(11) *Ban*, *Bane*, *Banna*, *Bannan*, all signify the white water, from the Gaelic *Bans*, white.

(12) *Bar* (Brit.) signifies *impulse*, *fury*; and so is applicable to a rapid stream.

(13) *Beg* river, is perhaps an imperfect translation of *Avon-beg*, signifying the *little river*.

(14) *Brai* (Brit.) means the *stream*, that *floods* or *swells*.

(15) The *Bro*, and *Brue*, have *probably* derived their names from the countries through which they run: *Bro* (Brit.) *Bru*, (Ir.) signify the *level*, or *plain country*, the *vale*, or *borders*, or *banks of a river*.

(16) *Caolan*, in Gaelic, signifies the *small water*: hence, a *small water*, in Argyleshire, is named *Caolan*. *Call-an*, in British, means the *water* that is apt to run out of its channel.

(17) *Cam*, *Cam-on*, *Cam-lin*, denote the *crooked*, or *bending water*, from the British and Gaelic, *Cam*: it is a compound, in the names of several streams of this description, in Britain: as *Cam-las*, in Brecknock, *Cam-let*, in Shropshire; *Cam-bec*, in Cumberland, &c.

(18) *Car*, *Carra*, and *Carran*, signify the *winding water*: there are several winding streams in North-Britain named *Carron*.

IN IRELAND :

Clph river, in Louth county ;
Clodagh river, in King's county ;
Clodagh river, in Fermanagh ;
Clody river, in Londonderry ;
Culany river, in Sligo ;

Dee river, in Louth, the *Deva* of Ptolomy ;

Dearg river, and lake, in Donnegal ;
Dearg loch, in Longford ;

Derina loch, in Kerry ;
 Glen *Don* river, in Antrim ;
Doro river, in Dublin county ;
Doro river, in Queen's county ;
Dorrig water, in Wicklow ;
Duve river, in Kildare ;

IN BRITAIN :

Clyde river, in Lanarkshire ; and *Cluyd* in Wales.
Clydach, two of this name, in Pembroke.
Clebach, in Glamorgan : *Cledach*, two rivers of
 this name, in Brecknock (19).
Culan water, in Banffshire (20).

Dee river, in Wales ; two Dees in North-Britain,
 the *Devas* of Ptolomy (21).

Dearg-an water, in Argyle ; several rivulets, and
 some lochs in North-Britain, are named *Dearg*,
 from the red colours of their waters (22).

Deren river, in Caermarthen (23).

Don river, in Aberdeen (24).

Dour water, in Fife, and *Dour* water, in Aber-
 deen : and hence the names of Aberdour.

Durar water, Argyle (25).

Dove river, in Staffordshire (26).

(19) *Clyd* (Brit.) *Clud* (Ir.) signify warm, sheltered : *Clydach*, of a warm or sheltered nature : *Clydony* is a diminutive form of the word : the Irish *Clodaghs* may possibly mean, indeed, from analogy, the slimy or dirty waters ; from *Clodagh*, dirt, slime.

(20) *Cul-an* (Brit.) signifies the narrow or confined water.

(21) The name of the *Dee* is probably derived from the British *Dw*, which is pronounced like *Dee*, and signifies the dark coloured stream : the Gaelic form of the word is *Dubh*, which is pronounced *Dur*, and may account for the ancient name of *Deva*, that was given it by Richard and Ptolomy.

(22) *Dearg*, and *Dearg-an*, signify, in Gaelic, the red water.

(23) *Dair-an* (Brit. and Ir.) signifies the oak water ; and *Daran* (Brit.) means the sonorous or noisy stream. But the *Der*, in these names, is perhaps only a variation of *Dur*, water, which is common to all the dialects of the Celtic.

(24) *Dwn* (Brit.) *Don* (Ir.) signifies dusky, or discoloured, which is characteristic of the colour of those waters : the Doun, in Ayrshire, retains its original name, in the *British* form.

(25) All these streams derive their names from the Celtic *Dur*, or *Dour*, signifying water. In the British, it is *Dur* ; in Cornish, *Dour* ; in Gaelic, *Dur*, or *Dobhar*, which is pronounced *Dour* ; in the ancient Gaulish *Dur*, and *Dour* ; and in Bas Breton *Dur*. The *Dur* is a compound in the names of many British rivers, as the Cal-*dur*'s, Glas-*dur*, *Dur*-back, &c. There is a *Dur* river, and there is a Dourona river, in Ptolomy's map of Ireland.

(26) These, and several other rivers of similar names, have probably derived their appellations from the Gaelic *Dubh*, or *Dove*, signifying boisterous, swelling ; or more probably from *Dubh*, *Dow*, denoting, like the British *Dee*, the dusky, or dark colour of the water. This epithet appears in

IN IRELAND :

Avon-*Ea*, or *Ea* river, rises from Loch-*Ea*, in Donegal.

Erne loch, in Westmeath. mistakenly called Iron loch ;

Erne river, and *Erne* loch, in Fermanagh, and Cavan ;

Esk river, and Loch-*Esk*, in Donegal ;

*Esk*y river, in Sligo :

*Es*ker river, in King's county :

Feal river, in Kerry ;

Fallen river, in Longford ;

Fane river, in Louth ;

Fina river, in Monaghan ;

Finn river, and loch, in Donegal ;

Foy river, in Waterford ;

*Foy*le river, in Londonderry : Loch-*Foy*le, in Donegal ;

Fuogh river, in Galway ;

IN BRITAIN :

Ea river, in Dumfries : *Ey* river, in Berwick ; and *Ey* river, in Aberdeen (27).

Erne river, and *Erne* loch, in Perthshire : *Erne* river, now called Findhorn, in Elginshire ; *Earn* water, in Renfrew (28).

Esk is the name of a number of rivers in Britain, from the Gaelic *Esc*. *Easc*, signifying water.

Fale, or *Fala* river, in Cornwall.

Fall water, in Perthshire (29).

Fane loch, in Sutherland (30).

Fine loch, in Argyle.

Fin rivulet, in Argyle ; *Fin* loch, in Ayr ; *Fin*-glan-water, in Lanerk (1).

Foy river, in Cornwall (2).

*Foy*le, which gives name to *Aber-Foy*le, in Perth (3).

Feugh river, in Kincardineshire (4).

the names of many British waters : the name of Black water, which several streams bear in Ireland and in Britain, is a mere translation from the Gaelic *Uisge-dubh*, and *Avon-dubh*. Spenser mentions in his *Fairy Queen*,

“ Swift *Arinduff*, which, of the Englishman,

“ Is called *Blakewater*, and the Liffer-deep.”

(27) *Ea*, *Ey*, *Ew*, and *Aw*, all signify *water* in the old Celtic.

(28) The *Ernes* may have derived their names from the British *Acron*, or *Airon* ; signifying the bright or foamy stream. A river in the south of Ireland which is different from the *Ernes* in the text, is called by Ptolomy *Iernus* : the ancient name of the *Erne* in Perthshire is preserved in the name of the Roman station of *Hierna*, which was placed on its banks : the origin of the whole may be perhaps found in the British *Er* ; signifying an impulse or progression.

(29) *Feal*, *Fall*, and *Fallen*, derive their names from the British *Fall*, denoting what spreads out, a spread.

(30) *Fan*, and *Fana*, in the Gaelic, signifies a descent, or declivity, also lower.

(1) All those waters which are named *Finn* and *Finne* derive their appellations from the Gaelic *Finn*, or *Finn* ; signifying white. *Finn* enters into the formation of the names of several waters, in North-Britain ; as *Fin*-monie, *Fin*-glass, *Fin*-ern, &c.

(2) *Foy*, *Faoi*, in the Gaelic signify the noisy or sonorous stream.

(3) *Foy*le is the English orthography of the Gaelic *Phoil*, which is an inflection of the *Pol*, and is applied both to a loch and to a slow-running water : it is put in the oblique case from having the terms *Avon*, *Loch*, or *Aber*, prefixed to it.

(4) *Fuogh*, and *Feugh*, may have derived their names from the Gaelic *Fìuach*, *Fiuach*, signifying woody ; or from *Fuachd*, cold, chill.

IN IRELAND :

Geron point, a promontory on the coast of Antrim ;

Gara lough, in Sligo ;

Gale river, in Kerry ;

Gara river, and *Loch-Gara*, in Sligo ;

Garnere water, in Clare ;

Glass loch, in Westmeath ;

Gui-barra river, in Donegal ;

Gui-doro river, in Donegal ;

Inver river falls into *Inver* bay, at *Inver* village, in Donegal.

Kelvin river, in Londonderry ;

Lagan water, in Antrim ;

Lagan, or *Logan* water, in Down ;

Logan water, in Louth ;

Lee river, in Kerry ;

Lee river, in Cork ;

Leane river, in Kerry.

IN BRITAIN :

Garon point, a promontory on the coast of Kincardineshire (5).

Gare loch, in Dumbarton ; *Gare* loch, in Ross.

Gala river, in Selkirk (6).

Garry river, in Perthshire ; *Garry* river, in Inverness (7).

Garnar river, in Hereford.

Glas river and loch, in Inverness (8).

Guy-le river, in Caermarthen.

Guy-thel, in Herefordshire (9).

Inver river falls into *Loch-Inver*, in Sutherland (10).

Kelvin river, in Lanerk.

Logan loch, in Inverness ;

Logan water, in Dumfries ;

Logan water, in Lanerk (11).

Lee river, in Hertford ;

Lee river, in Cheshire (12).

Line river, in Northumberland ; *Lyne* river, in Peebles ; and several others of the same name, in Britain (13).

(5) *Garran*, in the British signifies a *Shank*, what stretches out.

(6) The *Gale*, and *Gala*, may be derived from the British *Gal*, signifying what breaks out, or makes an irruption ; and, secondarily, from the British *Geal*, denoting *white*, bright.

(7) *Garra*, and *Garry*, signify the rough or impetuous river, from *Garw*, (Brit.), *Garbh*, (Gaelic), *rough*, a *torrent*. Several torrents in Britain are named from this source.

(8) The epithet *Glass*, which signifies *grey*, *blue*, or *green*, in the British and Gaelic, is applied to a number of waters in Britain ; as *Glas-dur*, *Fin-glass*, and a variety of streams named *Duglas*.

(9) These and many other streams in Britain derive their names from the British *Gwy*, signifying water, a stream : and the same, in Cornish. The same *Gwy* frequently appears in the names of rivers in the form of *Wy*, *Uy* ; as the (g) is dropt in composition.

(10) *Inbhear*, in the Gaelic, which is pronounced *Inver*, denotes the mouth of a river, the influx of a river into the sea, or into a lake, or the influx of one river into another : hence, the term *Inver* has in a few instances been transferred to the rivers themselves.

(11) These waters probably derived their names from the *valleys* through which they run as *Lagan*, and *Logan*, in the Gaelic, signify a *hollow*.

(12) *Lli*, in the British signifies a flux, a flood, a stream. *Ana-lee* has its prefix from the Irish *Ana'*, a river.

(13) *Llyn*, in the British, and *Linne*, in the Gaelic, signify what proceeds or is in motion, what

In IRELAND :

Liffar river, which was called by Spenser the

Liffar deep ;

Lough, and *Loch*, are every where, in Ireland ;

Maig river, in Limerick ;

Mayne river, in Antrim ;

Mayne river, in Desmond ;

Mang river, in Kerry ;

Mulla river, in Cork ;

Moyle river, in Tyrone ;

Neagh lough, in Antrim ;

Roe river, in Londonderry ;

Rohe river, in Mayo ;

Rye river, in Kildare ;

In BRITAIN :

Liver river, in Cornwall ;

Liver river, in Argyle (14)

Lluch, and *Loch*, are every where, in Wales and Scotland (15).

Meag river, in Ross-shire (16).

Mayne river, in Stafford ;

Main water, in Wigton ;

Mean water, in Dumfries (17).

Mulle river, in Montgomery ; *Moule* river, in Devon ; *Mole* river, in Surrey (18).

Neag water, in Denbigh (19).

Roy river, in Inverness ;

Rue river, in Montgomery (20).

Rye river, in Yorkshire ; *Rye* river, in Ayr.

flows, water, a pool, a lake. The word frequently appears in the names of rivers in Britain, particularly of such as form pools. *Loin*, in Gaelic, signifies a rivulet ; and is frequent in the topography of North-Britain. *Llion* is the plural of the British *Lli*, a flood.

(14) The *Liffar*, and *Liver*, as well as the *Liffy*, which bisects Dublin, derive their names from the British *Lif*, or *Lliv* ; signifying a flood or inundation. The rivers, named *Y-lif*, which are now *Ila*, and *Ilen*, in Britain, have their names from the same source.

(15) The British *Lluch*, and the Gaelic *Loch*, or *Louch*, signifying an influx of water, a lake, are everywhere, in Britain, and Ireland, applied to inlets of the sea ; and to lakes.

(16) The *Maig*, and the *Meag*, may have derived their names from the British *Maig*, signifying a sudden turn, or course ; or, perhaps, from the Gaelic *Meag*, denoting the *whey* colour of their waters. The *Meggit* water in Peebles, the *Meggit* in Dumfries, the *Miglo* in Fife, and the *Migil* in Sutherland, probably derive their names from the same source.

(17) *Mayne*, *Main*, and *Mean*, may derive their names from the Gaelic *Meadhonn*, which is pronounced *Mean* ; signifying the *middle* : so *Avon-Mean* signifies the middle river ; or, perhaps, from the British *Mai-an* ; signifying the agitated, or troubled water ; which is, indeed, characteristic of those several streams.

(18) The British *Moel*, and the Gaelic *Maol*, signify *bare*, naked ; and may have, therefore, been applied to those waters, from the circumstance of their being naked, by being without the covering of wood : *Mwl* (Brit.) means close, warm : *Mol*, (Gaelic), of which *Mhoil*, and *Mhuil*, are inflections, signify loud, noisy. The *Mulla* is often called by Spenser, by the endearing epithet, *mine* ; as it ran through his domain.

(19) *Neach*, in Gaelic, signifies an apparition ; *Neoch*, in Gaelic, means good, and originally meant anything *noble*, *excellent*, *eminent*. Collect. Hibern., v. 3. p. 279. In this sense it is very applicable to loch *Neagh*, which is certainly the largest lake, in Ireland.

(20) *Roe*, *Roy*, and *Rue*, all signify the *red* coloured water, from the Gaelic *Rua*, *Ruai*, red : the analogous word, in the British, is *Rhudd*.

IN IRELAND :

IN BRITAIN ;

<i>Rea</i> loch, in Galway ; <i>Rai</i> loch, in Roscommon ;	<i>Rea</i> river, in Shropshire ; <i>Rea</i> river, in Warwick ; <i>Reg</i> or <i>Ray</i> , in Wilts (21)
<i>Slaney</i> river, in Wexford ; <i>Slane</i> river, in Cork ;	<i>Slanie</i> water, in Perthshire (22).
<i>Suire</i> river, in Waterford ;	<i>Sowre</i> river, in Leicester ; <i>Swere</i> river, in Oxford (23).
<i>Swelly</i> river, in Donegal ; <i>Swilly</i> river, and <i>Swilly</i> loch, in Donegal ;	<i>Swail</i> river, in Yorkshire ; <i>Swail</i> , two of this name, in Kent ; <i>Swily</i> , in Gloucester (24).
<i>Ta</i> loch, in Wexford ;	<i>Taw</i> river, in Devon ; <i>Tay</i> loch, and river, in Perth ; <i>Taw</i> river, in Glamorgan (25).
<i>Tay</i> river, in Waterford.	<i>Tone</i> river, in Somerset (26).
<i>Toone</i> river, in Cork ;	<i>Tuile</i> river, in Fife (27).
<i>Tulie-clea</i> river, in Fermanagh ;	<i>Urrin</i> river in Ross-shire ;
<i>Urrin</i> river, in Wexford ;	<i>Urr</i> river, in Galloway ; <i>Urie</i> river, in Aberdeen (28).
<i>Avon-Ure</i> , in Roscommon ;	

(21) *Rea*, *Reg*, and *Rye*, rivers, derive their names from their quality of *quickness* of flow : *Rha*, (Brit.), *Rei*, and *Rea*, (Gaelic), signify a swift motion, rapid : *Uisge-rea*, and *Uisge-rei*, signify literally *running water* ; of which *Rea* water, or *Rea* river, is a half translation.

(22) *Slane*, and *Slaney*, may have derived their names, from the Gaelic *Easc-lan* ; signifying the full water.

(23) In the Irish, and other dialects of the Celtic, *Sur*, and *Suir*, signify *water*. Collect. Hibern. v. 3. p. 147 ; and Bullet. mem. in voc. *Sugh* (Gaelic) and *Sugh* (British), means *juice*, or liquor.

(24) *Swail*, in the Gaelic, signifies *small*, and *Suall*, famous : but neither of these terms are very applicable to the objects : these rivers may have borrowed their names from the nature of the countries through which they ran : *Ys-wal*, in the British, signifies a sheltered place, an inhabited or cultivated country.

(25) These, and various other similar names of rivers in Britain, are all derived from the British *Ta*, *Taw*, Gaelic *Tamb*, *Tav*, signifying what expands, or spreads : also, what is still, or quiet : the fine expanses formed by these waters justify the propriety of their British appellation : *Tay* is the English pronunciation of the British *Taw*.

(26) *Ton* (fem.), *Town* (masc.), in the British, and also in the Gaelic, denote a water, which forms surges, or waves, in its roll : but, these names are, perhaps, merely a variation of *Tain*, which anciently signified a *river*, in the British, as well as in the old Gaulish.

(27) Both these rivers derive their names from the Gaelic *Tuile*, a *flood*. The Gaelic *Tuile* enters into the formation of other names of streams, in Britain : as *Avon-thuile*, or *Avon-uile* ; *Tuile-ilt*, a stream, in Aberdeenshire.

(28) *Avon-uir*, (Gaelic), and *Avon-urr*, (Brit.), signify the *cold* river : *Avon-wyr*, (Brit.), *Aven-ar*, (Gaelic) signify the *pure*, or fresh river.

From this comparative view of the rivers of Ireland, and of Britain, arises a moral certainty, that the British islands were originally settled, by the same Celtic tribes. This certainty might even be made more certain, by a comparison of the names which the first colonists imposed on the other great objects of nature. Of these, islands and insulated places have the Gaelic name of *Inis*, which appears from the maps in the various forms of *Insh*, *Inch*, *Ince*, *Ennis*; and which is the same as the Cambro-British *Ynys*, and the Cornish *Ennis* (*a*). Of the mountains, several are named from the Gaelic *Sliabh*; as *Sliabh-sneacht*, the *snow mountain*, in Donegal; *Sliabh-damh*, the *stags' mountain*, in Sligo; *Sliabh-glas*, the *grey mountain*, in Cavan; *Slabh-bui*, the *yellow mountain*, in Wexford (*b*). The Gaelic *bein*, signifying a mountain, is the general appellative of many hills; as *Ben-dubh*, the *black mountain*, in Tipperary; *Ben-levagh*, in Galway; *Ben-balbagh*, *Ben-icolben* in Sligo. Several heights have the Gaelic prefix *Mam*, which also signifies a mountain; as *Mam-arty*, in Mayo; *Mam-trasna*, in Galway. Several hills are named, from the Gaelic *Cnoc* or *Knoc*, a *hill*; *Knoc-breac*, the *speckled hill*, in Cork; *Cnoc-na-shi*, the *fairy hill*, in Sligo. The Gaelic *Cruach*, a *high heap*; *Carn*, a *heap*; *Mullach*, a *summit*; *Dun*, a *hill*, enter into the names of many hills in Ireland. All those Gaelic compounds appear equally conspicuous in the topography of Scotland, and equally evince that a Gaelic people imposed those several names on remarkable places in both those countries.

The great body of the names of places in the map of Ireland is undoubtedly Gaelic (*c*). Many names, as we might expect, are derived from *Ach* or *Acha*, which is frequently spelt *Agh* by the English, and signifies a *field*. Many names are formed from the Gaelic *Clon* or *Cluain*, signifying a *pasturage*. Several names are derived from *Ard*, a *height*; and from *Drom* or *Drum*, a *ridge*. A number of names are compounded with the Gaelic *Dun*, which originally signified a *hill*, and secondarily a *strength* or *fortress*: it often appears in the form of *Dun*, *Don*, *Down*. Several names are derived from *Rath*, which also signifies in the Gaelic a *place of security*, a *strength*, a *village* (*d*).

(*a*) In the Cornish, the same term is *Ynys*, *Ennis*, and *Ince*. Pryce's Arch. In the Bas Breton, it is *Inis*: and in the ancient Gaulish, *Inis*, and *Ynys*.

(*b*) The Gaelic *Sliabh* is spelt *slew*, in Speed's maps, which is the spelling of Spenser: because it is the English pronunciation: but, in Beaufort's map of Ireland, and in several of the late county maps, the orthography of *Sliabh* is more analogically *Sliebh*, and *Sliev*.

(*c*) See Beaufort's map, which has best preserved the Gaelic names of the old Irish people.

(*d*) *Ráth* in the Gaelic, and *Rhúth* in the British, signified originally a *plain*, or *cleared spot*, such as the Celtic inhabitants of the British isles usually fixed their habitations on. *Ráth*, in

Cahir and *Car* form the prefixes of some names in the topography of Ireland (*c*), as *Caer* and *Car* do in Wales, in Cornwall, and also in Scotland, and all these are derived from the British *Caer* or the Gaelic *Cathair*, which is pronounced *Cair*, signifying a wall or mound for defence, a fortified place, a *fortress*, a *fortified* town. There is a numerous class of names which is much more modern, because those names were generally imposed both in Ireland and in Scotland after the epoch of Christianity, and which appears under the form of *Cil* or *Kil*, signifying a cell, a chapel, a church.

Ireland plainly preserves in her topography a much greater proportion of *Celtic* names than the map of any other country, and next to it in this respect may be placed North-Britain. The names of towns, villages, churches, parishes, mountains, lakes, rivers, and of other places and objects in Ireland are nearly all *Gaelic*. A small proportion are English, or of a mixed nature, consisting of Gaelic and English. The names of places, which appear to be derived from the Scandinavian rovers who made some settlements on the coasts of Ireland during the ninth and tenth centuries, are so very few that they would scarcely merit notice if they did not illustrate the obscurities of history: and the Scandian names are confined to the coast, as we know from Ware (*f*), the Eastmen were in their residence, and these appellations are chiefly conspicuous from their giving names to some of the marine towns. The mixed names are composed by grafting English words on Irish roots, as *Lif-ford*, *Achil-head*, *Bau-foot*, *Baile-borough*, *Gil-ford*, *Abbey-feal*. The English appellations are such as *Abing-ton*, *Ac-ton*, *Hills-borough*, *Lanes-borough*, *Mary-borough*, *New-town*, *New-castle*, *Long-ford*, *Stratford*. The termination of *ford* in those names and in others, as it merely signifies the *passage* of several waters, must not be confounded, as Ware and Harris have mistakenly done, with the affix *fjord* in *Wex-ford*, *Water-ford*, *Carling-ford*, *Strang-ford*. The fact evinces that in these names the *fjord* is affixed to some *bay*, *frith*, or *haven*, and consequently must be the Scandinavian *fjord*, which denotes such collections of water. The names which were applied to various objects in

the Gaelic also signified a *surety*: hence the term was applied by the old Irish and by the Scotch-Irish to the villages in which they lived, to the seats of their *Flaiths* or Princes, and to the fortress or *place of security*: *Ráth* is the common appellation for the ancient Irish Forts, most of which were situated on eminences, the same as in Britain: yet, this well-known Celtic word, which was so frequently applied by the *Gaelic* people of Ireland and of North-Britain to their villages and strengths, has been deduced by speculation from the German *Rat*, which has quite a different meaning! Trans. of the Irish Academy, v. 8. Antiq. p. 5.

(e) See Beaufort's Map, and his Index.

(f) Antiq. Hibern. ch. 24.

Ireland by the Eastmen are so few as to admit of being enumerated. The names of *Wex-ford*, *Water-ford*, *Carling-ford*, *Strang-ford*, which are all connected with *bays*, need not be repeated: it is of more importance to note, that the native Irish still use their own vernacular names for these towns, as Waterford is by them called *Port-Lairge*, Wexford *Loch-garman*. The name of *Wicklow* is somewhat doubtful: *Wik* in the Scandinavian signifies a *bay* or *creek*, and also a *fortress* or *strength*; but the term is also in the Anglo-Saxon and in old English: and the affix *low* in *Wick-low*, *Ark-low*, *Car-low*, may possibly be derived from the old English *low*, a *hill* or rising ground, which was borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon *blæm* (*g*). *Smerwick*, a bay on the coast of Kerry, is probably the *Smerwick* of the Scandinavians, signifying the butter-haven. The *Olderfleet*-haven, in Speed's map of Antrim, seems also to be a Scandian name. The Scandinavian *ey*, signifying an *island*, appears to have furnished a few names of islands with terminations, such as the islets of *Dalk-ey*, *Lamb-ay*, Ireland's-*eye*, on the coast of Dublin; the *Salt-ee* islands, on the coast of Donegal; *Om-ey* island, on the coast of Galway; *Durs-ey* island, on the coast of Cork; *Whidd-y* island, in Bantry-bay. *Holm*-Patrick, an islet on the coast of Dublin, is probably the Scandinavian *Holm*, an islet, though *holm* also signifies an islet in the Anglo-Saxon speech. But these form very few of the numerous isles lying around the shores of Ireland, the great body whereof is named from the Gaelic *Inis*, and a few indeed have English appellations. The names of *Limerick*, of *Leinster*, of *Munster*, and of *Ulster* were plainly formed from the vernacular names of Gaelic times by the addition of Scandinavian terminations. The Irish name of *Lúim-neach* was converted by the Scandinavian intruders into *Limerick*. To the Gaelic appellations of *Laighean*, *Mumhain*, and *Ulladh*, which are pronounced like *Laican*, *Muain*, and *Ulla*, the Scandinavians who settled on their shores added the Gothic term *Stadr* or *Ster*, and thus formed *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Ulster*: and these compounded names, which were more familiar to the English of the twelfth century, were by them adopted and continued, while the native Irish still use their own vernacular names, with the prefix *Coige*, signifying a province. Such are the few names which the Scandinavians imposed on the places of Ireland: and the topography of Ireland, which exhibits

(*g*) See Gibson's Sax. Chron. *Regular Generales*, p. 6. 7. Yet *Carlow* is merely a corruption of the vernacular Irish name *Cathair-lough*, signifying the fortress or town on the lake. See Collect. Hibern. v. 3. p. 340. This name is pronounced in Irish *Cairlough*, and by the English *Carlow*: so the terminations of *Arklow* and *Wicklow* may also be from the Irish *lough*, which is pronounced *low* by the English: the fact must decide many such doubtful positions.

none of those Gothic appellations at any distance from the coast, to which they were confined, altogether corresponds with their history as we read it in Ware's *Antiquities*: nor is there to be seen one mountain, lake, river, town, village, or any other object in the interior of this *Celtic* island which bears a Scandinavian name.

The Index to Beaufort's map, which may be deemed the *villare* of Ireland, contains 3842 names of cities, towns, baronies, villages, parishes, churches, mountains, lakes, rivers, bays, promontories, and islands: of these 3028 are Gaelic names; 171 are mixed names of Gaelic and English; 623 appellations are English; and of the whole only 20 names are Scythic, Scandinavian, or Gothic. The several proportions of those various names are exhibited in the subjoined *table* under the different letters of Beaufort's alphabet (*h*).

This *table*, then, furnishes a moral demonstration of the historic truths, that Ireland was originally colonized by Gaelic people from Great Britain, and

(14) A TABLE showing the respective numbers of the several names of towns, villages, parishes, mountains, lakes, rivers, bays, promontories, and islands, in Beaufort's map of Ireland, and exhibiting the proportion of Gaelic, English, and Scandinavian designations under each letter of the Alphabet.

	Gaelic.	Mixt, Gaelic and English.	English.	Scandian.	The TOTAL.
Names in A - - -	187	13	5	0	205
B - - - -	387	12	88	0	487
C - - - -	409	29	91	1	530
D - - - -	270	8	10	2	290
E - - - -	39	2	4	0	45
F - - - -	74	4	17	0	95
G - - - -	88	7	30	0	125
H - - - -	2	0	33	2	37
I - - - -	99	3	10	1	113
K - - - -	650	3	7	0	660
L - - - -	127	3	17	3	150
M - - - -	182	12	57	1	252
N - - - -	26	7	48	0	81
O - - - -	35	4	6	2	47
P - - - -	22	2	33	0	57
Q - - - -	0	0	3	0	3
R - - - -	143	4	26	0	173
S - - - -	117	8	84	3	212
T - - - -	158	47	18	0	223
U and V - -	13	3	6	1	23
W - - - -	0	0	26	4	30
Y - - - -	0	0	4	0	4
	3028	171	623	20	3842

that a Scandinavian race never settled beyond the shores of the sacred island. Such are the instructive helps which the topography of Ireland supplies to the obscure history of her successive colonists from the earliest to recent times. The *stone monuments* of the first settlers which still remain, confirm the just representation that has been given of their original country and genuine lineage (i).

From those authentic facts and satisfactory circumstances, it is reasonable to infer that the British isles were all settled by the same people during the most early times. If Europe was originally peopled by the gradual progress of migrations by land; if the nearest continent colonized the adjacent islands; if the shores of South-Britain were thus peopled from Gaul, we may thence infer, that the northern districts of the same island were settled by migrants from the South, who were induced by curiosity, or urged by interest, to search for new settlements, while the original impulse yet produced its early effects. This reasoning is confirmed by facts. It will be found that the Celtic tribes of North-Britain practised the same worship, followed the same manners, and spoke the same language: and these circumstances are proofs which demonstrate the sameness of the people, with greater conviction, than the fanciful theories of philosophers or the absurder intimations of ignorant chroniclers.

In every history, it is of the greatest importance to ascertain the origin of the people, whose rise, and progress, and fortune it is proposed to investigate. But, in an account of North-Britain, that object becomes still more important, when it is considered how often its aborigines have been traced to various sources, and how much its annals are involved in singular obscurity. Whether the aborigines of North-Britain were of a Gaelic or a Gothic origin has been disputed with all the misinformation of ignorance, and debated with all the obstinacy of prejudice. The lineage and the chronology of the Caledonians, the Picts, and the Scots, have been investigated with the zeal of party rather than the intelligence and the candour of rational inquirers, who examine much more than dispute.

Under such circumstances it becomes necessary to offer with regard to such inquiries, proofs which come near to demonstration. We have seen that the British isles were peopled by Celtic tribes in the most early ages. These

(i) It is not the *Round Towers* which are here referred to, and which are of much more recent erection; but the *Cairns*, the *Circles of Stones*, the *Cromlechs*, which are of the first ages. See Wright's *Louthiana*, bk. iii. pl. 3, 4, 5, 6; Gough's *Camden*, v. 3, pl. xxxv. xlvi. xlviii; King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, v. i. p. 282—3; Grose's *Antiq. Ireland*, introd. p. xi; Smith's *Hist. Cork*, v. ii. pl. xii. xiii.

settlements were made during distant times while only one race of men inhabited Western Europe. The Gothic migrations which are but recent when compared with the colonization of Europe, had not in those times begun. And, from those intimations we might easily infer that the Gaulish tribes who planted the southern parts of Britain found a ready course throughout every division of Britain, and a final settlement in the northern districts of the same island. In our subsequent progress we shall see history recognise and topography confirm that rational notion of the original colonization of North-Britain. (*k*) This region during the first century is a small but genuine mirror

(*k*) A comparison of the appellations of the tribes, and of the names of places in South and North-Britain, as they are stated by Ptolomy and Richard, will furnish a decisive proof that the tribes in both were of the same lineage, and that the names of places, in both those countries were imposed by the same Gaelic colonists. They are,

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) The Carnabii of Cornwall; the Carnabii of Cheshire and Shropshire; | (1) The Carnabii of Caithness. |
| The Cantæ of Kent; | The Cantæ of Ross-shire. |
| The Damnii of Devon; the Damnii of Ireland; | The Damnii of Clydesdale, of Renfrew, and Ayr. |
| The Tri-novantes of Essex, and Middlesex; | The Novantes of Galloway. |
| (2) The Sylva Caledonia of Norfolk; and Suffolk; | (2) The Sylva Caledonia of the interior highlands. |
| Uxella, a town of the Hedui; | Uxellum, a town of the Selgovæ. |
| Uxella, a river of Somerset; | Uxellum montes of Galloway. |
| Uxellum promontorium, at the mouth of the Humber; | Pen-Uxellum promontorium, at the mouth of Dornoch frith. |
| Lindum, at Lincoln, a town of the Coitani; | Lindum at Ardoch, a town of the Damnii. |
| Rerigonium, a town of the Sistuntii, in Lancashire; | Rerigonium, a town of the Novantes, in Galloway. |
| Varis, in Wales; | Varis, in Murray. |
| (3) The Alauna, a river of the Belgæ; | (3) The Alauna, whereon stood Alauna, a town of the Damnii. |
| The Esca, a river, in Devon; | The Esica, in Angus, and others of the same name, in North-Britain. |
| The Isca, or Esca, in Wales; | The Abona, which separates the Cantæ and Logi. |
| The Abona, which falls into the Severn; | The Deva, a river in Galloway, and in Aberdeen. |
| The Deva, a river in Wales; and in Ireland; | The Nidus, a river in Galloway. |
| The Nidus, a river in Wales; | The Tina, a river of the Venricones, in Angus. |
| The Tina, a river of the Ottodini, in Northumberland; | |

This comparative statement, then, exhibits not similarities, but samenesses: and thereby clearly shows that the same people must have originally imposed all those names on the same persons and places.

of Gaul during the same age. North-Britain was inhabited by one and twenty clans of Gaelic people, whose polity, like that of their Gaelic progenitors, did not admit of very strong ties of political union. They professed the same religious tenets as the Gauls, and performed the same sacred rites: their stone monuments were the same, as we know from remains. Their principles of action; their modes of life; their usages of burial, were equally Gaelic: and, above all, their expressive language, which still exists, for the examination of those who delight in such lore, was the purest Celtic.

To leave no doubt, with regard to the *Aborigines* of North-Britain, which is of such importance to the truth of history, there will be immediately subjoined proofs of that simple notion of their original settlement, which amount to a moral demonstration. These proofs will consist of an accurate comparison between the names of places in South-Britain, and the same names in North-Britain, under the following heads: (1.) Promontories, hills, and harbours; (2.) Rivers, rivulets, and waters; (3.) Miscellaneous names of particular districts. Now, the identity of the names of places in both the divisions of our island being certain, as well the fact as their meaning, no doubt can remain but the same people must have imposed the same names on the same objects in the north and in the south of the British islands. In this topographical investigation, which is as new as it is interesting, we at once proceed to inquire:

I. OF PROMONTORIES, HARBOURS, AND HILLS.

In SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Alsa, (high cliff). }
Alston, (high cliff). } two villages in Cornwall.

In NORTH-BRITAIN;

Ailsa, a high, rocky, island in the Frith of Clyde.
Alsa, a rocky isle in Loch-Crinan, Argyleshire (1).

(1) *Als* (Corn.), a cliff; *Allt* (Brit.), a cliff; *All* (Ir.), a rock, or cliff; *Alt*, in ancient Gaulish, a height, a hill. The language which is made use of in the whole of this enquiry is taken from the following sources, and is supported by the subjoined authorities: the British and Armoric from the Dictionaries of Davies and Rhydderich, of Richards and Owen, and Lhuyd's *Archaiologia*: the Cornish from Pryce's *Archaiologia*, and Borlase's *History of Cornwall*: the Irish or Gaelic from the Irish Dictionaries of Lhuyd and of O'Brien; from Shaw's *Gaelic Dictionary*, from the *Vocabularies of Macdonald and Macfarlane*, and from *Stewart's Gaelic Grammar*. The *Bas-Breton*, the *Basque*, and the old *Gaulish* or *Celtic* from the *Dictionaries of Rostrennen and Pelletier* and from *Bullet's Memoires sur la Langue Celtique*. This general intimation is here given to save the frequent repetitions of those several authorities, which would occupy much room and only embarrass the sense.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Arran island, in Wales: several mountains in Merioneth: and two hills, near Bala, are called *Aran*.

Aber-ystwith, and *Aber-porth*, in Cardiganshire; *Aber-poult*, *Aber-ithy*, *Aber-melin*, *Aber-awrgog*, *Aber-howel*, and *Aber-kibor*, on the coast of Pembroke; *Aber-dovey*, in Merionethshire; *Aber-daron*, in Caernarvonshire; *Aber-fraw*, in Anglesey; and many places at the confluence of waters inland, as well as on the coast, are named *Aber*.

Cove is applied to a *creek*; as *Cove-hith*, in Blething-hundred, Suffolk; *Toplundy Cove*, and *Portkewin Cove*, in Trig-hundred; and *Nantgissel Cove*, at the lands-end, Cornwall: the *Cove* in St. Mary's isle, Scilly.

Calais, on the coast of France, was doubtless named from the narrow strait which separates South-Britain from France.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN;

Arran island, in the Clyde, is so named from a range of high mountains which run through the middle of it (2)

Aber-deen, *Aber-don*, *Aber-dour*, in Aberdeenshire; *Aber-dour*, in Fifeshire; *Aber-brothock*, *Aber-lemno*, and *Aber-elliot*, in Forfarshire; *Aber-tay*, at the mouth of the Tay; *Aber-lady*, in Haddingtonshire; and many places at the confluence of waters inland, as well as on the coast, are named *Aber* (3).

Cove is applied to a *creek*; as old *Cove-harbour*, in Berwickshire; *Cove-haven*, in St. Vigean's parish, Forfarshire; the *Cove-harbour*, in Nigg parish, Kincardineshire (4).

There are several straits, between the different islands and the mainland, around the west coast of North-Britain, called *Caolas*, *Calais*, and *Kyles*, which in Irish, signify a *frith* or *strait*.

(2) *Aran* (Brit.) a high place: it is the name of several of the highest mountains in Britain. There are also the *Arran* isles in Galway-bay, and *Arran* island on the coast of Donegal, Ireland.

(3) *Aber* (Brit.) signifies a confluence of water, the junction of rivers, the fall of a lesser river into a greater, or into the sea; by metaphor, a port, or harbour. *Aber* has the same signification in Cornish, in Bas-Breton, and in the Ancient Gaulish. The British *Aber* appears very frequently in the topography both of North and South-Britain: it is uniformly applied to the influx of a river into the sea, or into some other stream, as the word signifies; and it is compounded with the Celtic names of the rivers in the Celtic form of construction, as *Aber-tay*, which, in the Scoto-Saxon, is called *Tay-mouth*. This ancient British word cannot, therefore, be referred to the Saxon or German *Ober*, the root of the English *Over*, which is totally different in its meaning and mode of application. In the British speech of Wales and Cornwall, the *Aber* is still in common use, both in its original signification, and the secondary application of it to a port or harbour. The *Aber* of the British corresponds with the *Inver*, of the Irish, and both are applied to similar objects, as they signify the same thing. It is a curious fact, which we learn from the charters of the twelfth century, that the Scoto-Irish people substituted their *Inver* for the previous *Aber* of the Britons. David I. granted to the monastery of May "*Inver-in qui fuit Aber-in.*" Chart. May. This remarkable place is at the influx of a small stream, named *In*, into the sea on the coast of Fife; both those names are now lost. It is an equally curious fact, that the influx of the Nethy into the Ern, which had been named *Aber-nethy* by the Britons, was called *Inver-nethy* by the Scoto-Irish; and both these names still remain. The Gothic word for the British *Aber* is *Aros*; as *Nid-Aros*.

(4) *Cof*, (Brit.) means a hollow trunk, a cavity, a belly: so *Cof*, *Coff*, and *Cor*, in the ancient Gaulish.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN ;

Heugh is a name applied to several *heights*, or *high points*, around the coast of Cornwall ; as *Heugh Town*, on a high peninsula ; *Heugh Passage*, in Beer Ferrers ; *Lamerton Heugh*, in Lamerton parish ; *Dunterton Heugh*, in Dunterton parish ; the *Heugh*, or *Hew*, a high peninsula, in St. Mary's isle, Scilly ; and several heights, on the shores of the Tamar, are called *Heughs*.

Kenarth, on a point between two rivers, in Caermarthenshire ; *Penarth-point*, near Cardiff ; and *Penarth-point*, near Swansea ; Glamorganshire.

Pentire is the name of a point of land, in Trigg-hundred, Cornwall.

Pen-lee point, near Plymouth, and several other names of *Pen*, which are applied to head-lands, on the coasts of Cornwall, and Wales.

Portsey, and *Portsmouth*, in *Portsmouth-hundred*, Hampshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Heugh is a name applied to several *heights*, along the sea coast of North Britain ; as the *Red-Heugh*, and *Hawks-Heugh*, in Berwickshire ; *Craig-Heugh*, and *Heugh-end*, in Fifeshire ; *Carlin-Heugh*, and *Breed-Heugh*, in Forfarshire ; *Fowl's Heugh*, and the *Earn-Heugh*, in Kincardineshire ; *Gar-Heugh*, in Mochrum parish, Wigton ; and *Clachan-Heugh*, on Loch-Ryan, in Wigtonshire (5).

Kingarth, in the island of Bute ; which was so named from a bold head-land, near it on the coast (6).

Kintyre is the name of a long narrow point of land, in the south of Argyshire (7).

Pen-an, a head-land, on the north coast of Buchan, Aberdeenshire ; and the *Pen* is applied to projecting heights in North-Britain (8).

Portsoy, a sea-port, in Banffshire ; *Port-down*, a creek in Wigtonshire.

(5) *Uch*, and *Uchel*, (Brit.), means high, a height, the top, &c. ; and so *Uch* in the Bas Breton and ancient Gaulish. The aspirate *H*, was probably prefixed to *Uch*, and thereby formed *Huch* : there are many instances in the topography of North-Britain where the *H* has been prefixed to Celtic words beginning with a vowel ; the *Hoch*, or *Hoh*, of the German *altus*, *erectus*, is derived from the British *Uch*, *Uchel*. Wachter's Glossary.

(6) *Pen* (Brit.), signifies a *head*, or *end*, as in the ancient Gaulish and Bas Breton : and *Garth*, a *high cape*, or *ridge* ; in composition, *Penarth* : so *Garth* in Bas Breton and ancient Gaulish. *Cean*, and *Cin*, (Ir.), means a *head*, or *end* ; in the ancient Gaulish, *Cen* : so *Pen-arth* and *Kin-garth* signify the same : the British *Pen* is a frequent prefix to the names of places in North-Britain.

(7) From *Pen*, (Brit.), and *Cin*, (Ir.), a head, or end as above, and *Tir*, land, (Brit. and Irish) : so, *Pen-tire* and *Kin-tyre* are synonymous. "At the north-west end of all Caithness," said John Harding, in the fifteenth century, "is *Kentyr*, and *Kentyr-ynough*." Gough's Top. v. 2. p. 582. This is the name which had been given to the lands-end by the Scoto-Irish inhabitants of Caithness. *Cean-tir-a nochd*, in Irish, signifies the *naked lands-end*, or the *naked head-land*. In the British and Cornish languages, the point of Caithness is called *Penrhyn-Blatham*. Lhuyd's Arch. p. 238, and Richard's Dict. *Penrhyn*, in both those languages, signifying a *promontory*, a *cape*, from *Pen*, a head, or end, and *Rhyn*, a point : it is easy to perceive the analogy of the application of this appropriate name to the farthest point of Caithness.

(8) The annex, *An*, is the diminutive : so that *Pennan* is the little point, in contradistinction, perhaps, to *Troup-head*, a large promontory, two miles westward of *Pen-an* at the entrance into the Moray Frith.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Port-Mellin, (Mill-creek), in Cornwall.

Portezick-haven, in Trig-hundred, Cornwall.

Port-Garreg, on the coast of Glamorganshire : there are divers names, beginning with *Port*, which are compounded with British words, on the coast of Wales, and Cornwall ; as *Port-Felyn*. *Porth-Orion*. *Porth-Colman* ; *Porth-Ysgadan*. *Porth-Lechog*. *Porth-Melgon*, &c. in Wales ; *Port-Leven*, *Port-Keurn*. *Port-Hillie*. *Port-Luny*, &c. in Cornwall.

Ram, and *Ram-Head*, near Plymouth, in Cornwall ;

Ram-Head, a point opposite to Portsmouth ;

Ram-syde, on a point in Lancashire ;

Ramsey, on an arm of the sea, in Essex ;

Ramsgate, in the face of a steep cliff, in the isle Thanet ;

Ramsway, and *Ramsey-haven*, in the Isle of Man ; and divers other names, beginning with *Ram*.

Rin is, in many instances, applied to a point, as *Pen-ryn*, on a promontory, in Falmouth-haven, Cornwall ; and the heights above the same town are called *the Rins*.

Penrhyn point,
Penrhyn Camlyn point. } in Anglesey.
Penrhynyr Wylan point, }

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Port-Moulin, (Mill-creek), in Wigtonshire.

Port-Nessock, in Kirkcolm parish, Wigtonshire.

Port-Yarroch, on the coast of Wigtonshire : there are divers names, beginning with *Port*, which are compounded with Celtic words, on the coast of North-Britain ; as *Port-Charran*, *Port-Cheillion*, *Port-Losset*, &c. in Argyle ; *Port-Cunan*, *Port-Gill*, *Port-Kale*, *Port-more*, &c. in Wigton ; *Port-Camuil*, *Port-Leak*, &c. in Sutherland ; *Port-Liech*, and *Port-Mohomack*, in Cromarty (9).

Carriack-Ram, a promontory, in Kirkmaiden parish, Wigtonshire ;

Ram-asa isle, north of Lismore, Argyleshire ;

Ram-saig, on a point in Skye, Inverness-shire ;

Ramfurlee, in Kilbarchan parish, Renfrewshire ;

Rome, near Crail, in Fife ;

Rome, in Scone parish, Perth ; and divers other names, beginning with *Ram* (10).

Rin is, in many instances, applied to a point ; as two large promontories are called *the Rins* of Galloway ;

Rindow point, between Wigton and Fleet bay ;

Rhinchewaig, a narrow point, in Loch-Ryan, Wigtonshire ;

Penrhyn Blathaon, the British name of Caithness point ;

East, and West, *Rynd*, on narrow points, in Perthshire ;

Rhind, a point in Clackmananshire.

(9) *Porth*, (Brit. Cornish, Armoric, and ancient Gaulish), signifies a *haven*, a *harbour* : *Port*, (Ir.), a *port*, a *haven*. The *Forth*, the great haven of Edinburgh, is merely the British *Porth* ; the *P* changing to *Ph*, and *F* : In the Irish, *P*, in the oblique case, becomes *Ph*.

(10) *Ram* is a very ancient word, which always signified high, noble, great ; as we may see in Calmet's Dict. of the Bible : so *Ram*, *Rama*, *Ramas*, signified something great, noble, or high. Holwell's Myth. Dict. *Ram*, *Rham*, in the British, signifies what projects or is forward ; *Rhamu*, to project, or go forward ; and *Rhamanta*, from the same root, to predict. *Ram*, *robur*, *pars extrema rei*, *margo terminus*. Wachter's Germ. Gloss. *Ram*, signifying a height, or elevation, is a *primitive* word. Geb. Gram. Univer., p. 182. And see the word *Rom*, having the same meaning. Geb. Monde

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Rin-more, on a point in Armington-hundred, Devonshire.

Ross, on a point formed by the junction of two waters, in Greytree-hundred, Herefordshire;

Ross, on a promontory South of Holy-island, on the coast of Northumberland.

Trwyn-y-park, a promontory,
Trwyn Melin point,
Trwyn-du point,
Trwyn Penrhosy feilw point,
Trwyn-y-Balog point,
Trwyn-y-Bylan point, Carnarvonshire;
Trwyn-Gogarth point, Denbighshire;
An-Tron (the point), in Kirrier-hundred, Cornwall.

} in Anglesey;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Rin-more, in Strathdon, Aberdeenshire;

Rin-more, in Cantire, Argyle (11).

Ross, a point in Berwickshire;

Ross-duy, and *Ross-Finlay*, small promontories in Loch-Lomond;

Ros-neath, on a promontory between Loch-Long and Loch-Gare;

Ross-keen, on a promontory in *Ross-shire*; and several other promontories are called *Ross* (12).

Trwyn point, on the coast of Kyle, Ayrshire;

Dun-troon point and castle, in Loch-Crinan, Argyle-shire;

Dun-troon, in Dundee parish, Forfarshire;

Turnberry-head (a corruption of *Trwynberry*) on the coast of Carrick, Ayrshire, and many names wherein *Stron* is applied to *points* or *projections* (13).

II. OF RIVERS, RIVULETS, AND WATERS.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Adder, a river in Wiltshire;

Adur, a river in Sussex.

Allen, rises in Denbighshire, and joins the Dee in Flintshire;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

White *Adder* and Black *Adder*, rivers in Berwickshire (1).

Allan joins the Teviot in Roxburghshire;

Prim., tom. 3. p. 64, 343. In fact, there is a *Ram-head* on the coast of Ireland; and one of the principal promontories in the Euxine was called the *Rams-head*. Clarke's *Connexion*, p. 53.

(11) The above and many other *Rins* have derived their names from *Rhyn* (British and Cornish), a *promontory*, a *hill*. *Rinn* (Ir.), a *promontory*, a *peninsula*, the *point* of any thing. In fact, *Rin* is also applied to a *point* in several names of places in Ireland, as *Rien* parish, on a long *point* in Clare county. Several *points* about Valentia island, in the county of Kerry, are called *Rins*.

(12) *Rhus* (Brit.) signifies a *start*, and is applied figuratively to a *promontory* in the same manner as the English *Start* point on the coast of Devonshire. *Ross* (Ir.), a *promontory*. *Ros*, in ancient Gaulish, signified a *promontory*, a *peninsula*. *Ross* appears frequently in the topography of Ireland applied in this sense. See Beaufort's map of Ireland, and the Index.

(13) *Trwyn* (Brit.), a *nose*, a *snout*. *Tron* (Cornish), a *nose*, a *promontory*. *Sron* (Ir.), a *nose*, a *snout*.

Aweddur (Brit.) signifies running water: whence, also, the name of the *Adur* river in Ireland.

In SOUTH-BRITAIN;

Allen, in Dorsetshire;
Alun, in Cornwall;
Alwen, in Merionethshire;
Aln falls into the sea at *Aln-mouth* in Northumberland: *Aln*, in Warwickshire.
Ald, in Suffolk;
Alt falls into the sea at *Alt-mouth* in Lancashire;
Alet, in Denbighshire (4).
Ayr, in Cardiganshire;
Are, or *Air*, in Yorkshire;
Arre joins the Tamar in Cornwall.
Amon joins the Lougher in Caermarthenshire;
Avon falls into the sea below Aberavon in Glamorganshire;
Avon joins the Taff in Glamorganshire;
Avon, in Gloucester, joins the Severn at Tewksbury;
Avon, in Wiltshire, falls into the Severn below Bristol;
Avon falls into the sea in Hampshire;

In NORTH-BRITAIN :

Allan joins the Tweed in Roxburghshire;
Allan joins the Forth in Perthshire;
Elwin, formerly *Alwen*, in Lanarkshire (2).
Aln joins the Teviot in Roxburghshire;
Aln, in Berwickshire (3).
Ald and *Alt* are prefixed to many names of rivulets, as *Ald-Bainac*, *Ald-Damph*, *Ald-Each*, in Aberdeenshire, etc., etc.
Ayr fall into the sea at *Ayr* in Ayrshire;
Aray falls into Loch-Fyne at Inveraray, Argyleshire (5).
Amon divides West and Mid-Lothian;
Amon joins the Tay in Perthshire (6).
Avon joins the Clyde in Lanarkshire;
Avon falls into the Forth between Stirlingshire and Linlithgowshire;
Avon joins the Spey at Inveravon in Banffshire;
Avon joins the Feugh in Kincardineshire;
Avon, in Logie-Easter, Ross-shire;
Avon joins the Annan in Dumfriesshire;

(2) All those rivers derive their names from *Alwen* (Brit.), *Alain* (Ir.), signifying a white or bright stream. In a charter of William the Lion to the monastery of Melros, in the twelfth century, the *Allan*, which joins the Tweed, is called *Alwen*, in the British form. Chart. Antiq. in Bibl. Harl.

(3) These names of *Aln* are, no doubt, abbreviations of *Alwen* or *Alen*, as before explained. The *Aln* in Roxburghshire, and the *Aln* in Berwickshire, are still further abbreviated *Ale* in common speech, but these names in old charters are *Aln*, and hence the name of Alnerum, a village on the banks of the Roxburghshire *Aln*, which is mentioned by the name of *Alna* in a charter of David to the monastery of Kelso in 1128. The *Elan* in Radnorshire, *Alaw* water in Anglesey, the *Alows* in Northumberland, the rivers *Aile* and *Allow* and Loch-*Allen* in Ireland, have probably derived their names from the same source.

(4) *Aled* (Brit.) signifies a moving or fluid principle, a running stream, a rivulet: *Ald* and *Alt* in Gaelic means a rivulet.

(5) *Air* (Brit.) signifies brightness, lucidity: and *Aer* means violence, tumult: whence also the name of the *Arun* in Sussex. *Are* is the name of many rivers in Europe, says Gebelin, as indeed the maps evince, particularly the *Are* in Switzerland. *Arw*, in the ancient Gaulish, signified *rapid*: so we have the *Arow* river in Herefordshire, and the *Arow* in Sligo, Ireland.

(6) *Amon* is merely a variation of *Avon*, as under, the *v* of the British changing to *m*; and in the sister dialect of the Irish the form of the word is *Amhan* and *Abhain*.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Avon joins the *Usk*, in Monmouthshire ;
Avon, or *Avon-Vane*, falls into the sea, in Merionethshire. *Avon* is the common appellation which is prefixed to the names of many rivers in Wales and Cornwall.

Bain joins the *Witham* in Lincolnshire ;

Banney in Yorkshire ;

Below joins the *Eden*, in Westmoreland ;

Berwin joins the *Tivy*, in Cardiganshire ;

Bran joins the *Usk* at *Aber-braen*, in Brecknockshire ;

Braen joins the *Towy*, in Caermarthenshire ;

Brant, of which there are two in Anglesey.

Calder joins the *Wire*, in Lancashire ;

Calder joins the *Ribble*, in Lancashire ;

Calder joins the *Air*, in the West-Riding of Yorkshire ;

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Avon is also prefixed to the names of many rivers ; as *Avon-Brouchag*, *Avon-Coll*, and *Avon-Loung*, in Ross-shire ; *Avon-Adail*, *Avon-Araig*, and *Avon-Laggan*, in Argyleshire, &c. (7).

Bainac, a small stream, falls into the *Dee* in Aberdeenshire.

Bannoc burn, in Stirlingshire (8).

Bello joins the *Lugar*, in Ayrshire (9).

Bervie falls into the sea at *Inver-bervie*, in Kincardineshire (10).

Bran joins the *Tay*, in Perthshire ;

Braan joins the *Connon*, in Ross-shire ;

Loch-Braon, in Ross-shire (11).

Calder joins the *Clyde*, in Lanarkshire ;

Calder in the south-west of Edinburghshire ;

Calder joins the *Nairn*, in Nairnshire ;

Calder, South, and *Calder*, North, in the north-east of Lanarkshire :

Calder.

(7) *Avon*, in the British, the Cornish, and Armoric, as well as in ancient Gaulish, signifies a river, a stream. *Abhain* and *Anhan* have the same meaning in the Irish ; and the word appears in the name of many rivers in Ireland. The Saxons took this general appellation for the proper name of particular rivers : hence so many waters are simply called *Avon*. In the same manner the Saxons adopted, as the proper name of many rivers, the British terms denoting their qualities, without the general appellative, which was coupled with these terms by the Britons ; and is still used by their descendants. This renders the sense of many of the Celtic names, as pronounced in English incomplete, unless where they are coupled ; as is generally done with the English appellative *river*, or *water* : so the *Du*, or *Dow*, is equally indefinite as the *black* ; but if it is called *Du-river*, or *Dow-water*, this comes up to the sense of the real Celtic names, *Avon-Du*, and *Uisge-Dow*. These general intimations are here given, to save the unnecessary repetition of them with the explanations, which are offered in these notes.

(8) These streams, as well as the *Bain* in Hertfordshire, the *Bamon* in Pembrokeshire, and the several rivers named *Ban*, in Ireland, derive their names from the Gaelic *Ban*, *Bain*, denoting the white colour of their water. *Bainac*, and *Bannoc*, are diminutives, being applied to small streams.

(9) *Bel-aw* (Brit.) signifies a tumultuous or raging stream : *Bal-aw* (Brit.) means an efflux of water.

(10) Those waters derive their names from the British *Beru*, to flow : *Berv*, *Bervy*, a boiling, or ebullition : whence also the name of *Bervie*-burn, a small stream in Kincardineshire.

(11) There is also the *Branic*, in Denbighshire ; and *Bran* appears in the names of several other streams. *Bran* (Brit.) signifies what *rises over*. *Bran*, in the old Gaelic, means a stream. *Bran*, says Macpherson, denotes in Gaelic a *mountain stream*. *Carric-thura*.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN ;

Calder falls into the sea in the south-west of Cumberland.

Calne joins the Avon in Wiltshire.

Cathie, in Caermarthenshire.

Char falls into the sea at Char-mouth in Dorsetshire ;

Char-well, in Northamptonshire ;

Char, a winding rivulet, falls into the Tarf in Brecknockshire ;

Carran joins the Severn in Gloucestershire.

Carno falls into the Severn, Montgomeryshire ;

Cerne falls into the Frome in Dorsetshire.

Churn falls into the Isis in Wiltshire.

Clyd runs through *Strath-Clyd* in Denbigh and Flint shires, and falls into the Irish Sea ;

Clydan and *Clydach* are the names of several streams in Wales.

Clwyn, in Flintshire.

Clun rises in Clun Forest, Shropshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Calder, in Badenoch, Inverness-shire ;

Calder, in the south of Renfrewshire (12).

Calner joins the Avon in Lanarkshire (13).

Cathie falls into the Don near *Aber-catie* in Aberdeenshire (14).

Char joins the Dye in Kincardineshire ;

Carron, in Stirlingshire ;

Carron, in Kincardineshire ;

Carron, in the north, and *Carron* in the south-west of Ross-shire ;

Carron, in Nithsdale, Dumfriesshire (15).

Cairn joins the Nith in Dumfriesshire ;

Cairn, a rivulet in Carrick, Ayrshire (16).

Churn, a rivulet in Perthshire (17).

Clyde runs through *Strath-Clyde*, in Lanarkshire, and falls into the Frith of Clyde ;

Cludan joins the Solway Frith, in the east of Galloway (18).

Clune, a rivulet in Moulin parish, Perthshire (19).

(12) *Cell-dur* (Brit.), signifies the hard water : and so does *Cath-dur*, in ancient Gaulish. *Cell-dur* (Brit.), and *Coill-dur* (Ir.), means the woody water. The banks of all the Calders in North-Britain are still covered with natural wood. Loch Lomond of the present time was anciently called by the British name of *Lyn-Caledur*, as we learn from Richard.

(13) There is also *Callen* river in Kilkenny, Ireland.

(14) Another small stream, named *Catie*, falls into the Dee, at Inver-Catie, in Aberdeenshire. Here we see the Irish *Inver* applied to the influx of one *Catie* into the Dee, and the British *Aber* applied to the influx of the other *Catie*, into the neighbouring river Don.

(15) The Celtic *Car*, of which *Char* is the oblique case, signifies a bending, a winding ; and *Carran* means the *winding water*, which is highly characteristic of all those *Carrons*, as well as of *Carron* river, in the county of Tyrone, Ireland. *Car-on* (Brit.), signifies a strong or rough stream, which is also applicable to the current of those rivers.

(16) *Carn* (Brit.), signifies a stoney or rough stream. These waters may, however, have derived their names from some *Cairns*, or funeral monuments of the ancient people, on their banks. There was a rivulet *Carn*, near Bodmin, in Cornwall ; as we may see in William of Worcester, 108.

(17) *Churn*, or *Chuirn*, is the oblique case of *Carn*.

(18) There is also a stream named *Clyde*, in Ireland. *Clyd* (Brit.), signifies warm, sheltered : so, these rivers derive their names from the warm sheltered nature of their vales or straths : the *Ystrad-Clyd*, in Wales, and *Strath-Clyde*, in North-Britain, are both remarkably warm valleys. The names of *Clydan* and *Clydach* are diminutives, and are applied to several streams that run through sheltered vales.

(19) *Cluain*, *Cluan* (Ir.), signifies a *sheltered place*. *Clon*, *Cluain* (Cornish), means a *den*.

IN SOUTH BRITAIN.

Corne, a rivulet, near Manchester, in Lancashire.
Corre, in Shropshire.

Cowen joins the Towa at Abercowen, Caermarthenshire.

Cray joins the Usk in Brecknockshire; *Cray* falls into the Derent in Kent.

Cunnon joins the Tawe in Glamorganshire.

Cunnon in Merionethshire.

Dairan in Caernarvonshire.

Derbeck joins the Trent in Nottinghamshire.

Dour, or *Doir*, joins the Minnow in Herefordshire.

Dean joins the Snite in Nottinghamshire (26).

Don runs by Doncaster, and joins the Aire in Yorkshire.

IN NORTH BRITAIN.

Cornie, a rivulet, falls into the Forth at Abercorn, Linlithgowshire.

Corry joins the S. Esk in Forfarshire (20).

Cowie falls into Stonehaven Bay in Kincardineshire.

Cree, or *Cray*, falls into the Solway in Gallo-way (21).

Connon runs through Strathconnon into Cromarty Frith, Ross-shire (22).

Dair joins the Clyde in Lanarkshire (23).

Durback joins the Nethy in Elginshire (24).

Dour falls into the Forth at Aberdour in Fifeshire (25).

Dean joins the Isla in Forfarshire.

Don falls into the sea at Aberdeen.

(20) *Cory* (Brit.) signifies what makes turns or rounds. *Cor* (Ir.) means a twist, a turn. The names of these streams may, however, have been taken from the glens or valleys through which they run. *Coiré* in the Gaelic, means a *deep hollow* or small valley.

(21) *Crai* (Brit.) signifies what is fresh or brisk: whence the name of the *Crue*, perhaps, which joins the Tawe at Aber-crue, in Glamorganshire.

(22) *Con-an* (Brit. and Ir.) signifies the narrow or contracted stream. *Cwn-an* (Brit.) means the water which is apt to rise; a quality that is remarkable in the Ross-shire Connon, from the number of mountain streams that fall into it. The *Conwy*, in Caernarvon, derives its name from the same source: the final *wy* and *an* both signifying water, a river.

(23) There is also the *Dery*, a small stream in Merionethshire. *Dar*, *Daran* (Brit.) mean the sonorous or noisy stream. *Dear*, in Bas-Breton, and *Der*, in ancient Gaulish, signify *rapid*. The *Dair* and the *Dairan* are both rapid and noisy. *Dyr*, in ancient Gaulish, means a water, a river being a variation of *Dur*.

(24) *Dur*, or *Dour*, in all the dialects of the Celtic, signifies *water*, and it is compounded in the names of rivers in Britain, in Ireland, and on the continent. *Dur-back* (Brit.). *Dur-beag* (Ir.) signify the small water. The names of these two streams may, however, have been formed by adding, pleonastically, the Saxon *bec*, signifying a torrent, a rivulet, to the previous Celtic appellation of *Dur*; so *Avon-river*, *Esk-water*, *Pow-burn*, *Aid-burn*, are pleonasms of the same nature, which were formed by adding synonymous Gothic or English words to the original Celtic terms.

(25) There is also the *Dour*, which falls into the sea at Aber-dour, in Aberdeenshire. These and various other streams derive their names from the Celtic *Dour*; *Dur* signifying water.

(26) *Dane* is the name of a stream which joins the Weever in Cheshire.

IN SOUTH BRITAIN.

Dun, in Lincolnshire.

Devon joins the Trent in Leicestershire.

Davon falls into the Weever in Cheshire.

Davon joins the Severn at Aberdavan, Glamorgan-shire.

Dee runs through Merioneth and Flint, and falls into the Irish sea.

Dee, in Louth county, Ireland.

Dwy-vaur, and *Dwy-vach* (the great *Dwy*, and little *Dwy*), in Arvon, Wales.

Dow falls into the Rye in Yorkshire.

Dove falls into the Trent in Derbyshire.

There is *Duwe* river in Kildare county, and several other streams of the same name in Ireland.

IN NORTH BRITAIN.

Down, or *Dun*, runs from Loch-*Down* into the Irish sea, in Ayrshire (26).

Devon runs through Glen Devon in Perthshire.

South-*Devon* falls into the Forth in Clackmannan-shire; Black-*Davon* in Fifeshire (27).

Dee falls into the sea at Aberdeen.

Dee falls into the Solway at Kirkcudbright, in Galloway (28).

Dye, in Kincardineshire.

Dye, in Berwickshire.

Dow-uisk, in Cunningham, Ayrshire.

Dow-uisk, in Carrick, Ayrshire.

Duff, or *Duv-rivulet*, in Forfarshire.

(26) *Dwn* (Brit.), *Don* (Ir.), signify a dark or dusky colour, such as these rivers exhibit from the mossy tinge of their waters. *Dwvyn* (Brit.), *Domhuin* or *Douin* (Ir.), mean *deep*, a quality for which the Aberdeenshire *Don* and the Ayrshire *Down* are remarkable. There is a river named *Don* in the county of Antrim, Ireland, and there are rivers of the same name on the continent.

(27) The name of both the *Devons* was formerly *Dovan*, as appears from a charter of Robert III. to the burgh of Inverkeithing. *Dobhan*, or *Dovan* (Ir.), signifies the boisterous or swelling water, which is highly characteristic of the Scottish *Devons*. This quality of the larger *Devon* struck Lord Stirling, who cries out:

“But, dangerous *Doven*, rumbling through the rockes,
“Would scorn the rainebowe with a new deluge.”

(28) *De* (Brit.), signifies impulse, action, and so denotes the rapid flow of those streams. *Dee*, in the name of those rivers may, however, be a variation of *Dwy* or *Dye*, which is the pronunciation of the British *Du*, signifying a black or dark colour: whence the rivers *Dwy* and *Dye* derived their names, owing to the dark colour of their waters. The British *Du* corresponds with the Irish *Dubh*, which is pronounced *Duv* and *Dow*; and hence *Dow* and *Dow-uisk*, the names of several streams in South and North-Britain, signify the *black water*. The *Dee* in Wales issues from Lyn-Tegid, and a stream which falls into the top of this lake is called *Du*. It is equally remarkable that the upper part of the Galloway *Dee* is called now the *Black water* of *Dee*. This, then, is a pretty plain intimation that the present names of *Dee* are merely variations of *Du*, *Dwy*, and denote the dark colour of the waters.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN:

Dowie, or *Dyvi*, falls into the sea at Aberdovy in Merionethshire.

Dulas joins the Wye in Brecknockshire.

Dulas joins the Towy, and falls into the sea in Caermarthenshire.

Dulas, two of this name fall into the Severn in Montgomeryshire.

Dulas joins the Dovey in Montgomeryshire.

Dulas joins the Neath in Glamorganshire.

Dulas joins the Stour in Dorsetshire.

Douglas falls into the mouth of the Riddle in Lancashire.

Doulas joins the Ython in Radnorshire.

Eden falls into the Solway Frith in Cumberland.

Eden falls into the Medway in Kent.

Esk in Devonshire.

Esk falls into the sea at Whitby in Yorkshire.

Esk falls into the sea at Ravenglas in Cumberland.

Eskir joins the Usk in Brecknockshire.

Ewes, a rivulet, joins the Tyne below Newcastle.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Duviè, or *Divie*, joins the Earn, or Findhorn, in Elginshire (29).

Douglas runs through Douglasdale, and joins the Clyde in Lanarkshire.

Douglas falls into Loch Fyne in Argyllshire.

Duglas falls into Loch Lomond at Inver-Uglas, Dumbartonshire.

Duglas, another stream of this name, falls into Loch Lomond at Inver-Uglas, eight miles above the former.

Duglas falls into the Yarrow in Selkirkshire (30).

Eden falls into the sea in Fifeshire.

Eden joins the Tweed in Roxburghshire (31).

Esk (South) and *Esk* (North) fall into the sea in Forfarshire.

Esk (South) and *Esk* (North) falls into the Forth near Inver-esk in Edinburghshire.

Esk falls into the Solway in Dumfries-shire (32).

Ewis, a rivulet, joins the Esk in Dumfries-shire (33).

(29) Those streams may have derived their names from the British *Du*, Irish *Dubh*, a black or dark colour; so *Duv-ui*, the black water; or from the British *Dwvui*, signifying the deep or full stream. The *Duviè* in Elginshire is remarkable both for its dark colour and for its depth.

(30) *Dulas* and *Du-glas* (Brit. and Ir.) signify the dark blue stream. The difference in the form of the name arose from the *g* being frequently dropped in composition by the British, whence *Du-glas* becomes *Du-las*. Near to the lower *Dulas*, which falls into Loch Lomond, another stream of lighter coloured water falls into the same lake, and is called *Fìn-tas*, signifying the *light*-blue water, in contradistinction to the *Du-glas*. This curious fact shows the acute discrimination of the Celtic people who imposed all those significant names.

(31) *Eddain* (Brit.) signifies a *gliding* stream. This is, in fact, the characteristic of all those rivers.

(32) The above rivers, and many other streams named *Esk* and *Uisk*, derive their appellations from *Esc*, *Wyse*, in ancient Gaulish, *Wysg* in British, *Easc*, *Uisg*, in Irish, signifying *water*, a *stream*, a *river*. This ancient word also forms the names of several streams in Ireland.

(33) *Ewis* is merely a varied form of *Uisg* or *Wysg*, hence, perhaps, the names of the several rivers *Ouse* in Britain.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Ey falls into the Stour in Leicestershire.
Eye (Little) falls into the Weilan in Leicester-shire. '
Yea joins the Parrot in Somersetshire.
Ewenny in Glamorganshire.
Fiddy joins the Tamar in Cornwall.
Fidin in Monmouthshire.
Gade falls into the Coln in Hertfordshire.
Garway in Caermarthenshire.
Garra, or *Garran*, in Herefordshire.
Gelt joins the Irthing in Cumberland.
Glen water in Leicestershire.
Grant falls into the Cambridgeshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Ey falls into the sea at Eyemouth, Berwickshire.
Ey joins the Dee at Inver-ey in Aberdeenshire.
 Loch-Ey in Ross-shire.
Ea joins the Annan in Dumfriesshire (34).
Eveny in Forfarshire (35).
Fiddich runs through Glen-Fiddich into the Spey
 in Banffshire (36).
Gadie joins the Urie in Aberdeenshire.
Garry joins the Tay in Perthshire.
Garry in Glen-garry, Inverness-shire (37).
Gelt joins the Luga in Ayrshire (38).
Glen water in Kirkcudbright Stewartry (39).
Grant falls into Cromarty Frith in Ross-shire (40).

(34) *Aw*, *Ew*, *Ea*, *Ey*, in the old Celtic, signify *water*, a *river*. *Aw* in the British means a *fluid*, a *flowing* water, and is the root of a number of words denoting fluidity. *Aw*, *Ew*, and *Ey*, says Gebelin, are primitive words that signify *water* everywhere in Europe. This ancient radical is still preserved in its simple form in the names of several other waters in Britain and Ireland, as the *Aw* river and *Loch-Aw* in Argyllshire; the *Aw*-beg, or little *Aw*, in Cork, Ireland; the *Ew* river and *Loch-Ew* in Ross-shire; the *Ea* river and *Loch-Ea* in Ireland. It also forms a compound in the names of a number of British and Irish waters.

(35) These are merely the diminutives of *Aven*, a river, a stream. Vulgar pronunciation has in other instances converted the *Avon* into *Evan*, as *Evan-dale* for *Avon-dale* in Lanarkshire, *Evan-dale* for *Avon-dale* in Gloucestershire.

(36) *Fwd-uy*, *Fwd-au*, and *Fwd-ach* (Brit.) signify a *rapid water*. This is characteristic of the Fiddich in Banffshire; but as the glen through which it runs is full of wood, the name may be derived from *Fiodhach* (Ir.), signifying *woody*.

(37) *Garw* (Brit.), *Garbh* (Ir.), signify what is rough, a torrent; whence also the characteristic names of *Garre* river in Ross-shire, *Gara* river and *Loch-Gara* in the county of Sligo, Ireland, and a number of smaller torrents named *Garv-ald* and *Ald-garve*.

(38) The above streams may have derived their names from the British *Gel*, signifying *aptness to flow*.

(39) Those waters, like many others, have taken their names from the valleys through which they run. *Glyn* (Brit.), *Gleann* (Ir.) signify a *valley* more deep and narrow than the dale to which the Irish *Strath* is applied.

(40) *Grant* (Ir.) signifies *grey*; *Gran* (Brit.) means precipitous, shelvy.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Irvon falls into the Wye in Brecknockshire.
Ken runs by Kendal, and falls into the sea in Westmoreland.
Ken joins the *Ex* in Devonshire.
Lavern falls into Lyn-Tegid in Merionethshire.
Leith in Westmoreland joins the Eden.
Laith, which is now called *Dyfi*, in Merionethshire.
Leder joins the Conway in Caernarvonshire.
Leven falls into the sea at Port-Leven in Cornwall; *Leven*, composed of the White *Leven* and Black *Leven*, falls into the Solway Frith in Cumberland; *Leven* falls into Morecambe-bay in Lancashire.
Liver falls into the Lemerid in Cornwall.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Irvine falls into the sea in Ayrshire (41).
Ken in Galloway, after receiving smaller streams, forms Loch-*Ken*, and then takes the name of the inferior Dee, which joins it (42).
Laveran joins the White Cart in Renfrewshire (43).
Leith falls into the Forth in Edinburghshire.
Leith-an joins the Tweed in Peeblesshire (44).
Leader joins the Tweed in Berwickshire (45).
Leven runs from Loch-Lomond, which was anciently called Loch-*Leven*, into the Frith of Clyde at Dumbarton; *Leven* runs from Loch-*Leven* into the Frith of Forth at Leven; Loch-*Leven* in Argyllshire (46).
Liver falls into Loch-Aw at Inver-*Liver* in Argyllshire (47).

(41) The above streams probably derived their names from the verdure of their banks. *Ir-vin* (Brit.) signifies a *green margin*.

(42) *Cuin* (Brit.) signifies *white*, *clear*, or *beautiful*, whence also the names of the *Cuin* in Merionethshire, the *Ken*, a rivulet in Somersetshire, the *Kennet* that joins the Thames in Berkshire, and *Kennen* in Caermarthenshire, which are merely diminutives of *Ken*. There are several rivers in Wales named *Can-dur*, that is, the *white* or *bright* water.

(43) *Llavar* (Brit.), *Labhar* (Ir.), means *sonorous*, *sounding*, or *noisy*. *Laver-an*, the noisy stream.

(44) The general characteristic of these streams is their swelling suddenly into a flood; and from this circumstance they appear to have got their names from the British *Llith*, signifying a *flood* or inundation. *Leith-an* is the diminutive.

(45) *Lai-dur* (Brit.) signifies the muddy or discoloured water. The *Leader* is frequently discoloured by a mixture of reddish mud which is washed down by the stream. The name may also be derived from the British *Lai-dur*, signifying the *lesser water*, as both these streams are small compared to the rivers which they join. *Laidur* was no doubt the old name of these waters, as the vale of the *Leader* is still called *Lauder-dale*, and the town on its banks *Lauder*. Camden, indeed, calls it the riveret of *Lader*.

(46) There are also other rivers of this name, as the *Leven* in Gloucestershire and the *Leven* in Yorkshire. The names of the whole are derived from *Lleven* (Brit.), *Levn* (Corn.), signifying *smooth*, which is characteristic of all those riverets.

(47) *Lliv-er* (Brit.) signifies the *floody water*, whence also the rivers *Liffur* and *Liffy* in Ireland derived their names, being apt to flood.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Lyn joins the Ouse at Lynn-Regis in Norfolk.
Line falls into the sea in Northumberland.
Line falls into the Trent in Nottinghamshire.

Line in Cumberland.

Lain or *Layn*, a rivulet, joins the *Allain* near Bodmin in Cornwall.

Lue falls into *Lyn-Tegid* in Merionethshire.

Luyan in Caernarvonshire.

Lougher falls into the sea in Caermarthenshire.

Lune or *Luone* falls into the sea in Yorkshire.

Lune falls into the Tees in Yorkshire.

Luny falls into the sea in Cornwall.

Lyd joins the Tamar in Cornwall.

Lyd joins the Thrushel in Devonshire.

Lidden joins the Stour in Dorsetshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Lyne joins the Tweed in Peeblesshire.

Lyne falls into the Frith of Forth in Fifeshire.

Lyon rises from *Loch-Lyon* and joins the *Tay* in Perthshire.

Loin or *Lyon* runs through *Loch-Lyon* and joins *Moriston* river in Inverness-shire.

Loin joins the *Avon* in Banffshire.

Various rivulets in Galloway are called *Lane* (48).

Luy joins the *Dee* in Braemar, Aberdeenshire.

Lewie, a rivulet, joins the *Proson* in Forfarshire (49).

Lugar joins the *Ayr* in Ayrshire.

Locher in Dumfriesshire.

Locher joins the *Gryffe* in Renfrewshire (50).

Lunan falls into the sea in *Lunan* parish, Forfarshire.

Lunan, a rivulet, joins the *Airdle* in Perthshire (51).

Lid, which is now called *Lid-dal*, runs through *Lid'sdale* in Roxburghshire, and joins the *Esk* in Dumfriesshire (52).

(48) *Llyn* (Brit.) signifies what proceeds or is in motion, what flows, water, a lake, a pool. The word appears in the names of a number of running waters as well as lakes. *Llion* (Brit.) is the plural of *Lli*, a flood, a stream. *Loin* in the Gaelic signifies a *rivulet*, whence several small streams in Galloway are termed *Lane*, which is merely a modern corruption of the Gaelic word.

(49) *Lua* (Ir.) signifies *water*, and *Lua'* means *swift*; *Llu* (Brit.) denotes what has aptitude of motion, and *Llu* signifies what is all in motion. The *Luy* in Braemar is a rapid mountain stream.

(50) There is also a stream named *Locher* in Lanarkshire. *Lluwchur* (Brit.), *Lochur* (Ir.) mean a stream that forms pools, and thus is descriptive of all those waters. *Lugyr* or *Loegyrr* (Brit.) signifies what breaks out. This is applicable to the Ayrshire *Lugar*, which bursts out into floods.

(51) There is also the *Lune* in Durham, and the *Lune* or *Loyne* that falls into the Irish sea in Lancashire. *Lun*, *Lon*, *Lyn*, and *Linn* are merely varied forms in different dialects of the same Celtic word, signifying what is in motion or what flows, water, a lake, a pool. It appears somewhat differently formed in the names of a number of lakes and waters, particularly such as form pools in their course, like the riverets above-mentioned. The *Lunan* in Angus, from its tranquil flow, settles into a number of small pools, and it runs through three considerable lakes. *Lunan* and *Luny* are diminutive forms of the word. *Llon* (Brit.) signifies *tranquil*, and *Llon-an* or *Llon-uy*, the tranquil water, a characteristic which is applicable to the still flow of those several streams.

(52) *Llid* (Brit.) signifies a violent effusion, a gush, a gushing. *Lid* in ancient Gaulish

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

May falls into the sea in Caernarvonshire.

Milk, a rivulet, joins the Tyne in Durham.

Medlock, a rivulet at Manchester, in Lancashire.

There are in Lancashire the *Medlock*, the *Calder*, and the *Douglas*.

Nerer, or *Nevern*, falls into the sea in Pembroke-shire.

Nil, or *Nith*, joins the Ouse in Yorkshire.

Neth, or *Neath*, and *Neath-Vachan* (Little *Neath*) both fall into the sea in Glamorgan-shire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

May joins the Earn at Inver-may in Perth-shire (52).

Milk joins the Annan in Dumfriesshire (53).

Medlock, a rivulet, joins the Clyde in Lanarkshire (54). There are in Lanarkshire the *Medlock*, the *Calder*, and the *Douglas*.

Naver, or *Navern*, runs from Loch-Naver, through Strath-Naver, into the sea in Sutherland (55).

Nith, formerly *Nil*, falls into the Solway Frith in Dumfriesshire.

Nethy in Perth, *Nethy* in Elgin, and *Nethan* in Lanarkshire (56).

signified hasty, *rapid*. This description is characteristic of the *Lid* in Roxburghshire; as indeed we learn from Armstrong, who was born on this mountain stream :

“ —————the crystal rivulet, that o’er

“ A stoney channel, rolls its *rapid* maze,

“ Swarms with the silver fry.”

Drummond, in his *Forth Feasting*, mentions the “ *Lid*, with curled streams,” whence we learn that the secondary name *Lid-dal* is a modern corruption, by confounding the Saxon term for the valley with the British name of the river. In the same manner, *Tweed* is corruptly called *Twed-dal* in the poem of Peebles to the Play; and a stream in Gloucestershire is now called *Aven-dale* or *Evan-dale*. The *Lyd* in Devonshire, forms a remarkable cataract at Lyd-ford.

(52) *Mai*, *My-ai*, (Brit.) signified the agitated or troubled water, and is, in fact, highly descriptive of those streams.

(53) *Milk* is the modernized form of *Melc*, the ancient name of those streams. In a number of charters during the twelfth century the *Milk* in Dumfriesshire is uniformly written *Melc*; and the place at its influx into the Annan is called *Aber-melc* in the *Inquisitio* of David, anno 1116. These coincidences prove that the name *Melc* is as old as British times, and must have been applied by the first people. As the word has been long obsolete in the language of their descendants, its proper meaning cannot easily be traced.

(54) *Med-loc*, or *Med-luc*, says Whitaker, is a compound of two British words which signify water or a quantity of water. Hist. Manchester, v. i., p. 290. *Mawd-luch* (Brit.) signifies a slow flowing water that settles into pools, and this applies to the qualities of both these streams; whence also the name of the *Mawdd-ach* (slow stream) in Merionethshire.

(55) *Never* (Brit.) signifies the gentle stream. *Var. Par.* signify water: and hence the names of many rivers, lochs, and streams. Geb. Monde Prim., v. vii., p. 12-83. So *Va-var* may mean simply the water. The river *Var-ar* was the ancient boundary of the Roman dominions in North-Britain, and is now called Beaulieu river; but the valley through which it runs is still called Strath-*farar*. There is a *Varus* river in Ptolemy’s map of Gaul.

(56) *Nedd*, or *Neth* (Brit.), denotes a stream that forms whirls or turns. This etymon applies well to the whirling roll of the Nith and Nethys. *Nethy* and *Nethan* are diminutives of the word.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Ore falls into Orford haven; and
Or-well falls into Orwell haven in Suffolk.

Pever falls into the Weever in Cheshire.

Poole, on an inlet of the sea in Dorsetshire.
Liver-Pool, at the mouth of the Mersey in Lancashire.

Rye joins the Darwin in Yorkshire.
Rey joins the Isis in Wiltshire.
Shele falls into the Tyne in Northumberland.

Taw falls into the Bristol Channel in Devon.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Ore joins the Lochty in Fifeshire.

Orr, or *Urr*, runs from Loch-*Urr* into the Solway Frith in Galloway (57).

Peffer (East) and *Peffer* (West) unite and fall into the sea in Haddingtonshire (58).

There are divers creeks or inlets of the sea around the west coast of North-Britain which are called *Pool*, as *Ulla-pool*, *Pool-Ew*, *Pool-iculen* in Ross-shire (59).

Rye joins the Garnock in Dal-ry parish, Ayrshire (60).

Sheil Water and Loch-*Sheil* in the north-west of Inverness-shire.

Tay in Perthshire falls into the sea at *Aber-Tay* (61).

(57) *Oer* (Brit.) cold, of a cold nature; but these streams probably derived their names from the British *Wyr*, denoting their brisk flow. *Ur*, *Or*, in Bas-Breton, signify *embouchure*. *Ura*, in Basque, is applied to a water, a river. See *Ure*, *Ury*, after.

(58) There is also a stream named *Peffer*, which runs through Strath-*Peffer* into the Cromarty Frith in Ross-shire; and a rivulet of the same name falls into the sea at Inver-*Peffer* in Forfarshire.

(59) *Pwell* (Brit.), *Poull* (Armoric), *Poll* (Gaelic) signify a ditch, a standing water, a pool. *Pwell* and *Poull*, in the ancient language of Gaul had the same meaning. Bullet. The Anglo-Saxon *Pol*, and the English *Pool*, are from the British *Pwl*. This word is in all the dialects of the Celtic, but not in any of the pure Gothic dialects.

(60) There is also a stream named *Rei*, or *Rea* in Oxfordshire; a *Rea* in Shropshire; and a *Rhiw* in Montgomeryshire. *Rhe* (Brit.), *Rea*, *Rica* (Ir.) signify swift, rapid, a rapid course. The *Rye* in Ayrshire is a rapid stream. *Ri* and *Rhiu*, in ancient Gaulish, signified a *stream*, and the term is still retained in Auvergne. Bullet. *Rhiu* is doubtless the root of the modern French *Ruisseau*.

(61) There is also the *Taw* in Glamorganshire; the *Ta-Loch* in Wexford, and *Tay* river in Waterford, Ireland. *Ta*, *Taw* (Brit.), signify what spreads or expands, also tranquil, quiet. *Tay* is the English pronunciation of the British *Taw*. Both these fine rivers are remarkable for their noble expansions. The *Tay* in the latter part of its course expands into a frith twenty miles long, and from one to three miles broad; and in the same manner the Devonshire *Tau* spreads out into a frith eight miles long and one mile broad. The Solway Frith, from its expanse, was actually called *Tau* by the Britons at the epoch of Agricola's invasion, as we learn from Tacitus, who has the same word under the form of *Tau*. The antiquaries were deluded by their own inattention to apply the *Tau* of Tacitus to the *Tay* in Perthshire.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Tame in Buckinghamshire; *Tame* in Staffordshire. *Teivi*, or *Tivy*, rises at Llyn *Teivi*, and falls into the sea in Cardiganshire; *Tavy*, or *Theve*, falls into the Tamar in Devonshire. *Turch* joins the Tawye in Brecknockshire; *Turch* in Montgomeryshire. *Tweed* in Cheshire. [Carey.] *Tyne* South and *Tyne* North falls into the sea at Tynemouth in Northumberland; *Tyne* joins the Trent in Staffordshire; *Teyn* or *Teign* falls into the sea at Teignmouth. *Uske* rises in Brecknock, and falls into the sea in Monmouthshire. *Wisk* joins the Swale in Yorkshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Tema joins the Ettrick in Selkirkshire (62). *Teviot*, or *Tiviot*, runs through Teviotdale, and joins the Tweed in Roxburghshire (63). *Turk* runs through Glen-Turk in Perthshire; *Turky*, a rivulet in Forfar (64). *Tweed* in Berwickshire (65). *Tyne* runs by Tynningham into the sea in Haddingtonshire; *Tynet*, a rivulet, falls into the sea in Banffshire; *Tian* falls into the sea in Jura Island, Argyllshire (66). *Uisge-duv* joins the Earn in Elginshire. *Du-uisk* (Black-Uisk) in Cunningham; and *Du-uisk* in Carrick, Ayrshire.

(62) The above riverets, as well as the *Tame* in Devonshire and the *Tame* in Cheshire, derive their names from the British *Tam*, *Tem*, expanding or spreading, which are derivatives of *Ta*, *Taw*. *Tam* in the ancient Gaulish was applied to a river, a running water. Bullet connects it with the Greek *Potamos*. Gebelin exhibits the same word differently: ИОГ-АМОs, fleuve; mot-à-mot, eau grande.

(63) *Teivi*, or *Tavi* (Brit.), signifies what expands or spreads; what has a tendency to expand or spread. *Tevig*, expanding, spreading over. The characteristic of these several streams is a tendency to spread. The root of all these names is *Ta*, *Taw*, what spreads or expands; whence the names of the *Tave* in Glamorganshire, the *Tave* in Pembrokeshire, and others. *Tav* in ancient Gaulish was applied to a water, a river, the same as in Britain.

(64) There are also the *Turch* that falls into Lyn Tegid in Merionethshire, and another streamlet named *Turch* which joins the Cothy in Caermarthenshire. *Turch* (Brit.) signifies what burrows or goes into the ground, and hence it is the appellative for a swine. *Turc* in Armoric, and *Turc*, *Torc* in Irish, have the same meaning. On the Turk in Perthshire there are several hideous dens, one of which, tradition says, was the haunt of a wild boar which infested the country.

(65) *Tuedd* (Brit.) signifies what is on a side or border; the border or limit of a country.

(66) A small stream named *Teyn* joins the Dove in Derbyshire. *Tuin* in the British anciently signified a river, a running water, the same as *Avon*. *Tain* signified the same in the ancient Gaulish; and in the kindred dialect of the Irish it still means water. It appears in somewhat varied forms in the name of a number of streams. In the country of the Vecturiones in North-Britain there is a river named *Tina*. Ptolomy.

In SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Uske-vachan (Little *Uske*) joins the *Uske* in Brecknockshire.

Ure in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

Willy joins the *Avon* at Salisbury in Wiltshire.

Yarro joins the *Douglas* in Lancashire.

Yare falls into the sea at Yarmouth in Norfolk.

Yare joins the *Ex* in Devonshire.

Ython falls into the *Wye* in Radnorshire.

In NORTH-BRITAIN :

Uisque-vagh-Loch in Benbecula-Island, Inverness-shire (67).

Urie joins the *Don* at Inverurie, Aberdeen (68).

Avon-Uille, the old name of the river Helmsdale in Sutherlandshire (69).

Yarrow joins the *Ettrick* in Selkirkshire (70).

Yair, a rivulet, falls into the *Tweed* in Selkirkshire.

Ythan falls into the sea in Aberdeenshire (71).

III. OF MISCELLANEOUS DISTRICTS

In SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Bala, at the issue of the *Dee*, from *Llyn Tegid* in Merionethshire.

In NORTH-BRITAIN :

Balloch, the old name of *Taymouth*, where the river issues from *Loch Tay* in Perthshire.

(67) *Wysg* (Brit.), *Uisge* and *Easc* (Ir.), *Wysc* and *Esc* in ancient Gaulish, signify a current, a course, a stream, a water. This word, in a slightly varied form, is common to all the dialects of the Celtic, and is still retained in the names of many waters.

(68) A small stream named *Owrie* joins the *Avon* at Inver-Owrie in Banffshire; and there is the *Avon Ure* in Roscommon, and *Urrin* river in Wexford, Ireland. The names of all these are from the same source as the *Ore* and *Ur* before-mentioned. *Guyr* in composition, *Wyr* (Brit.), *Ur* (Ir.), signify what is pure, lively, or brisk; so *Avon-Wyr*, the pure stream, or the brisk flowing stream. This characteristic is applicable to the *Urie* in Aberdeenshire, the *Owrie* in Banffshire, the *Ur* in Galloway, and the *Ore* in Fife. *Or*, *Owr*, in ancient Celtic, are applied to streams of water, and so is *Ura* in the Basque.

(69) The *Avon Uile*, or *Iligh*, in Sunderland, is the *Ila* of Richard's map, and has its name, like the other *Ilas* in North-Britain, from their rising rapidly after rains. *Y-llif*, or *Y-lliv* (Brit.), signifies the flood, and *Avon-Uile* (Ir.) means the floody river. The *Ila* in Forfarshire is called *Hylef* by Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century. This shows that the British name was then unchanged except by prefixing the aspirate *h* as in pronunciation.

(70) The *Yarrow* in Selkirkshire is a rough, rapid stream, as the name denotes. *Gare* in Bas-Breton signified rapid. *Garw* (Brit.), *Garbh* (Ir.), denotes what is rough or rugged, a torrent. These by inflection become *Gharw*, which in composition is pronounced *Yarw*; so *Yarro* and *Yarrow* are merely variations of *Garra*, *Garway*, *Garry*, before explained. In the Scottish as well as the old English *g* is frequently changed to *y*, as *Yod* for *God*, *yate* for *gate*, *yere* for *give*, etc.

(71) The *Ythan* in Aberdeenshire is the *Ituna* of Richard, and has the same origin with the *Ituna* or *Eden* which falls into the *Solway*. They all derive their descriptive names from the British *Edduin*, or *Ethain*, which signifies gliding. The *Ithan* in Aberdeenshire is a slow running stream. The *Ithan* in Hampshire derives its name from the same source.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Bala, the issue from a lake near Snowdon, in Caernarvonshire.

Bangor, a town and Bishop's See in Caernarvonshire; *Bangor*, a parish in Cardigan-shire; *Bangor*, in Mailers-Hundred, Flintshire.

Barry, a village and a church; and *Barry Isle*, in Denis, Powis-Hundred, Glamorganshire.

Brody, in Dewysland-Hundred, Pembrokeshire.

Cil is the prefix to many names every where in South-Britain; as *Kil-cwm*, *Kil-sant*, *Kil-y-con*, in Caernarthen; *Kil-garran*, *Kil-redin*, &c., in Pembroke; *Kil-kenin*, *Kil-uellon*, *Kil-wyn*, in Cardigan; *Kil-owen*, in Flintshire; *Kil-gwri*, in Cheshire; *Kil-stock* parish, in Somerset; *Kil-dale* and *Kil-low* parish, in Yorkshire; *Kil-mersdon* parish, in Somerset; *Kil-pisham* parish, in Rutland; and many others.

Carn is a compound in many names of places in Wales and Cornwall; as *Carn-dydel*, *Carn-Llenduel*, *Carn-wen*, *Carn-vadrine*, *Carn-Headwll*, *Carn-llyad*, in Wales: *Carn-Bin*, *Carn-Eglos*, *Carn-glas*, *Carn-hell*, *Carn-kie*, *Carn-sew*, in Cornwall.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Balloch, near the issue of Leven river from Loch Lomond (1).

Bangor, in the middle of Linlithgowshire; *Bangor-Mount*, in the north of Haddingtonshire; *Banchory-Tarnan*, and *Banchory-Devinick*, two parishes in Kincardineshire (2).

Barry Parish, in Forfarshire; *Barry Castle and Hill*, in Alyth parish, Perthshire; *Barry*, in the Boyne, Banffshire (3).

Brodie, in the parish of Dyke, Elginshire (4).

Cil is the prefix to many names every where in Scotland; as *Kilbride*, of which there are eighteen; *Kil-chattan*, of which there are six; *Kil-columkil*, of which there are eight; *Kil-donan*, of which there are ten; *Kil-michael*, of which there are six; *Kil-mory*, of which there are eleven; *Kil-patrick* and *Kil-phe-dir*, of which there are eight; and many others (5).

Carn, or *Cairn*, is a compound in many names of places in North-Britain; as *Carn-bee*, *Carn-gour*, *Carn-ock*, in Fife; *Carn-muck*, *Cairn-banno*, *Cairn-bulg*, *Cairn-glass*, in Aberdeen; *Carn-both*, *Carn-brue*, *Carn-wath*, &c., in Lanark (6).

(1) *Bala* (Brit.) signifies a discharge or issue, the issue of a river from a lake.

(2) *Bangor* (Brit.) *Ban-cor* means the principal row or circle, the upper and thickest row in a wattle-fence; metaphorically it means a *defence* or *security*, and was the name of some noted monasteries: one in Flintshire, one in Caernarvonshire, one in Ireland, and one in Belleisle, on the coast of Brittany. In compounding *Ban* and *cor* the British turn it into *Bangor*, and the Irish into *Ban-chor*. The adjuncts *Tarnan* and *Devinick* are the names of the two patron saints.

(3) *Barry* is from *Bar* (Brit.), *Barr* (Ir.) signifying the top, the summit, or end. *Bar* (Brit.) means a bush; it signified formerly, in Welsh, a *Bush* of sprigs, branches, or hair, saith Ed. Lhuyd; the plural is *Baran*: so there is *Barra-Bush* in Barra parish, Haddingtonshire.

(4) *Bro-ty*, or *Bro-dy* (Brit.), means the house in the lowland or plain country. This applies strongly to Brodie, in Elginshire.

(5) *Cil* (Brit.), signifies a recess, a retreat; *Ceall*, *Ceil*, *Cill* (Ir.), means a retreat; a *Cell*, a *chapel*, a burial place; and hence the *Cil* or *Kil* became the prefix to the names of so many parishes. A number of names all over Ireland have the prefix *Kil*. See the Index to Beaufort's Map, and Archdall's Monast. Hiber.

(6) *Carn*, in the British and Irish, as well as in ancient Gaulish, signifies a prominence, a heap, a

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN :

Craig is a compound in many names of places in Wales; as *Craig-du*, in Denbigh, *Craig-du-gannol*, and *Craig-du-uchaf*, and *Craig-y-Pistyll*, in Merioneth, *Pen-craig*, in Anglesey, *Pen-craig-vach* in Glamorgan, &c.

Curry, a parish in Kirrier-hundred, in Cornwall; *Curry* parish, in Abdick-hundred; *Curry*, in North Curry-hundred; and *Curry*, in Bulston-hundred, Somersetshire.

Caer, or *Car*, signifying a fort, is a compound in the names of several places; as *Caer-narvon*, *Caer-marthen*, *Caer-hean*, *Caer-soose* Castle, *Caer-went*, *Caer-philly* Castle, *Caer-giby*, *Caer-wis*, &c., in Wales; *Car-goal*, *Car-hallock*, *Car-lisle*, *Car-minnow*, *Car-hayes*, &c., in Cornwall; *Cair-nerven* castle in Cumberland.

Derri, in Anglesey; *Derry*, in Caerphilly-hundred, Glamorganshire; *Dery* water, in Merionethshire.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Craig is a compound in many names of places in North-Britain: as *Craig-leith* and *Craig-millar*, in Edinburghshire; *Craig-darroch* and *Craig-dow*, in Ayr; *Craig-nethan* and *Craig-nith*, in Lanark; *Craig-beath* and *Craig-kelly*, in Fife; *Craig-an-gour* and *Craig-na-cat*, in Aberdeen (7).

Curry parish and *Curry*, in Borthwick parish, Edinburgh; *Curry duff*, in Forfar; *Curry-dow*, *Curry-hill*, in Kirkcudbright, and a number of *Corrys* (8).

Caer, or *Car*, signifying a fort, is a compound in the names of several places; as *Caer-lave-rock* and *Wester Ker*, in Dumfries; *Car-riden*, in Linlithgow; *Car-luke*, *Car-stairs*, *Car-munnoch*, and *Car-michael* parishes, in Lanark; *Car-minnow*, in Kirkcudbright; *Ker-chesters*, in Roxburgh; at which places are the remains of fortifications (9).

Derry, several in Wigton; *Derry*, in Perth; *Derry*, in Forfar; *Derry-du*, in Elgin; *Derry-meanoch* and *Derry-more* forests, in Sutherland, &c. (10).

pile: and hence *Carn* was the term for the tumuli or funeral monuments, which the Celtic people raised to commemorate their fallen warriors. *Carn*, in the Cornish, means a high rock, a collection of rocks, a rocky place. The word *Cairn* is applied in the names of hills: to some from having *Cairns* on their tops; to others, metaphorically, from their resemblance to a *Cairn* or heap.

(7) *Craig*, in the British and Irish, as well as in ancient Gaulish, signifies a rock, a rocky height. The word is still used in the Scoto-Saxon language of North-Britain, as well as in the common speech of South-Britain.

(8) *Coiré* and *Cuiré*, in Gaelic, signifies a deep hollow, a ravine, and is frequently applied in the topography to deep narrow glens; *Currie* and *Corrie* are the forms which the word has acquired in English pronunciation.

(9). *Caer*, in the British and Cornish, as well as in the ancient Gaulish, and *Ca'ir*, in Irish, signify a wall or mound, a fortress. The remains of many British forts along the Forth, which had opposed the Roman progress into North-Britain, still bear the ancient appellation of *Caer* in the corrupted form of *Keir*.

(10) *Dar*, in the British and ancient Gaulish, signifies *oak*, oakwood; plur. *Deri*: so *Dar*, in the Cornish; plur. *Deru*. *Dair*, Ir., means *oak*; and *Doiré*, a thicket, a grove, a wood, properly of oaks; in several parts the word is pronounced *Derrie* and *Dirrie*.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN:

Dol, signifying a flat field or meadow, is applied in the names of many places, as *Dole* and *Dol-gelly* in Merioneth, *Dol-anag*, *Dol-arthan*, *Dol-gadvan*, *Dol-obran*, *Dol-y-corslwyn*, *Dol-y-fondy*, in Montgomeryshire.

Dysart church in Radnor, *Dyserth* castle in Flint, *Dyserth* in Montgomery, *Dysart* in Brecknock, and *Dysard* in Cornwall.

Egles-thorn parish, Yorkshire; *Egles-ton*, several in Dorset, Durham, and Lancaster; *Eglos-hale* and *Eglos-kerry* parishes in Cornwall; *Eglwys-brewis* and *Eglwys-yban* parishes in Glamorgan; *Eglwys-kemen* parish in Caermarthen; *Eglwys-vach* parish in Denbigh; *Eglwys-aley* parish in Anglesey; *Eccles* hall in Stafford; *Eccles*, two parishes of this name in Norfolk.

Forden chapel and parish in Montgomeryshire; *Fordon* in Dickering-hundred, Yorkshire; *Fordon* in Shropshire.

Glas is a compound in the names of divers places, as *Glas-comb* parish in Radnor, *Glas-coed* in Denbigh, *Glas-ter* in Pembroke, *Pen-glass* in Cardigan, *Glas-an* in Cumberland, *Glas-*

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

Dol and *Dal*, signifying a flat field or meadow, are applied in the names of many places, as *Doll* and *Dollar* in Clackmannan, *Doll* in Forfar, *Doll* in Fife, *Dol-danid* and *Dollhead* in Perth, *Doll-as* parish in Elgin, etc., and a number of names beginning with *Dal* (11).

Dysart town and parish in Fifeshire; *Dysart* in Maryton, Forfarshire; *Clachan-Dysart* was formerly the name of Glenorchy parish, Argyllshire (12).

Eagles-ham parish in Renfrewshire; *Eagles-carnie* in Haddington; *Eccles-john* in Forfarshire; *Eccles-fechan* parish in Dumfries; *Eccles-greig* (now St. Cyrus) parish in Kincardineshire; *Eccles-machan* parish in Linlithgow; *Eccles-magirdle* in Perthshire; *Eccles* parish in Berwickshire (13).

Fordun parish in Kincardineshire; *Fordun* in Auchterarder parish, Perthshire (14).

Glass is a compound in the names of divers places, as *Glas-gow* town and *Glas-bin* in Lanark, *Glas-boys* in Aberdeen, *Glas-cloon*, *Glas-corry*, and *Glas-choil* in Perth, *Glas-dur*

(11) *Dol* in the British and ancient Gaulish, and *Dal* in Irish, signifies a low, plain field, a fruitful or pleasant mead on a river side.

(12) There are divers churches in Ireland called by this name, as *Dysart* church in Louth, *Dysert* church in Roscommon, *Dysart* church in Kerry, *Dysart* church in Queen's county, *Dysart* ruins and *Kil-dysart* in Clare, *Desart* church in Cork, *Desart-creat* church in Tyrone, *Dysart* lodge in Meath, etc. *Dyserth* castle in Flint is said to be so named from its high situation. Lew. Morris's Celtic Remains. *Serth* (Brit.), steep.

(13) *Eglwys* (Brit.), *Egles* and *Eglos* (Cornish), *Eaglais* (Ir.), signify a church. In a charter of King William, and in a Bull of Pope Celestine III. in 1195, the church of St. Ninian, near Stirling, is called *Egglis*, which name was changed in the thirteenth century to the Scoto-Saxon *Kirk-town*; hence also the French *Eglise*.

(14) *Ford* (Brit. and Corn.) signifies a passage, a road, a way.

IN SOUTH-BRITAIN:

brook in Lancashire. *Glas-cote* in Warwick, *Glas-neth* and *Glas-on* in Cornwall, etc.

Kelly, *Kellio*, *Killi-gorick*, *Kille-helan*, *Killy-verth*, *Kille-vose*, *Killy-worgy*, and several other villages in Cornwall; *Kelli-gate*, *Kele-kenyn*, *Kelle-ayron*, etc., in Wales; *Kelley* in Devonshire, etc.

Ken, or *Kin*, is a compound in the names of divers places, as *Ken-art* in Radnor, *Ken-narth* parish in Caermarthen, *Ken-cot* in Oxford, *Kendal* in Westmoreland, *Kenn* in Somerset, *Ken-net* parish in Cambridge, *Kin-der* in Derby, *Kin-ley* parish, Gloucester, and many others.

Lan-cant parish in Gloucester, *Lan-beach* parish in Cambridge, *Lan-garr* in Nottingham. *Lan* is prefixed to the names of many churches and parishes in Wales and in Cornwall.

Lanerch, a market town in Anglesey; *Lanerch*, on Dovy river, Merionethshire; *Lanerch* park, on the river Clwyd, in Denbighshire; *Lanerch-ciron* in Cardiganshire; *Lanrack* in Cornwall.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN:

in Ayr, *Glas-tir* in Inverness, in Arran, and in Galloway; *Glass-lochy* in Kinross, etc. (15).

Kelly in Aberdeenshire; *Kelly*, several in Fife-shire; *Kelly*, several in Forfar; *Kelly* in Renfrew; *Kelly-more* in Arran island; *Kelli-ness* in Wigtown; *Kelloe* in Berwick, etc. (16).

Ken, or *Kin*, is a compound in the names of divers places, as *Ken-ard* in Perth, *Kin-garth* parish in Bute, *Kin-caid* in Stirling, *Ken-dal* in Aberdeen, *Ken-ny* in Forfar, *Ken-net* in Clackmannan, *Kin-der* in Kirkcudbright, *Kin-ley* in Fife, and many others (17).

Lan-bride parish in Elginshire, a church dedicated to St. Brigid; *Lan-morgan* in Elginshire, where there was a chapel dedicated to St. Morgan (18).

Lanerk, the county town of Lanerkshire; *Lan-rick* in Fossaway parish, *Lanrick* in Kilmadock parish, *Lanrick* in Dunblane parish, and *Lanrick* in Callander parish, Perthshire (19).

(15) *Glas* (Brit.) as an adjective signifies blue, pale grey, verdant, green; and as a substantive, a blue colour, a green, a green plat. *Glas* (Corn.), green. *Glas* (Ir.) means grey, green, verdant.

(16) *Celli* (Brit.) and *Kelli* (Cornish) signify a grove, a shady place, a copse-wood. *Coillé* (Ir.) means a wood.

(17) *Cyn* (Brit.), substantive, signifies the first or foremost part; as an adjective, first, chief, foremost. *Ceann*, *Cin* (Ir.), means the chief, the head; also an end or limit; and so *Cen*, *Cyn*, in ancient Gaulish; so in Egypt and among the Hebrews *Ken* was applied to a prince, a priest, etc. Geb. Monde Prim., tom. viii., p. 140-1.

(18) *Llan*, or *Lan* (Brit. and Corn.), a church. It signified originally a place of meeting or gathering together, an inclosure, a churchyard, in which the church was built. *Lann* (Ir.) also signifies a church.

(19) *Llanerch* (Brit.) signifies a green, a bare place in a wood, a little yard. *Lanherch* (Corn.) means a forest, a grove, a lawn, a bare place in a wood. *Lanark* is vulgarly pronounced *Lanrick*, which has occasioned the corruption of several of those names.

IN SOUTH BRITAIN :

Lin and *Lyn* are compounds in several names of places, as *Lynn* and *Lynn-Regis* in Norfolk, *Lyn-del* in Lancaster, *Lin-ton* parish in Hereford, *Lin-ton* parish in York, *Linyerew*, *Lyn-hoghlen*, *Lyn-Tegid*, and many others.

Manachty in Llanyl-lar-hundred, Cardiganshire.

Park is the name of several places, and a compound in the names of others, as *Park* in Brecknock, in Cornwall, in Southampton, in Stafford, in the Isle of Wight, *Park-hall* in Essex, *Park-pill* in Monmouth, *Park-ream* in Caermarthen, *Park-erissie*, *Park-hale* in Cornwall, etc.

Park is a compound in the names of many places, as *Pen* parish and *Pen-ard* in Somerset, *Pen-craig* in Anglesey, in Montgomery, in Denbigh, in Glamorgan, etc.; and *Pen-pont*, in Cornwall, and in Brecknock; *Pen-kuick*, in Cornwall; *Pen-keth*, in Lancaster; *Pen-coid*, in Hereford; *Pen-rith*, in Cumberland; and many others.

Pill is the name of several places, and is a compound in the name of others; as *Pile*, in Glamorgan; *Pile* of Foudray, in Lancashire; *Pill*, in Devon; *Pill*, in Somerset; *Pill*, in Pembroke; and *Pill*, in Cornwall; *Pil-leth*, in Radnor; *Pil-lesdow* parish, in Dorset; *Pil-lick* parish, in Cornwall, etc.

IN NORTH-BRITAIN :

Lin and *Lyn* are compounds in several names of places, as *Linn* in Fife, Forfar, and Dumbar-ton; *Lyne* in Peebles, *Lin-dale loch* in Ayr, *Lin-ton* parish in Peebles, and *Lin-ton* parish in Roxburgh, *Lin-dores loch* and abbey in Fife, *Lin-lithgow* (20).

Monachty in the parish of Alves, Elgin-shire (21).

Park is the name of divers places, and a compound in the names of others, as *Park* in Banff, Nairn, Kirkcudbright, Perth, Ayr, etc.; *Park-hall* in Lanerk, *Park-more* and *Park-beg* (Great Park and Little Park) in Banff, *Park-hay* in Wigton, and many others (22).

Pen is a compound in the names of many places, as *Pen* of Eskdalemuir, *Pen-nagaul hills* in Dumfries, *Pen-craig*, a hill in Haddington; *Pen-pont* parish in Dumfries, *Pen-yeuick* parish in Edinburgh, *Pen-caithlan* parish in Haddington; *Pen-valla* in Peebles, *Pen-wally* in Ayr; *Pen-drich* in Perth, &c. (23).

Pill is a compound in the names of many places; as *Pile-ily*, *Pil-mar*, *Pil-tarf*, and *Pil-vealain*, in Perth; *Pil-kivie* in Fife; *Pill-walls* in Berwick; *Pil-rig* in Edinburgh; *Pil-whirry* in Wigton; *Pil-whirn* and *Pil-nour* rivulets in Kirkcudbright, etc. (24).

(20) *Llynn* (Brit.) signifies what is in motion or flows, water, a lake, a pool. *Lyn* (Corn.) means a pond, a pool, a standing water. *Linn* (Ir.), a pond, a pool, any standing or lodged water: hence *Dublin*, and many other names of places in Ireland.

(21) *Manach-ty* in the British, Cornish, and Irish, signifies the *monks-house*.

(22) *Parc*, *Park*, in British and Cornish, as well as in ancient Gaulish and Bas-Breton, signify a field, an inclosure: and so *Pairc* in Irish.

(23) *Pen* in the British and Armoric, as well as in the ancient Gaulish, signifies a head, a chief, the beginning, the top or summit, the end, a cape, a promontory. *Pen* or *Pedn* (Cornish) means the head, a hill, &c. The analogous word in the Gaelic is *Cean*, of which *Cin* is an inflection: so the names of *Pen-ard* and *Kin-ard*, *Pen-craig* and *Kin-craig*, etc., are synonymous, as hath already been observed of *Pen-arth* and *Kin-garth*.

(24) *Pill*, in the British and Cornish, as well as in ancient Gaulish, signifies a strong hold, a

IN SOUTH BRITAIN :

Rayne parish in Essex.

Rescob forest in North-hundred, Cardigan.

Roselyn in Cornwall, and several other names—names compounded of *Ros* and *Rose* (26).

Sorn, a village in Cornwall.

Tre is a prefix in many names, as *Tre-ewan*, *Tre-tire*, *Tre-vill*, *Tre-wen*, in Hereford; *Tre-ton* parish in Yorkshire, *Tre-borough* parish in Somerset, *Tre-garon* town and parish and *Tre-villy* parish in Cardigan; *Tre-mainie*, *Tre-neglos*, and *Tre-wen* parishes in Cornwall, and many others.

Tre, or *Tref*, is also an affix to several names, as *Uchil-tref* in Anglesey, *Uchel-tref*, a gentleman's seat in Merionethshire, etc.

Varis, on Cluyn river in Flintshire.

IN NORTH BRITAIN :

Rayne parish in Aberdeenshire (25).

Rescobie parish in Forfarshire.

Roselin in Edinburghshire, and several other names compounded of *Ros* and *Rose* (26).

Sorn parish in Ayrshire (27).

Tre is a prefix in divers names, as *Tre-broun* in Lauder parish, Berwick; *Tre-horn* in Cunningham, Ayrshire; *Tre-town* in Kennoway, Fifeshire. *Tre-gallon* in Troqueer parish, Kirkeudbright; *Tre-long* in Dunnottar parish, Kincardineshire; *Tre-uchan* in Port parish, Perthshire, etc. (28).

Tre is also an affix to several names, *Ochil-tre* parish and castle, Ayrshire, *Uchil-tre* in Penningham parish, Wigtown, *Ochil-tre* Linlithgow, etc. (28).

Varis, the Roman name of Forres, on a small water in Elginshire.

fortress, a secure place. *Pill* also means a sea-ditch or trench, filled at high-water, in South Wales and in Cornwall. There are a number of old forts in North-Britain which are called by this name : as the *Peel* of Gargunnok and the *Peel* of Garden, on the river Forth in Stirling; the *Peel* of Linlithgow; the *Peel* of Kirkintilloch, a fort on the Roman wall; the *Peel* castle in East Kilbride, Lanarkshire; the *Peel* fort at Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire; the *Peel* fort in Castletown parish, Roxburgh; and the old fortified castle of Livingston in Linlithgowshire is, in ancient writings, and in Pont's Map of Lothian, called the *Peel*. The term *Pill* was also applied to a number of the border strengths. The *Pill* or *Peel* is unknown to the Irish language or Scoto-Irish, as well as to the Teutonic.

(25) The name of this parish is probably derived from the British and Armoric *Rhann*, which seems to be the same as the Irish *Rann* and *Rain*, a portion, a division, a division of lands among brothers.

(26) *Rhos* (Brit.) signifies a mountain, meadow, a moist plain. *Ros* (Corn.) means a mountain, a meadow, a valley or dale between hills, or attended with a promontory. *Rhus* (Brit.) signifies a *start*, and is hence applied to a promontory. *Ros* in the old Celtic, and *Ros* in the Gaelic signifies a promontory; in fact Roslin castle stands on the point of a rocky promontory, around which winds the river Esk.

(27) *Sarn* (Brit.) signifies a causey, stepping stones. *Sorn* (Cornish) means a corner. *Sorn* castle stands in a corner, formed by the junction of a rivulet with the river Ayr in Ayrshire.

(28) *Tre* and *Tref* (Brit. and Arm.) signifies a resort, a dwelling-place, a home-stead, a hamlet, a town. *Tre* (Corn.) means a town, a village, a dwelling, a gentleman's seat. It forms a part of the name of a number of mansions and hamlets in South-Britain, and also in North-Britain.

(29) *Uchiltre* is the orthography in Pont's maps of Kyle and Wigton, in Bleau's Atlas; but it has since been changed to *Ochiltree*. *Uchel* (Brit.), *Uhel* (Corn.), mean high, lofty, stately: so *Uche-tre*, the high-dwelling or hamlet. The *Ochil* hills in Perthshire are so named from the British *Uchel*.

CHAP. II.

Of the North-British Tribes; their Topographical Positions; and singular Antiquities.

IN every treatise, whether didactic or narrative, what has been demonstrated must be taken for truth. It seems indeed impossible to resist the proofs that have been offered in accurate detail, for establishing the simple proposition, which was more than probable in itself, that the Aborigines of North-Britain were undoubtedly the same Gaelic Clans who, in the most early ages, settled South-Britain (*a*). Theories then must bow down to facts, and conjectures must ever give place to certainty.

At the epoch of Agricola's invasion North-Britain may be viewed as a mirror that reflects back the condition in which was South-Britain at the more distant era when Julius Cæsar first invaded the shores of our island. This faithful mirror shows also the state of Gaul when the Roman ambition enterprized the conquest of the common parent of the British nations. Those kindred countries were each canonized into many tribes, who were only connected together by the slight ties of a common origin, similar customs, and the same speech. Caledonia, in its largest extent, from the Tweed and the

(*a*) See before, Chap. I. Every scholar knows how many conjectures Tacitus has made concerning the origin of the *Caledonians* who opposed Agricola in arms. Agric. xi. But such a body of *facts* as are established in the preceding chapter would explode conjectures of more solidity if it were allowable to regard speculations in opposition to *fact*: but he cannot be admitted to reason against demonstration. If any additional proofs were wanting to support this historical demonstration, they might be found in an accurate comparison of the stone monuments, which are the undoubted remains of the earliest inhabitants of South and North Britain, the *Cromlechs*, the *rocking stones*, the *circles of stones*, all which abound as much in the North as in the South of our island, with the same form, and therefore appear to have been the work of the same people. Compare Borlase's Cornwall, Book iii. : Rowland's Mona, § ix. ; Munimenta Antiqua, ch. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 ; Cor-diner's Antiquities, p. 44 ; Ure's Hist. Ruglen, p. 85-6 ; the Statistical Accounts of Scotland, 15th Vol., 280, 517 ; 4th Vol., 262, 456 ; 9th Vol., 483 ; 16th Vol., 481 ; 5th Vol., 71 ; and Martin's West. Isles, p. 71. Add to all these the many hill-forts that formed, when Agricola invaded North Britain, the defences of the British tribes in the North as well as in the South, which are all of the same construction and in similar situations.

Eden on the south, to Caithness point on the north, was possessed by one-and-twenty tribes of Aboriginal Britons, who were populous in proportion to the greater or less fertility of the districts which they severally occupied: the tribes on the west coast must have been fewer in numbers than the more potent clans on the eastern shore. Every tribe enjoyed the ancient privilege of being each independent of the whole, and who only united under a Pendragon, when danger pressed and necessity demanded the authority of a single person for the safety of the whole people, according to the Celtic principle of disunited independence.

1. Let us now cast a curious eye on that speculum, wherein we may see the topographic position of the Caledonian clans, in their respective series. In it we may perceive at the south-east boundary of North-Britain the tribe of the *Ottadini*, who occupied the whole extent of coast from the southern Tyne to the Frith of Forth, inhabiting the half of Northumberland, the east part of Roxburghshire, the whole of Berwick and of East-Lothian, having their chief town at *Bremenium*, which is undoubtedly *Roechester*, on Reed-water, in Northumberland (*b*). The British name of the *Ottadini* is supposed to be derived from the site of their country, which stretches out from the great river *Tyne* northward, along the coast of the German Sea, and the Frith of Forth (*c*). A British Poet of the sixth century, Aneurin, a chief of the *Ottadini*, has

(*b*) Ptolomy; Richard and his map. The rivers in the country of the *Ottadini* were the *Tina*, the *Alauna*, and the *Tueda*, as we learn from Richard. The *Tina* and *Tueda* are omitted by Ptolomy. The *Tine* is merely the British *Tain*, signifying a *river* of the same import as *Avon*. The Lothian *Tine* and the *Tina*, in the country of the Venricones, derived their kindred names from the same source. The *Alauna* of the *Ottadini*, as well as the *Alauna* in the country of the Damii, drew their descriptive names from the *Al-wen* of the British speech, signifying the *clear* or *bright* stream. There are several other waters in North-Britain which are named *Alen* or *Allan*, and which owe their appellations to similar qualities. The *Tueda* of Richard is merely the British *Tued*, the ancient name of this *dividing* water, with the Latin termination [*a*] annexed to it. Llyud's Archæol., p. 239.

(*c*) Camden supposes that they were named *Otta-dina* from living beyond the *Tine*. Following up this idea he endeavours to derive the name from the British *Uch-tin*, supposing, mistakenly, that *Uch* signifies *beyond*, as the Welsh apply *Uch-Conway* for the country of Wales *beyond* the Conway. *Uch-coed*, *beyond* the wood. The British *Uch* properly signifies *upper*, *higher*, *above*, and may be sometimes put for the English *beyond* when there is the coincidence of acclivity in the situation. But the name of the *Ottadini* may be derived from the British language in a more analogous form, thus: *Odd*, or *Oth*, in the British, signifies *what tends out from*: So *Odd-y-tin* implies the region *tending out from the Tine*, which is, in fact, descriptive of the *Ottadinian* country, stretching out from the river Tyne, along the east coast to the Frith of Forth. From *Odd-y-tin* the people inhabiting the country would properly be called *Odditini* and *Odditinai*, and by the Romans *Othadini* or *Ottadini*, the *dd* of the British being pronounced like the *th* of the Latin and the English.

left a poem which deplores, in animated strains, the defeat of his countrymen by the intruding Saxons in the battle of Cattraith:

Gwyr a aeth *Otoluin*, chwerthin wanar,
Heroes travers'd *Otolunia*, a joyous course (*d*).

2. The neighbouring tribe of the *Gadeni* inhabited the interior country on the west of the *Ottadini*, from the Tyne on the south, to the Forth on the north, comprehending the west part of Northumberland, the small part of Cumberland lying on the north of Irthing river, the west part of Roxburgh, the whole of Selkirk, Tweeddale, much of Mid-Lothian, and nearly all West-Lothian, having *Curia*, on the Gore water, for their capital (*e*). Their British name is supposed to be derived from the many groves which in those days added both strength and ornament to their various country.

3. The western clan of the *Selyove* inhabited Annandale, Nithsdale, and Eskdale, in Dumfriesshire; the east part of Galloway, as far as the river Deva,

(*d*) Cambrian Register, v. 2, p. 15, 16; Welsh Archæol., v. 1, p. 1.

(*e*) Richard's text and his map. Ptolomy differs from both in his position of the *Gadeni*, on the north of the *Damnii*, beyond the Clyde, in the country of the *Attacotti*, whom he has annihilated. The discovery of inscriptions has, however, proved that Ptolomy and his interpreter are completely wrong, and that Richard is perfectly right as to the country which he has given to the *Gadeni*, near the wall of Severus. At Risingham, where the Roman station of *Habitancum* was situated, there was found in the river Reed which passes this place, two stone altars, the inscription upon one of which bears that it was erected to Mogon, a god of the *Gadeni*, and to the deity of our Lord Augustus at *Habitancum*: the other bore an inscription, "Deo Mouno *Cadenorum*" "Inventus Do. V. S." Camden's Brit., p. 1075—6; Horsley's Brit. Rom. Northumberland, No. lxxx.; Warburton's Vallum Romanum, p. 137—8. As Ptolomy displaced the *Gadeni* country, so he gave *Curia*, their metropolis, to the neighbouring tribe of the *Ottadini*; but Richard has properly restored it to the right owners. This *Gadeni* town probably derived its significant name from the British *Curr*, signifying a *limit*, a *border*, or extremity, a corner; *Curr* would be latinized *Curia* by the Romans. In an endeavour to settle Ptolomy's erroneous position of the *Gadeni*, a late enquirer has observed, "that Richard, compared with Ptolomy, is no authority at all, and that it is sufficient to say that Ptolomy must be right and Richard must be wrong;" yet have we seen that the demonstration of inscriptions supports Richard, and confutes Ptolomy. This is by no means the only improvement which Richard has made upon Ptolomy, in the topography of North-Britain; he has added several tribes which were wholly omitted by Ptolomy; he has corrected many of his erroneous positions; he has given many additional intimations of the ancient British names of rivers, of mountains, and of stations that are not in Ptolomy; and in all these additions, corrections, and improvements, Richard is in general supported by modern discoveries and by undoubted facts. It thus appears that Richard wrote from better documents and more copious information than Ptolomy; and that Richard's authority and notices ought to be preferred to the inaccuracy and barrenness of Ptolomy when they differ, as dissenting remark must yield to solid sense.

or Dee, which was their western boundary ; and they had the Solway Frith for their southern limit (*f*). The British name of the *Selgovæ* is supposed to be descriptive of their country, which lay on a *dividing* water, and which, by the new settlers, who were introduced during the middle ages, was denominated the Solway.

4. The remarkable tribe of the *Novantes* inhabited the middle and west parts of Galloway, from the Dee on the east to the Irish sea on the west ; they had the Solway Frith and the Irish sea on the south, and the chain of hills, the *Uxellum-montes* of Richard, which separate Galloway from Carrick, on the north : and they possessed *Lucopibia*, on the site of the present Whithorn, for their principal town, with another town, which was named *Rerigonium*, on

(*f*) Ptolomy ; Richard and his map. The *Ituna* of Ptolomy and Richard is the Solway, which received its name from the *Ituna*, the ancient *Eden* of the modern maps ; and which loses itself in the wide expanse of the same frith. This river, as well as several of the same name in North-Britain, and the Eden in Kent, derive their descriptive names from the British *Eddain*, which signifies a *gliding* stream. In the country of the *Selgovæ*, there are two other rivers on Richard's map, the *Nidus*, or Nith, and the *Dera*, or Dee. The Nid or Nith, like the Nidus or Neth in Wales, derives its appropriate name from the British *Nedd*, which is pronounced *Neth*, and which signifies in the Cambro-British speech, *circling* or *revolving*, as the fact evinces. The Dee derives its significant name from the same British source as the Dee in Aberdeenshire, and the Dee in Wales ; *De*, as a substantive, signifies *impulse*, *action*, a *separation*, and was obviously applied to these rivers from their quality of *rapidity* : both the Dees, in North-Britain, as mountain streams, are rapid ; the name may, however, be derived from the British *Du*, which is pronounced like *Dee*, and which denotes the dark colour of their waters. One of the *Selgovæ* towns is called by Ptolomy and Richard, *Trimontium* : it plainly derived its prefix *Tre* from the British *Tre*, a town ; the Trimontium was certainly at Burrenswark-hill in Annandale, on the summit of which there are the remains of a large British strength and two Roman camps on its declivity. See chap. iv. *Uxellum*, another town of the *Selgovæ*, draws its descriptive name from the British *Uchel*, which signifies *high*, *lofty* ; and which has been merely disguised by a Latin termination. It was situated at Wardlaw hill, near Caerlaverock. *Caerbantorigum*, another town of the *Selgovæ*, was situated at Drummore, where there are still the remains of a British strength and a Roman camp on the east side of the Dee below Kirkcudbright ; the name is obviously British, with a Latin termination : the Cambro-British *Caer*, signifies a fortress, a fortified place ; *Ban*, in the British, means conspicuous ; and *Bant*, a high place. We thus perceive that the *Selgovæ* were a British people, since their rivers and towns had their significant names from the Cambro-British speech. Ptolomy (Bertius's edition) also gives to the *Selgovæ* a fourth town, which he named *Corda*, and which is not recognised by Richard, nor is it in some of the prior editions of Ptolomy. It is placed by the Egyptian geographer in the high part of their country, and was probably at Castle Over, in Upper Eskdale, where are the remains of a remarkable British strength, and also of a Roman station ; and there are several smaller British strengths on the heights in the surrounding country.

the *Rerigonius Sinus*, the Loch-Ryan of modern maps (*g*). They are supposed to have derived their British name from the nature of their region, which abounded with streams. The *Novantes* were remembered by *Aneurin* in the sixth century, when he was describing the warriors who hastened to the defence of their country at *Cattraeth* :

“Tri llwry Novant :

“Three from Novant.” (*h*)

5. The *Damnii* inhabited the whole extent of country from the *Uxellum montes* of Richard, the ridge of hills between Galloway and Ayrshire on the south, to the river Earn on the north, comprehending all Strathclyd, the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Stirling, with a small part of the shires of Dunbarton and Perth. Their towns were *Vanduaria*, at Paisley ; *Colonia*, in the south-eastern extremity of Strathclyde ; *Coria*, at Carstairs, in Eastern Clydesdale ; *Alauna*, on the river Allan ; *Lindum*, near the present Ardoch ; and *Victoria*, at Dealginross, on the Ruchil water (*i*). Such were the five tribes who occupied, during the first

(*g*) Ptolomy ; Richard and his map. The most prominent object among the Novantes, which is delineated by Richard, though not by Ptolomy, is the *Uxellum montes*, a ridge of high hills running from east to west along the northern side of their country. The *Uxellum* is plainly the British *Uchel*, signifying high, lofty. Richard is confirmed by what we find in the vicinity of those mountains in Wigton, a place which, in Pont's map of Galloway, is called *Ucheltre*, the high town : this, as well as the *Ucheltres* in Ayr and Linlithgow, are now perverted to *Ochiltree*. The Ochil hills, on the northern side of the Forth, are also named from the same British word. The *Abravannus* of Ptolomy and Richard is obviously the *Aber-avon* of the British topography ; the *Aber* signifying merely a confluence, and *Avon*, a river.

(*h*) Cambrian Reg., v. 2, p. 17 ; Welsh Archæol., v. 1, p. 4.

(*i*) Ptolomy ; and Richard with his map. Such were the extensive territories and the towns of this powerful tribe at the period of Agricola's invasion, and such they continued till the erection of the wall of Antonine, which, running from the Forth to the Clyde through the northern part of their country, comprehended the greatest part of it within the conquered province of Valentia. At that epoch, as we learn from Richard, the Horestii acquired the towns of *Alauna*, *Lindum*, and *Victoria*, with the surrounding country. The *Vidogara* river, which runs through the country of the *Damnii*, as laid down by Richard, plainly represents the *Ayr*. This stream, that has conferred its British name on the modern shire, formed, no doubt, the annex to the *Vidogara* of Ptolomy and Richard : now, *Gurddawg*, in the British, signifies *woody*, and dropping the (*g*) in composition, *wyddawg-ara* would signify the *woody-ar* : this epithet was formerly very descriptive of this river ; and is still so in a great degree. The *Clota-fluvius* and *Clota-Æstuarium* are obviously the latinized names of *Clwyd*, which, like the sister *Clwyd* in Wales, derives its name from the British *Clwd*, signifying *warm* or *sheltered*. These agreeable qualities apply in a remarkable manner to the *Straths* or vales through which those well-known rivers run even in the present times. The *Alauna* derived its name, as we have seen, from the river *Allan*, on which it stood ; and the *Allan* obtained

century, that ample region from the Tyne and the Solway on the south, to the Forth and the Clyde on the north, varying their limits, no doubt, as ambition pressed or weakness gave way during the succession of many ages.

6. The *Horestii* inhabited the country between the *Bodotria*, or Forth, on the South, and the *Tavus*, or Tay, on the north; a district which comprehended the shires of Clackmanan, Kinross, and Fife, with the east part of Strathern, and the country lying westward of the Tay, as far as the river Brand (*k*). From the natural strength of their country, the *Horestii* are supposed to have derived their British name.

7. The *Venricones* possessed the country between the river Tay, on the south, and the river Carron, on the north; comprehending Gowrie, Strathmore, Stormont, and Strathardle, in Perthshire; the whole of Angus, with the larger part of Kincardineshire; having their chief town *Orrea*, on the north east margin of the *Tavus*, or Tay (*l*).

its name from the British *Al-wen*, signifying the *clear* or *white* stream. The *Lindum*, which stood on the bank of Knaig water, is equally a *Celtic* name, though it be somewhat corrupted; it is merely the *Llyn* of the British, signifying a pool, and *Din* or *Dun*, a strength. *Victoria* is plainly a name of Roman application during the age of their victories.

(*k*) Richard and his map. Such was the territory of the *Horestii* at the epoch of Agricola's invasion, when they were subdued, and even until the wall of Antonine was built, when they obtained a considerable accession of country from the Damnian territories, with the towns of Alauna, *Lindum*, and *Victoria*. Richard. The *Horestii* are wholly omitted by Ptolomy; but Tacitus, who expressly mentions them, supports the authority of Richard against Ptolomy. The *Bodotria* of Ptolomy and Richard, which bounded the *Horestii* on the south, was merely the *Porth* of the British, the *Forth* of modern maps, signifying a *haven* or *Estuary* in the Cambro-British tongue.

(*l*) Ptolomy; Richard and his map. In the edition of Ptolomy, 1486, this tribe are called *Vernicones*; in Bertius' edition *Venicones*; Richard calls them *Venricones*; this tribe, as well as the *Horestii*, obtained afterwards the classical designation of *Veturiones*. The name of their capital *Or*, which the Romans latinized into *Orrea*, was descriptive of its situation on the border of their country and on the margin of the Tay; *Or*, in the British, signifying what is *outward* or *bordering*, a *limit*, a *margin*. The rivers in the country of the *Venricones*, as we learn from Richard, were the *Tavus*, the *Esica*, and *Tina*; Ptolomy has only recollected the *Tavus* and *Tina*, and he has misplaced both. The name of the *Tavus* is obviously the British *Tau*, signifying what spreads. The Tay, like the *Tau* of Devonshire, forms a grand expanse in the latter part of its course. Several rivers in South-Britain are equally named from the British *Tau*, owing to their qualities of expansion: the Solway was called the *Tau* by Tacitus. The *Æsica* of Richard is merely the South *Esk* of the recent maps; and derived its name, as well as other *Esks* in North and South-Britain, from the Celtic *Easc*, and *Uisg*, signifying water. The *Tina*, which was placed on the northward of the *Æsica* by Richard, is probably the North water of the late maps, and no doubt derived its appellation, like the *Tyne* in Lothian, and the *Tyne* in Northumberland, from the British *Tain*, signifying a *river*, the same in import as *Avon*.

8. The *Taixali* inhabited the northern part of the Mearns, and the whole of Aberdeenshire to the Doveran; a district which included the promontory of Kinaird's-head, to which the Romans gave the name of *Taixalorum Promontorium*: and they had for their chief town *Devana*, on the north side of the river Dee, six miles above its influx into the sea, being the *Normandykes* of the present times. They probably derived their British appellation from the *fairhead-land*, which is the most prominent feature of their open and pointed region (*m*).

9. The *Vacomagi* possessed the country on the south side of the Moray Frith from the Doveran on the east, to the Ness, the *Longus* of Richard, on the west, an extent which comprehended the shires of Banff, Elgin, Nairn, the east part of Inverness, with Braemar in Aberdeenshire (*n*). Their towns were the *Ptoroton* of Richard, the *Alata Castra* of Ptolomy, at the mouth of the

(*m*) Ptolomy; Richard and his map; Cambrian Reg. 2d vol. p. 18. The remarkable names in the map of Richard and the tables of Ptolomy within the country of the *Taixali*, are the *Deva*, the station of the *Devana* upon the same river, and the *Ituna*: *Deva* or *Dee* derives its name from the same British source as the *Dee* of the Selgovæ, and the Wizard *Dee* in Wales. The *Ituna*, or *Ithan* of the modern maps, obtained its name from the same British origin, and from the same qualities as the *Ituna* of the Selgovæ, which has been already noticed.

(*n*) Ptolomy; Richard and his map. In the country of the *Vacomagi*, on the shores of the Moray Frith, were the *Celnii* of Ptolomy, or *Celnius* of Richard, and the *Tuesis* of Ptolomy, and the *Tuëssis* of Richard. The first was probably the Culen water, at the influx of which into the Moray Frith there is a town which was named Inver-culen by the Scoto-Irish, and is now abbreviated into Cullen: the *Celnius* has generally been applied by modern antiquaries to the river *Dovern* without much analogy of language or propriety of local position. The *Tuëssis* was plainly the Spey, the *Espege* of the British language, signifying what bursts out and ravages, an epithet which remarkably applies to that outrageous river: in the Scoto-Irish, indeed, the *Tua-ease* would signify the north water. The Varar, that separated the *Vacomagi* and *Cantæ*, was properly the western extremity of the Moray Frith, into which falls at this day the river *Farar*, whence the Estuary of Richard drew its Celtic name. On Ptolomy's maps the town of *Tuesis* is misplaced on the west instead of the east side of the river Spey, where it is accurately placed by Richard, who is confirmed by the recent discovery of a Roman station on the east bank of the Spey a little below the Kirk of Bellie. The *Alata Castra* of Ptolomy is also much misplaced, being removed a great way from the coast; but Richard has properly placed his *Ptoroton* on the promontory, which is now called Burghead, on the Moray Frith, and which has been established as its real site. *Banatia* is also misplaced in Ptolomy's maps a great distance southward of the Tamea, while Richard has more correctly placed it on the east side of the Ness, where there have been discovered the remains of a Roman post at a place named Bona, Bana, and *Bonass*. The British *Bon-nas*, which is descriptive of its situation, at the foot or lower end of Loch-Nes, was no doubt by the Romans latinized into *Bonnesia*, that formed the *Banatia* of Ptolomy and Richard. The site of *Tamea*, which formed a stage in the tenth Iter. of Richard, from *Ptoroton* southward, "*per mediam insula*," is supposed to have been on the river Dee in Braemar.

Varar, where the present Burghead runs out into the Frith; the *Tuessis*, on the east bank of the Spey; with *Tamea* and *Banatia* in the interior country.

10. The *Albani*, who were subsequently called *Damnii-Albani*, from their having been subjected to the *Damnii*, inhabited the interior districts between the lower ridge of the Grampians, which skirt the southern side of the loch and river Tay on the south, and the chain of mountains that forms the southern limit of Inverness-shire on the north, comprehending Braidalban, Athol, a small part of Lochaber, with Appin and Glenorchy in Upper-Lorn; a country, as Richard intimates, surrounded with mountains and replenished with lakes (*o*). The British word, *Alban*, means greatest, utmost, or superior height (*p*); as *Gwyr Albanau* consequently signifies the men of the upper mountains: the Welsh denominate *Scotland* by the appropriate word *Alban* even to the present times.

11. The *Attacotti* inhabited the whole country from Loch-Fine, the *Lelamonius Sinus* of Richard, on the west, to the eastward of the river Leven and Loch-Lomond, comprehending the whole of Cowal in Argyleshire, and the greater part of Dunbartonshire (*q*). They are supposed to have been called in the British speech the *Eithacoeti*, or the men dwelling along the extremity of the wood.

12. The proper *Caledonii* inhabited the whole of the interior country from the ridge of mountains which separates Inverness and Perth on the south, to

(*o*) Richard and his map. This tribe is wholly omitted by Ptolomy; but Richard has, as in many other instances, supplied this defect; and Richard has described the prominent features of their secluded country with such correctness as to leave no doubt of the genuine source of his information. The significant name of their mountainous country, *Alban*, from which they got the appellation of *Albani*, was afterwards extended to the whole of the middle country between the Forth and the Varar, and has been preserved through successive ages to the present times. The Scoto-Irish people gave to the southern part of the *Albani* country the appellation of *Braile-Alban*, signifying the *upper part* of *Alban*; and a ridge of mountains in the northern part was by the same people named *Drum-Alban*, signifying the *ridge* of *Alban*.

(*p*) In fact, this region contains some of the highest mountains in Britain. Ben-Nevis, on its northern limit, is 4370 [4406] feet above the level of the sea; Ben-Lawers, in the southern part, is 4015 [3984] above the same level; and there are several others which are very little inferior in height.

(*q*) The *Lelamonius* of Ptolomy: the same water is called *Lælamnonius Sinus* in Bertius's edition of Ptolomy. Richard and his map. Ptolomy has wholly omitted the *Attacotti*; and his interpreters have erroneously placed the *Gadeni* in their country. Richard has, however, restored this tribe, who were once formidable, to their real territories, which included, as he informs us, the *Lincaledur Lacus*. The much admired Loch-Lomond of the present age is the *Lincaledur Lacus* of Richard, which appellation was plainly derived from the *Lyn-caled-dur* of the British speech.

the range of hills that forms the forest of Balnagowan, in Ross, on the north; comprehending all the middle parts of Inverness and of Ross (*r*). This territory formed a considerable part of the extensive forest, which in early ages spread over the interior and western parts of the country, on the northern side of the Forth and Clyde, and to which the British colonists gave the descriptive appellation of *Celyddon*; signifying literally the *coverts*, and generally denoting a *woody* region (*s*). The large tribe, who thus inhabited a great portion of the forest *Celyddon*, were consequently called *Celyddoni*, and *Celyddoniaid*, the people of the *coverts*. This descriptive term, *Celyddon*, was also applied, by the British people, to an extensive forest which, in the same early ages, covered a large tract of country on the south of the Humber (*t*). The northern forest of *Celyddon* is frequently mentioned by the Caledonian Merddin, a native poet of the sixth century (*u*). The name of *Celyddon* also occurs frequently in ancient Welsh manuscripts, having in some instances the prefix *coed*, which signifies merely a wood (*x*). From the great extent of country to which the descriptive term *Celyddon* was applied, this name, in its Romanized form of *Caledonia*, was, in after times, extended to the whole peninsula on the northern side of the Forth and Clyde.

13. The *Cantæ* inhabited the east of Ross-shire, from the Estuary of Varar on the south, to the Abona, or Dornoch Frith on the north; having *Lora*, or Cromarty Firth, which indented their country, in the centre, and a ridge of

(*r*) Ptolomy; Richard, and his map. Ptolomy erroneously carries the territories of the Caledonii, throughout the country, southward to the Lelanonius Sinus, or Loch Fine. This error arose from his omitting the Albani, who inhabited the intermediate district between the Caledonii and the Lelanonius Sinus.

(*s*) The British people applied the descriptive terms *Celt*, *Celyddon*, *Gwyddyl*, and *Ysgood*, to *wooded* and wild regions; and to the open and plain countries they gave the characteristic terms *Gâl*, *Peithw*. Gwent. Owen. Thus, they distinguished the country on the northern side of the Forth and Clyde, by two characteristic appellations: the interior and western part, which was clothed with woods, they termed *Celyddon*, and the inhabitants *Celyddoni*; and to the open country, along the east coast, they applied the term *Peithw*; and the inhabitants were called *Peithi*. These general appellations of *Celyddoni* and *Peithi*, were, by the Romans, latinized *Caledonii* and *Picti*. *Cel*, *Cel*, and *Coel*, are primitive words, which, in all the dialects of the Celtic, signify woods; as *Calon*, in the Greek, also signifies woods: hence, *Calydon*, a town and kingdom of Etolia, which derived their descriptive names from the forest of *Calydon*. Gebelin's *Monde Prim.* tom. ix. p. 108.

(*t*) Richard, and his map. He calls it by the latinized name of *Caledonia Sylva*, the same in import as the Caledonian forest in the north. In p. 26, speaking of the Coitani, he says, "Coitani, in tractu *"Sylvis obsito, qui ut alie Brittonum Sylvæ Caledonia fuit appellata."*

(*u*) Welch Archaeology, v. 1. p. 150, 152, 153.

(*x*) Cambrian Register, v. 2. p. 19.

hills, the *Ucellum montes*, on the west (*v*). Their country ran out eastward into the narrow point, or *Pen Ucellum* of Richard, the Tarbet-ness of Ainslie. The country of the *Cantæ* plainly derived its significant name from the British *Cáint*, which, as it means an *open* country, has at all times been a very appropriate epithet for the eastern part of Ross, compared with the mountainous interior and the western districts (*w*).

14. The south-eastern coast of Sutherland was inhabited by the *Logi*, whose country extended from the Abona or Dornoch Frith on the south-west, to the river *Ila* on the east (*x*). This is obviously the Helmsdale river of the Scandinavian intruders, which the Celtic inhabitants have always called *Avon-Uile*, or *Avon-Iligh*, the floody water; an appellation which is strongly characteristic of this *Iligh* and of the other *Ilas* in North-Britain. The *Logi*, probably drew their name from the British word *Lygi*, which was naturally applied to a people living on the shore (*y*).

15. The *Carnabii* inhabited the south, the east, and north-east of Caithness, from the *Ila* river; comprehending the three great promontories of *Virubium*, or Noss-Head, of *Virvedrum*, or Duncansby-Head, and of *Tarvedrum*, or the

(*v*) Ptolomy; Richard, with his map. The *Loxa* of Ptolomy and Richard is from its position, plainly the Cromarty Frith of the modern maps: and it obviously derived its name of *Loxa*, from the British *Lluch*, with a foreign termination, signifying an *inlet* of the sea, or collection of water. Several arms of the sea on the west coast of North-Britain are called *Lochs* to this day, probably from the Scoto-Irish *Loch*, signifying the same as the Cambro-British *Lluch*. The country of the *Cantæ* was divided from that of the *Caledonii* by a ridge of mountains which is called, in Richard's map, *Ucellum montes*, and which, like the *Ucellum montes*, in the land of the *Novantes*, derived their name, as we have seen, from the British *Uchel*, high or lofty. This ridge, of which Ben *W'gris* is the prominent summit, gradually declines towards the north-east and terminates in a promontory, which is called *Pen Ucellum*; and which is the Tarbet-ness of modern maps. The prefix *Pen* is merely the *British* word that signifies a *head*, or end, or promontory. Ptolomy has omitted to notice these remarkable objects, the *Ucellum montes*, and the *Pen Ucellum promontorium*, in the country of the *Cantæ*. Upon the coast of the *Cantæ*, on the south of the *Loxa*, or Cromarty Frith, Richard has placed the *Aræ finium Imperii Romani*.

(*w*) Ptolomy; Richard, with his map. The original blunder of Ptolomy, in the position of North-Britain, has introduced a correspondent embarrassment into the map of Richard, particularly on the north of the Varar. This estuary is plainly the western extremity of the Murray Frith. Richard's *Abona* must be the Frith of Dornoch, which runs far into the country between Ross and Sutherland; and which receives into its ample channel *Avon-Oigeal*, *Avon-Shin*, *Avon-Carron*, and other *waters*; the name of *Abona* is obviously formed from the British appellation *Acon*, a river, with a foreign termination.

(*x*) Ptolomy; Richard, with his map.

(*y*) Whitaker's *Manchester*, 8vo Edit. v. 2. p. 204.

Oreas promontorium, the Dunnet-Head of the present times. The *Carnabii* derived their appropriate appellation, like the kindred Carnabii of Cornwall, from their residence on remarkable promontories.

16. The small tribe of the *Catini* inhabited the north-west corner of Caithness, and the eastern half of Strath-Naver, in Sutherlandshire; having the river *Naver*, the *Navari-fluvius* of Ptolomy, the *Nabæus-fluvius* of Richard, for their western boundary (*z*): they probably derived their appellation from the British name of the weapon the *Cat*, or *Catai*, wherewith they fought; whence, by an easy variation, they may have been called in an age when every word had its meaning, the *Catini*, or *Club-men* (*a*). The Gaelic people of Caithness and Sutherland are ambitious even at this day of deriving their distant origin from those *Catini*, or *Catai*, of British times.

17. The *Mertæ* occupied the interior of Sutherland (*b*); and probably derived their name from the British *Meredw* or *Merydd*, signifying flat or sluggish; and conveying, perhaps, some analogous quality of the people (*c*).

18. The *Carnonacæ* inhabited the north and west coast of Sutherland, and a small part of the western shore of Ross, from the Naver river, on the east, round to the *Volsas*-bay, on the south-west. In this district a river called *Straba* falls into the sea on the west of the river Naver; and the head-land, at the turn, is named *Ebudium promontorium* (*d*). The *Carnonacæ* probably derived an appropriate name from the British *Cerneinog*; signifying the country of points.

(*z*) Ptolomy; Richard and his map. This river is called *Navari-fluvius* in the edition of Ptolomy, 1486. *Nauari-fluvius*, in Bertius's edition; Richard calls it *Nabæus-fluvius*: in Ptolomy's maps the *Catini* are erroneously placed on the *west*, in place of the *east*, of the Naver river. Ptolomy calls this tribe *Carini*: they are called *Catini* by Richard, and his name may be recognized in the appellation of their descendants, the *Catti*, who inhabited this country in after ages, and from whom the extremity of North-Britain got the name of *Catti-ness*, the Caithness of the present times.

(*a*) Cambrian Reg., vol. 2, p. 20.

(*b*) Ptolomy; Richard and his map.

(*c*) Owen's Dict.

(*d*) Ptolomy; Richard and his map. The *Navari*, or *Navari-fluvius* of Ptolomy, the *Nabæus-fluvius* of Richard, were certainly *Naver* river, which gives a name to the country of Strath-Naver; and the *Straba-fluvius* of Richard was probably the Strath-more river, which runs through Loch Hope, and falls into Loch Eribol, an inlet of the sea. The *Ebudium promontorium* of Richard is no doubt the Cape Wrath of Ainslie, as this map-maker indeed supposes. The *Volsas Sinus* of Richard is probably the great arm of the sea on the west coast of Ross, which is denominated by Ainslie Loch Braon or Broom. In Ptolomy's maps the *Carnonacæ* are misplaced on the *south*, in place of the *north* of *Volsas Sinus*.

19. The west coast of Ross, from *Volsas-sinus*, on the north, to the *Itys*, on the south, was inhabited by the *Creones* (*e*), who derived their British name from their *fierceness*; *Crewon*, *Creuonwys*, signifying the men of blood.

20. The *Cerones* inhabited the whole west coast of Inverness, and the countries of Ardnamurchan, Morven, Sunart, and Ardgowar, in Argyleshire; having the *Itys* of Richard, which is now called Loch Duich, on the north, and the *Longus*, or the Linne-Loch, on the south (*f*).

21. The *Epidii* inhabited the south-west of Argyleshire, from Linne-Loch on the north, to the Frith of Clyde and the Irish Sea, on the south; including Ceantyr, the point whereof was called the Epidian promontory, which is now the Mull of Ceantyr (*g*); and were bounded on the east by the country of the Albani, and the *Lelanonius Sinus*, or the Loch-Fine of the present day. The *Epidii*, no doubt, derived their descriptive appellation from the British *Ebyd*, a peninsula; as they inhabited chiefly the remarkable neck of land which has since been called by the Scoto-Irish colonists *Ceantire* (*h*).

Such, then, were the one-and-twenty tribes of Aboriginal Britons who possessed, during the first century, the whole range of North-Britain, extending from south to north two hundred and sixty statute miles, and from east to west, one hundred and fifty. A general view of North-Britain would represent the whole, at that epoch, as consisting either of mountains or valleys, which were covered with woods, and embarrassed with bogs; or of surrounding

(*e*) Ptolomy; Richard and his map. In Ptolomy's maps the *Creones* are also misplaced on the south, in place of the north of *Itys-fluvius*. The *Itys* applies to the long inlet of the sea, named Loch Duich, between Ross and Inverness, into which several riverets empty their kindred waters.

(*f*) Richard and his map. The *Longus-Fluvius* of Richard is called by Ptolomy *λογγος*, which corresponds nearly with the Lochy-Loch and Lochy river of the present day. This Loch and river, together with Loch Linne, form the western part of that remarkable chain of Lochs and rivers which stretch from the west sea, through the middle of the island, to the head of the Moray-Frith at Inverness: and which formed plainly the *Longus* of Richard, and is the remarkable track of the *Caledonian Canal*.

(*g*) Ptolomy; Richard and his map.

(*h*) Cambrian Reg., vol. 2. p. 21. The topography of North-Britain in that age, as it is represented by Ptolomy and Richard, affords a new proof of the proposition with regard to the sameness of the people which is demonstrated in the first Chapter. The appellations of the several tribes, the names of their towns, of the headlands and mountains, of estuaries, and of rivers, are all significant in the Cambro-British language; and are merely disguised by Greek forms and Latin terminations. But of Scandinavian names there appears not either in Ptolomy's geography or in Richard's map the smallest trace for Gothic zeal to mistake, or for theoretic subtilty to misrepresent. For the topographic position of all those tribes, with their rivers and towns, see the Roman-British map prefixed to this work.

coasts, which were indented with numerous bays, and amplified by successive promontories (i.)

The Caledonian tribes, at the arrival of Agricola among them, seem to have resembled their kindred Britons of South-Britain, as they were described by Julius Cæsar in a prior age. From his account they all appear to have been little raised, in their social connections, above the natural state of rude savages, who live on the milk of their flocks, or the supplies of their sport. In this condition they probably remained for ages. The prejudice of Dio represents them indeed as a people who reared their children in common, as they had wives in common; and who lived in huts, rather than inhabited houses; that they were almost naked from choice; and were remarkable for bearing fatigue, cold, and famine: they were said to be addicted, like the heroes of more ancient times, to robbery, which was analogous to their warfare. Their infantry were equally famous for their speed in attack, and for their firmness in the field; being armed, like their Gaelic posterity in more recent times, with slight shields, short spears, and handy daggers: they, however, sometimes fought in cars that were drawn by horses, which were said to be small, swift, and spirited. As the Caledonian tribes appear thus to have been little advanced beyond the first stage of society, so they seem to have had scarcely any political union: their governments are said by Dio, in the same strain of doubtful intimation, to have been democratic; yet they were, perhaps, like the American tribes, governed under the aristocratic sway of the old men, rather than the coercion of legal authority, which all were bound to obey. Herodian concurs with Dio in his disadvantageous representation of the civilization, manners, and the arts of social life among the Caledonian clans, even during the recent period of the third century. And yet the stone monuments of vast labour which still remain; the hill-forts of the ingenious construction of many hands, that could not even now be taken by storm; and the gallant stand which they systematically opposed to the disciplined valour of the Roman armies; clearly show the Caledonian people in a better light of civilization and polity than the classic authors uniformly represent.

The Aborigines of North-Britain, like other rude people in the most early stages of society, were probably less governed by law than by religion. In all the colonies of the Celts in Europe, *Druidism* was the mode of their religious faith, which may have been corrupted by innovation, and may have ap-

(i) See the *Mappa Antiqua*; and Roy's Milit. Antiq., p. 57, for his short description of the face of the country.

peared under different aspects in various climes. It was the intelligent opinion of Diogenes Laertius that the tenets of the Druids might be comprehended under four heads: (1.) To worship God; (2.) To abstain from evil; (3.) To exert courage; (4.) And to believe in the immortality of the soul, for enforcing all those virtues. We may easily suppose from the less favourable representation of subsequent writers, that the tenets of Druidism degenerated into mere grossness, and that the practice of Druidism became degraded by practices of less refinement.

The Celtic people undoubtedly brought their Druids and Druidism with them from the east into Europe; and the Gauls conveyed both into Britain. The Druids probably derived their appropriate name from the Celtic *Derwyz*, the *Dar-gwyz* of the British speech, which signifies one who has knowledge; a *theologian*, a Druid (*k*). As the Druids had undoubtedly an appropriate veneration for the oak, they imagined there was a supernatural virtue in the wood, in the leaves, in the fruit, and above all in the *misseltoe*. Among the priests of *Druidism*, there appear to have been three orders: the Druids, the *Vates*, and the Bards, who severally performed very different functions: the *Bards* sung in heroic verse the brave actions of eminent men; the *Vates* studied continually, and explained nature, the productions of nature and the laws; and the Druids, who were of a higher order, and were disciplined in the forms of an established order, directed the education of youth, officiated in the affairs of religion, and presided in the administration of justice. In consideration of those several duties, which in every age and country are of great importance, the Druids were exempted from serving in war, from the paying of taxes, and from contributing to the burdens of the state.

Whatever may have been the speculative tenets of Druidism, the Druids taught the duties of moral virtue, and enforced the precepts of natural religion. They inculcated a strong desire of liberty, with an ardent love of their country, which strikingly appeared in the struggle for both which was made against the Roman legions by the Gauls, by the Britons, and, above all, by the Caledonians. It was a peculiar principle of the Druids which enjoined that no temple or covered building should be erected for public worship: for, the sun being the great medium, rather than the object of their adoration, to have shut out that luminary during their religious services would have been inconsistent with their objects. Neither did the Druids ever erect any image of the

(*k*) See Owen's *Diet.* in Vo. *Derwyz*. This word he ingeniously traces back to *Dár*, an oak, a male oak. From the *oak*, as it was held in religious veneration, it had this name, which implies *the tree of presence*.

Deity: nor did they communicate with the Greeks or Romans in the multiplicity of their local gods, or in the grossness of their general idolatry.

In religious worship, the individual may perform his devotions when and where he finds it most convenient; but the worship of societies requires a determinate time and place. In the first ages there was an agreement in religion, both in faith and in practice, among the nations of the earth, in the same manner as there was a similarity in their language, from a common origin. The earliest temples were uncovered. The places of the Druid worship continued uncovered till the dark epoch of Druid dissolution.

The most early places of worship, as might naturally be expected, were groves (*l*): the oak woods were the first places of the Druid devotion. Long after the Caledonian forests had fallen before the waste of design and the destruction of accident, the *sacred tree* still remained within the Caledonian regions the inviolable object of vulgar veneration (*m*).

Oratories existed among the earliest people (*n*). These ancient places of worship consisted of plots of ground, which, as they were enclosed, and were open above, were appropriated to the public worship of families and villages. One of the earliest of those Oratories was distinguished by a *Pillar of Stone*, which was set up under an oak (*o*). The Druid sacrifices were only performed at the altar, which stood within the circles, and under an oak; and when no sacrifices were to be made, we may easily suppose that the people assembled in those inclosures, either for the acquirement of knowledge or the performance of devotion. For those important ends, and for the instruction of youth, were groves appropriated by the Druids and altars erected. Many of those altars still remain in North-Britain. And such a superstitious regard is even now paid to those *sacred stones* by the country people, that though some of those *stones*

(*l*) Gen. 12. 7.

(*m*) See Ure's *Rutherglen*, p. 85; and *Stat. Acco. V. xv.* p. 280: the sequestered spot on which stands the large *Cromlech*, called the *Auld Wives-lift*, appears to have been surrounded by a grove of oaks; as several of the stumps of those trees are still visible. In the Isle of Skye, there is a consecrated *well*, which is called *Loch Seant Well*, and which is celebrated for many virtues: and near it there is a small coppice or clump of wood, that is to this day held *sacred* by the surrounding inhabitants, who are careful not to cut a branch of it, from the belief that some misfortune would be the result of the act. *Martin's West Isles*, p. 140-1. From the *sacred groves* of the Druids, arose the term *Cel*, or *Cil*, which, in the Celtic language, originally signified a covert, a recess, a retreat, such as were the sacred groves of the Druids. On the introduction of Christianity, the term *Cil* was applied to the cells and chapels of the first Christian missionaries and saints, and secondarily, to the consecrated cemeteries which were usually attached to them.

(*n*) *Mede*, 65.

(*o*) *Joshua*, 24, 26.

of worship stand in the middle of corn fields, few persons have ventured to remove the objects, which were once universally venerated (*f*'). Near the village of Kilbarchan, on an elevated plain, stands a huge stone, called *Clochodrick*, which is merely a corruption of *Clochadruid*; signifying, in the Celtic language, the Druid's stone. At some distance around it, there are a few large grey stones; but whether they once formed a Druid inclosure cannot now be ascertained (*g*). There is scarcely a district in North-Britain where a *Clochadruid* may not be found whence an illiterate people were taught to offer their usual adorations.

The number and variety of the Druid remains in North-Britain are almost endless. The principal seat of Druidism seems to have been the recesses of Perthshire, near the Grampian range. Accurate inquiry might perhaps discover that the circles and ovals of erect stones, with stone pillars and small cairns within them, are the *Oratories* of ancient times; and that the circles of stones, having an altar or a cromlech within the area or on the outside of them, have been used for the different purposes of making sacrifices. Those inclosures are sometimes formed of a single circle, and often of double, and treble, concentric circles of upright stones. In general only one or two of those inclosures are seen in one place: But in many districts of North-Britain there are found three, four, and even more, in the same vicinity; and sometimes there may be perceived Druid cairns, which are closely connected with them, both in neighbourhood and in use (*h*).

(*f*') Stat. Account of Kirkmichael. v. 15, p. 520.

(*g*) Stat. Acco. v. 15, p. 487. In Trescow, one of the Scilly Isles, there is a similar stone of an oval form, about nineteen feet long, and shelving at the top; round which there was a row of rude unequal stones, and a sort of trench. Borlase, p. 200. pl. xii.; King's Munimenta Antiq. p. 230. pl. x.

(*h*) Within the parish of Kirkmichael, in Perthshire, there is a vast body of Druid remains. Upon an extensive and elevated moor, on the east side of Strath-Ardle, there is a large Cairn of stones, ninety yards in circumference, and about twenty-five feet high. From the east side of this Cairn, two parallel rows of stones extend to the southward, in a straight line, upwards of one hundred yards, having a small Cairn at the extremity of each: these rows form an avenue thirty-two feet broad, leading to the great Cairn. Around this large Cairn there is a number of smaller Cairns, scattered at different distances, generally in groups of eight or ten together. They are all covered more or less with moss or heath. About a furlong west from the great Cairn there are the remains of two concentric circles of upright stones; the outer circle is about fifty-feet, and the inner thirty-two feet in diameter. There are also in the neighbourhood of the great Cairn, at different distances, the remains of six or more single circles of standing stones, from thirty-two to thirty-six feet in diameter. About a mile north-east from this great Cairn, on a flat-topped emi-

There appear, from a thousand remains both in South and North Britain, to have been two kinds of Druid altars. The first sort consists of flat stones, which are either incumbent or upright (*i*); the second sort is the Cromlechs,

nence, stands an immense rocking stone. In the vicinity of this stone there are a number of other Druidical remains. About sixty yards north of it, on a small eminence, there are two concentric circles of stone, similar to those already described; and adjoining to them, on the east side, there is a single circle of stones. Beyond these, at the distance of thirty-seven yards, on another small eminence, there is another pair of concentric circles of stones, with a single circle adjoining them on the east side. From these, at the distance of forty-five yards, there is yet another pair of concentric circles of stones, with a single circle, adjoining them on the east side. North-east from these concentric circles, about ninety yards, there is a single circle of stones; and beside it, on the west, two rectangular enclosures of thirty-seven feet by twelve, also a Cairn twenty-three or twenty-four yards in circumference and about twelve feet high in the centre. There are several Cairns scattered about in the neighbourhood. About one hundred and twenty yards west from the rocking stone there is a pair of concentric circles of stones, having beside them a small single circle seven feet in diameter. All these pairs of concentric circles are of the same dimensions, the inner one being about thirty-two feet, and the outer about forty-five feet in diameter; and all of them have an entrance four or five feet wide on the south side. The single circles are, in general, from thirty-two to thirty-six feet in diameter. There are several cairns and circles of stones similar to those above described, in other parts of the same parish, particularly between Strath-Ardle and Glen-derby. There are also several tall upright stones called by the Gaelic inhabitants *Crom-leac* or *Clach-sleachda*, the *stones of worship*. Some of these are five and six feet above ground, and must be sunk a considerable space under the surface, from their remaining so long in the same upright position. Stat. Acco., V. xv. p. 516—20.

(*i*) The altar stones are generally connected with Druid circles; and have sometimes artificial cavities in them. In Kincardineshire, at *Achen-corthie*, which signifies the *field of the circles*, there are two concentric circles; the exterior one is composed of fifteen standing stones, three yards high above ground, and seven or eight paces distant from one another, the diameter being twenty-four paces: the interior circle is three paces from the other, and the stones of it are three feet high above the ground. On the south, there was a large broad stone lying flat; and on the east of the circle, at the distance of twenty-six paces, there is another large broad stone, which was fast in the ground, having a cavity that may contain a Scots gallon. Near these two concentric circles, there are other three concentric circles, the stones of the largest being about three yards, and those of the two smaller circles about three feet above the ground. On the top of one of the stones of the largest circle, on the east side, there is a hollow about three inches deep, along the bottom of which there is a channel cut one inch deep and two inches broad, which leads some way down the side of the stone for the purpose of carrying off the liquid that had been poured in at the top: in another stone, within the same circle and upon the same side there is also a cavity with a channel for the purpose of conveying down the side of it the liquid that may have been poured into it. Archæol. V. i., p. 315. There are several artificial cavities in the top of an altar stone, at a Druid circle, in Caputh parish, Perthshire. Stat. Acco., V. ix., p. 504. There are flat altar stones at many other Druid circles in North-Britain: such as at Coupar Grange in Perthshire, Kiltearn in Ross-shire, and other places. View of the Agriculture of Perthshire, p. 571: Stat. Acco.

consisting of a large broad stone, which is supported by several stones that are usually placed upon their respective edges. Of the first kind there are numerous examples in every district of North-Britain, as we have seen. The Cromlechs are equally numerous, and still more remarkable (*k*). And both these sorts of altars are generally connected with Druid circles or other Druid works, though the Cromlechs sometimes appear alone in some sequestered place, which may have been sheltered by the sacred grove while the Caledonian forest yet covered the Caledonian regions (*l*).

V. i., p. 292. Many of the Druid circles in England and Wales have similar altar stones and upright stones, with artificial cavities in them. Archaeol., V. ii., p. 207. Borlase's Cornwall, p. 117—241, &c.

(*k*) Many Cromlechs are connected with Druid circles, and several appear without circles. In the parish of Old Deer, in Aberdeenshire, there is a number of Druidical circles: the most entire of these is on the hill of Park-house, and has a large Cromlech, the top stone of which is fourteen feet long, contains about two hundred and fifty solid feet, and rests upon other two large stones placed on their edges. Cordiner's Antiquities, p. 44; Stat. Acco., V. 16, p. 81. In the enclosures of Kipp's-house, in Linlithgowshire, there is a Druidical circle, having one or two erect stones in the centre, and a large Cromlech near it. Gough's Camden, V. iii., p. 318. In the middle of one of the Druidical circles in the isle of Arran there is a Cromlech, consisting of a large broad stone, which is supported by three lesser ones. Martin's Western Islands, p. 220. In the parish of Castleton, in Roxburghshire, there is a Cromlech at the south end of a large oblong Cairn, near the north end of which there is a Druid circle. Stat. Acco., V. xvi., p. 85. On a high ground, near a mile north from the church of Baldernock, in Stirlingshire, there is a circular plain or area, of about a hundred paces diameter, and surrounded by an ascent of a few yards in height, in the form of an amphitheatre: within this area or enclosure there is a remarkable Cromlech, which is called *the auld wives' lift*: and this area appears, from the remains, to have once been covered by a grove of oaks. Stat. Acco., V. 15, p. 280; Ure's Rutherglen, p. 85. There are many such Druid works, with similar Cromlechs, in England and Wales. Gough's Camden, V. i., p. 285—294. Pl. xv.—Ib. V. iii., p. 174—90; Antiq. Repert, V. vi., p. 239; Stukeley's Abury: Borlase's Cornw. 119; Pennant's Tour in Wales, V. ii., p. 203; King's Munimenta Antiq. V. i. p. 210—260. And there are also in England, Wales and Cornwall, a number of Cromlechs at which there do not at present appear any Druid circles. Such as the famous Cromlech, called *Kitt's Cotty-house*, in Kent. Munimenta Antiq. V. i. p. 215. Pl. viii. and ix. That at Plas-Newydd, in Anglesey, and several others in the same island. Pennant's Tour in Wales, V. ii. p. 237; Gough's Camden, V. ii., p. 569; Rowland's Mona Antiqua, p. 92—3; King's Munimenta Antiq. V. i., p. 231—237. Pl. x. and xi. See King's Munimenta, from 210 to 263; and Borlase's Cornwall, p. 223 to 233, for a number of other Cromlechs in different parts of South-Britain.

(*l*) The term *Cromlech* is brought by Rowland, from Babel, in the form of *Cæræm-lech*, or *Cærem-luach*, a devoted stone or altar. Mon. Antiq. p. 47, which is quoted by the learned author of the Munimenta Antiq. V. i., p. 230—58—9. This elaborate antiquary also quotes an Etymon of the *Cromlech*, which is supposed to have been given by a Scots highlander, in the Gent. Mag.

The Cairns which the superstition of the earliest ages dedicated to Druid rites must be carefully distinguished from the sepulchral Cairns that are every where found in North-Britain (*m*). The Druid Cairns may be easily ascertained by attending to the following circumstances: The Druid Cairns are always connected, either by vicinity or use, with some Druid circle or Druid work, of which we have seen several examples. The Druid Cairns are generally fenced round the bottom by a circle of stones. These Cairns had always on their summits a large flat stone on which the Druid fires were lighted: and, lastly, these monuments may be distinguished by the avenue of upright stones which conducted the devotees to the base of so many Druid Cairns (*n*).

1792. p. 695; and which consists of *Crom*, bent or crooked, and *lech*, that is supposed by the highlander to be a corruption of *Clach*, a stone: thus, *Cromlech* was conjectured to be the stone which was to be bowed towards, or the stone of adoration. Borlase, p. 225. says the general name for this stone among the learned is Cromlech or crooked stone; the upper stone being generally of a convex or swelling surface, and resting in a crooked position: Borlase adds in a note, that *Crom*, in the Cornish, signifies crooked, and *Crymmy*, bending, bowing; whence Toland and others have conjectured that these singular erections were called *Cromlech*, from the reverence which persons, bowing in the act of adoration, paid to them. None of these, however, have given the true and proper interpretation of the term *Cromlech*. *Crom*, both in the British and Irish, undoubtedly signifies *bent*, *inclined*; and *Cromadh*, bending, inclining; and *Llech* (Brit.) and *Llaw* (Ir.) mean a flat stone, as we learn from Davies and O'Brien: whence, *Crom-lech* literally signifies the *inclined flat stone*; and certainly is, like most other Celtic names, descriptive of the thing to which it is applied; the top stone of all the Cromlechs being a flat stone that had been designedly placed in an inclined position. The conjecture of the Scots highlander, of Toland, and of others, as above mentioned, of the *Cromlech* being the *stone of adoration* does not agree with the fact, as the Cromlechs were not constructed for objects of adoration, but for the analogous purpose of sacrificing altars. It must, however, be observed, that *Crom* is not the proper epithet, either in the British or in the Irish, for inclining or sloping unless the stone was also *concave*: *Crom* literally signifies, in both those languages, *bending*, *bowed*, *bent*, *concave*; and might be applied to the attitude of the body in bowing. For drawings of Cromlechs, see Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, V. ii., p. 246; King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, Pl. viii. ix. x. and xi., p. 222; Borlase's *Cornwall*, p. 223, Pl. xxi.; Ure's *Rutherglen*, p. 85.

(*m*) *Cairn* is an original word in the British and Irish dialects of the Celtic; and signifies literally a *heap*, a *prominence*.

(*n*) In Kirkmichael parish, in Perthshire, the distinguished site of Druid remains in North-Britain, there are a number of Druid Cairns in the vicinity of Druidical circles, and other remains, as we have seen. In Blair of Athol parish there is a large Cairn, sixty paces in circumference, which stands near a Druid circle, and which has several flat stones on its lofty summit. Stat. Acco. V. ii., p. 474. In the parish of Lecchel, in Aberdeenshire, there are several large Cairns, some of which are fenced round with large stones; and near these Cairns, are several double and triple concentric circles. Ib. V. vi., p. 221. In the parish of East Kilbride, in Lanarkshire, on the summit of the Cathkin hills, there is a large Cairn, which is surrounded with a narrow ditch.

Among the vast variety of Druid monuments in North-Britain one of the most interesting is the *rocking stone*, which seems to have existed in every country and in every period (*o*). That those singular stones are Druid remains cannot easily be doubted by the scepticism which denies the evidence of Druid remains in North-Britain. It was, after the sublime truths of Druidism had fallen into the grossness of superstition, and the pure adoration of the Deity had degenerated into delusive imposition, that the *rocking stones* whether natural or artificial were brought in, either to induce belief or to heighten devotion. And these rocking stones are still to be seen, the objects of learned curiosity, but of ignorant wonder, in every district of North-Britain, as well as in Cornwall and in Wales (*p*).

and a small dike of earth, and is surmounted with a very large flat stone. Ure's Hist., p. 216.—In Iona, which has always been sacred to religious observances, there is a Cairn or a mount, which is called *Cluadh-nan-Druidhneach*, the burial place of the Druids, and which is surrounded with a stone fence and had once a *Cromlech*. Stat. Acco. V. xiv., p. 199; Smith's Gael. Antiq.: Pennant's Tour, V. iii., p. 258.—In the isle of Arran, there is a Cairn or mound, within two concentric circles, and near this, there is a huge Cairn of great pebbles, having a circle of stones round its base. Pennant's Tour, V. iii., p. 180.—In Castleton parish, in Roxburghshire, there is a large *oblong* Cairn, having at the north end of it a Druid circle and at its south end a *Cromlech*. Stat. Acco. V. xvi., p. 85.

(*o*) Borlase's Cornwall, p. 179-182. See Pennant's Tour in Wales, V. ii., p. 246. for an account of Druid remains in every part of Europe.

(*p*) In the parish of Kirkmichael, in Perthshire, there is an immense rocking stone, which stands on a flat-topped eminence in the vicinity of a large body of Druid remains that have been already noticed. This stone is placed on the plain surface of a rock level with the ground. It is a very hard solid whinstone, of a quadrangular shape, approaching to the figure of a rhombus, of which the greater diagonal is seven feet and the less five feet: its mean thickness is about two and a half feet; and its solid contents must therefore be about 51,075 cubical feet: its weight must be about three tons and half a hundred, for a stone of the same quality was found to weigh eight stone three pounds the cubic foot. By pressing down either of the extreme corners a rocking motion is produced, which may be increased so as to make the distance between their lowest depression and highest elevation a full foot. This stone makes twenty-six or more vibrations, from one side to the other, after the pressure is wholly withdrawn. Stat. Acco. V. xv., p. 517. On the south descent of the hill, which is opposite to the Manse of Dron, in Perthshire, there is a large rocking stone. It is a block of whinstone, ten feet long and seven feet broad; and it is placed in a somewhat sloping position, and rests its central prominence upon a great flat stone, which is fixed in the earth. On gently pressing the upper end, it begins a rocking motion, vibrating in an arch of from one to two inches, and continues to vibrate for some time after the pressure is withdrawn. Ib. V. ix., p. 483.—In the parish of Abernethy, in the same shire, upon Fargwater, near Balvaird, the town of the bard, there is a rocking stone, which attracted the notice of Buchanan. Ib. p. 484. On the hill, called Mealyea, in the parish of Kells, in the stewartry of Kirkeudbright, there is a vast rocking stone, which from its size, must be eight or ten tons

It were easy to show that the remains of Druidism are more numerous in North than in South Britain. They do not equal, though they certainly emulate, the stupendous works of the same kind on Salisbury Plain, and at Abury. They were all undoubtedly the works of a people who were actuated by great activity of religious principle, and possessed amazing ingenuity of invention and power of execution. Those monuments also evince that the Druids enjoyed and exerted all the knowledge and influence which have been attributed to them by history in ancient and in modern times. From the foregoing investigations we may perceive that the stone monuments in North and South Britain, as they are exactly the same, must necessarily have been erected by the same people, and nearly in the same age (*q*). It is

weight : it is so nicely balanced upon two or three protuberances, that the pressure of the finger produces a rocking motion from one side to the other. *Ib.* V. iv., p. 262 ; and Grose's *Antiq.* V. II., p. 190. Pl. i. ii. This rocking stone is called in the country the *Logan-stone*. There are a variety of rocking stones in Cornwall, which are there called *Logan-stones*. *Borlase.* p. 143, 179, 181. There are also rocking stones in Wales, in Derbyshire, and in Yorkshire, and also in Ireland. *Ib.* p. 182 ; *Camden Brit.*, 762 ; *Gough's Camden*, V. iii., p. 36-7.

(*q*) Several of the Druidical works which remain in North-Britain are of an elliptical, and several of an oval form. On the farm of Graitney Mains, in Dumfriesshire, there are the remains of a Druidical temple, of an oval form, enclosing about half an acre of ground. It is composed of large rough whin or moor-stone, which must have been brought from a considerable distance, there being no stones of this kind within ten or twelve miles of this place. One of the largest of these stones measures one hundred and eighteen cubical feet. *Stat. Acco.*, V. ix., p. 528. On an eminence about half a mile west of the house of Clyne, in the parish of Kiltarn in Ross-shire, there are the remains of a Druidical temple, consisting of two *ovals* joined to each other, and formed of large upright stones. The area of both these ovals are equal, being thirteen feet from east to west, and ten feet in the middle from north to south. At the west end of one of them there is a stone which rises eight feet above the surface of the earth : the other stones are from four to six feet long. Within the same oval there is a large flat altar stone, which seems to have stood formerly at the east end. There are three concentric circles marked out round the eminence, on the top of which these ovals are situated : The lowest one, at the bottom of it, is eighty paces in circumference ; the second, twenty-eight paces above this, is about fifty paces in circumference ; and the third, twelve paces above the second, is about thirty-five paces in circumference. *Ib.*, V. i., p. 292. Several other Druid temples in North-Britain are of an oval or an elliptical form ; and many of those in South-Britain are of the same form. The grand temple of Stonehenge, and the principal circle at Stan-ton-Drew, in Somersetshire, are of an elliptical form. The Druid temple near Town-Malling, in Kent, is of an oval form, and has at the east end of it a great altar stone, and near it a stone pillar. *Archæol.* v. 2, p. 107. The Druid temple near Keswick, in Cumberland, is oval. *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, v. 3. p. 38. pl. 1, fig. 1 ; and *Antiq. Repertory.* v. 1, p. 239. The Druid temples at Boskednaw, at Kerris, and at Boscawen-un, in Cornwall, and that at Trescaw, in the Scilly isles, are all oval. *Borlase Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 198, 200, 205, pl. xv. and xvii. There are the remains of six different Druidical temples within a mile of the present church of Kiltarlity in Inverness-shire : one of

in vain, then, for sceptics to talk vaguely of there never having been Druids in North-Britain, where so many stone monuments attest their existence and exhibit their labours.

them is in the present church-yard. Such of these temples as are entire consist of two concentric circles, the external one from sixty-four to seventy-four yards in circumference, formed of nine large stones. Four of these stones, which are placed to the west-south-west and north-west, are considerably larger than the other five, being from five to six and a half feet high, and broad in proportion, and are three or four feet farther distant from each other than the other five, which are only about four feet high. The inner circles are about ten or eleven feet distant from the outer one, and consist of a number of smaller stones placed near each other, about two feet high. There is sometimes a cairn of small stones in the area of the inner circle; several places in the same parish are named from these circles. As *Bal-na-carrachan*, the *Town of the Circles*, *Blar-na-carrachan*, the *Field of the Circles*, and a farm hamlet near the church is called *Ard-druidmach*, the *height of the Druids*. Stat. Account, v. 13, p. 524. Druidism seems not only to have spread over North-Britain to the extremity of Caithness, but also to have penetrated into the western islands, and even into the Orkney islands. In the main island of Orkney, called Pomona, there are considerable Druidical remains at a place called Stenness. At the south end of a causeway which crosses a narrow and shallow part of the loch of Stenness, there is a circle formed of smooth flag stones set upright. The stones are about twenty feet high above the ground, six feet broad, and a foot or two thick. Between this circle and the end of the causeway there are two upright stones of the same size with the others, in one of which there is a hole of an oval form, large enough to admit a man's head. About half a mile from the other or north-west end of the causeway, which crosses the narrow part of the loch, there is another large circle of stones about a hundred and ten paces in diameter. Both this and the former circles are surrounded with fosses. On the east and west of this large circle there are two artificial tumuli, or mounts of a conical form, and somewhat hollow upon the top. About half a mile from the first mentioned circle, at the south end of the causeway, there is a tumulus larger than the others, which has been surrounded with a fosse. It is called the *Mes-how*. Wallace's Orkney, p. 53; Stat. Account, v. 14, p. 134—5. *Mes-how* means Mes-knoll; *How*, in Orkney, denotes a *knoll* or eminence: it is from the Scandinavian *Holl*, vulgarly pronounced *How*, which is different from the Scoto-Saxon *how*, a *hollow*. Some parts of these grand remains appear to have been demolished since Wallace's time. The hole, in one of the upright stones at this place, is similar to the *Maen-tol's* or hole stones in Cornwall. See Borlase, p. 177, pl. xiv. Yet the foregoing intimations must only be regarded as a few specimens of Druid remains which have been selected from an infinite number that may be seen by the curious eye in every parish in North-Britain. The inquisitive reader may expect a fuller detail of Druid remains in the several county histories, under the head of *Antiquities* in this work. Nevertheless scepticism has doubted, and absurdity denied, that there ever were Druids in any part of Scotland! Much has been written, since the revival of learning in Europe, on the interesting subject of the Druids, their tenets, and their worship. In the foregoing sketch I have derived some help from a MS. *Enquiry into Druidism*, which is in my library. Among the Gaelic Antiquities of Dr. John Smith is "A history of the Druids." But Frickius, the learned and industrious Frickius, has collected, in his curious work, "*De Druidis*," every thing which had been written before him, in any language, on the Druids; and he has added to his elaborate treatise, "*Catalogus Scriptorum de Druidis et Rebus ad Antiquitates illorum pertinentibus*."

The same Gaelic people undoubtedly erected all those singular monuments in Britain and in Ireland: this position might be further illustrated by an investigation of the sepulchral remains in North-Britain, which are so intimately connected with the religious sentiment of the ancient inhabitants. During the first ages the modes of sepulture were various. In the most early times, however, during the existence of paganism, the burning of the dead settled into a general practice. But the Pagans relinquished the mode as the light of Christianity dawned upon them, and as traits of civility approached from the illumination of their minds. Our present inquiry, however, relates chiefly to the modes of sepulture among the Pagan people of North-Britain. They seem all to have burned their dead, though they appear to have somewhat differed in the manner of inhumation, according to the rank of the deceased. In every part of North-Britain, in the Hebrides, and in the Orkneys, there is still to be traced a great number of the sepulchral remains of the first colonists or their immediate descendants. There were formerly many more. But in the progress of improvements, during the last century, those sacred remains have supplied the cultivators of the soil with stones for their fences, and mould for their compost. These sepulchral remains of the earliest people in North-Britain may be considered under the several distinctions of Barrows, Cairns, Cistvaens, and Urns.

The greatest numbers of these *tumuli* are circular heaps, resembling a flat cone. A great many are oblong ridges, like the hulk of a ship with its bottom upwards. Some of them are composed of earth; the most of them of stones; many of them of a mixture of earth and stones; and a few of them of sand: the great distinction, however, between the Barrow and the Cairn, consists in this, that the first is composed only of earth, and the second of stones: in South-Britain the Barrows chiefly prevail; in North-Britain the Cairns abound the most (*r*): and both these, when they are of a round shape, and are covered with green sward are called, in the last country, by the vulgar *hillocks*, and by the learned *tumuli*.

(*r*) Borlase, p. 211. will have the *Barrows* to be rather *Burrows*; as the barrow, according to him, signifies a place of defence, but the burrow is from *Byrig*, a burial place. Bailey derives the barrow from the Saxon *Beorg*. *Collis*: Skinner equally derives the same word from the Anglo-Saxon *Beorg*, *tumulus*: and Ash supposes the barrow to be derived from the Saxon *Berwe*, a grove or woody place. None of them seem to have hit upon the true derivation of the well-known term, barrow. *Beorg*, and *Beorh*, in the Anglo-Saxon, signify *collis*, *agger*, *acervus*, *tumulus*: so, *aeftor-beorgum* means *monumentum sepulchrum*. Lye. But as the barrows were the works of a Celtic people, so the name is probably derived from the Celtic language: *Bar*, in the British, *Barra*, in its plural, signify the top or summit, an excrecence. Davies and Owen. *Bar*, in the Irish, equally means

Barrows of a greater or a less size may be found in every district of North-Britain, in the most southern as well as the most northern. Near the abbey of Newbottle there was once a remarkable Barrow, composed of earth and of a conic figure, in height thirty feet, and in circumference at the base ninety feet; it was surrounded by a circle of stones, and on its top there grew a fir tree. When this Barrow was removed there was found in it a stone coffin, near seven feet long, and proportionably broad and deep; and from it was taken a human skull (*s*). Several other Barrows, both in South and North-Britain, have been also surrounded with circles of stones (*t*). There is a Barrow in the parish of Kirkmabreck, in Wigtonshire, which is called Cairny-wanie, and which is merely the Cairn-*uaine* of the Scoto-Irish, or *Green-Cairn* of the Scoto-Saxon: when Cairny-*wanie* was opened there was found in it a stone coffin, comprehending a human skeleton that was greatly above the ordinary size, together with an urn containing some ashes and an earthen pitcher (*u*). There was a sepulchral tumulus at Elie, in Fife, which, when opened some years ago, was found to contain several human bones of a remarkably large size (*v*). In the parish of Logie, in Forfarshire, there are several *tumuli*, two of which have been opened: in one of these there was found a coffin, formed of flag stones, and containing a human skeleton, the bones whereof were of an extraordinary size, were mostly entire, of a deep yellow colour, and were very brittle when touched: in the other tumulus there were found, about a foot from the surface, four human skeletons, the bones whereof were exceedingly large; and near these was discovered a beautiful black ring, like ebony, of a fine polish, and in perfect preservation; and this ring is twelve inches in circumference, and four inches in diameter; it is flat in the inside, and rounded without, and it would fit a large wrist. In the same tumulus there was found an urn which was full of ashes (*y*). In the parish of Girvan,

a head, a top, a heap. O'Brien and Shaw. *Bera*, in the British, signifies a pyramid, a heap, a stack, as of corn or hay. Davies and Owen. *Borra*, in the Irish, means a swelling, a protuberance. O'Brien and Shaw. And in the Scoto-Irish it signifies a *pile*. Stat. Account, v. 14, p. 257. *Carn*, in the British and Irish, means merely a *heap*, as we have seen.

(*s*) Antiq. Trans. Edinb., p. 95.

(*t*) Gough's Camden, V. i., p. 3: several Barrows in the Scilly Isles are edged round with large stones. Borlase's Cornwall, p. 219.

(*u*) Stat. Acco., V. xvi., p. 552.

(*v*) Ib. V. xvii., p. 542.

(*y*) Stat. Acco., V. ix., p. 51-2: in a large oblong Cairn about a mile west from Ardoch, in Perthshire, there was found a stone coffin, containing a human skeleton seven feet long. Ib. V. viii., p. 495. From those facts, with regard to the large size of the skeletons, the tradition on this subject should seem not to be quite groundless, as indeed Tacitus, when describing the Caledonians, appears to intimate.

in Ayrshire, there were several *tumuli*: in one of these there was found a *stone chest*, which enclosed a clay urn, unglazed and rudely ornamented: and the chest was open at the top, and contained some ashes (*z*). In two sepulchral tumuli near the manse of Dun, in Forfarshire, there were found several clay urns, with sculptures, and containing ashes and pieces of bones (*a*). There is in Hamilton parish a large *tumulus* which, when opened, was found to contain a good many urns; they were all of baked earth, some of them were plain, and others of them were decorated with mouldings, without any inscriptions: and they contained ashes and human bones, and some of these bones were accompanied with *the tooth of a horse* (*b*). On the west of the village of Edenham, in Roxburghshire, there is a sepulchral tumulus called the *Picts-know*: out of which there were dug, some years ago, three stone coffins, one whereof contained an urn with ashes (*c*). On the banks of the Cree, in Galloway, there were several *tumuli*: in some of these, when they were opened in 1754, there were found the remains of weapons of *brass*, which were very much corroded; one of these was formed much like a halbert; another was shaped like a hatchet, having in the back part an instrument resembling a paviour's hammer: a third was formed like a spade, but of a much smaller size; and each of these weapons had a proper aperture for a handle (*d*). In the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, in Dumfries-shire, there were several sepulchral tumuli, one of the largest whereof is called *Belton-hill*, from the *Baal-tein* probably, or fire of Baal, which in ancient times was lighted on May-day (*e*). In the parish of

(*z*) Ib. v. xii. p. 342: in every part of North-Britain *stone chests* have been found in Barrows and Cairns, as the *coffins* of older times. Ib. v. xiii., p. 272-3. Ib. v. x., p. 186. Ib. v. iii., p. 57.

(*a*) Ib. v. iii., p. 362.

(*b*) Ib. v. ii., p. 208.

(*c*) Ib. v. xi., p. 307.

(*d*) Stat. Acco., v. vii., p. 60: in a Cairn on the King's Moor, near Peebles, there was found an urn inverted, containing the ashes of some ancient warrior, with the *blade of a dagger*. Ib. V. xii., p. 15. In a Barrow in Kirkcud parish, Peebles-shire, there were found the remnants of weapons, which were formed of flint-stones; one of the weapons resembled the head of a halbert, another was of a circular form, and the third of a cylindrical shape. From these intimations we may not only perceive the manner of the pristine interments, but the kind of *weapons* which were used by the first people. Within a Barrow in the parish of Coupar, in Fife, there was found several heads of battle-axes, formed of a very hard white-coloured stone, and neatly shaped, curved, and polished. Ib. v. xvii., p. 159. Ib. v. x., p. 186.

(*e*) Some years ago, when a considerable part of *Belton-hill* was removed, there was found in its bottom a large square stone chest, wherein were some *beads*; other two Barrows, at some distance northwest from *Belton-hill*, were also opened, when there was found in one of them a stone chest

Glenholm, in Peeblesshire, by Tweedside, there are several Barrows, one of which was found to contain a stone coffin, wherein was found the skeleton of a man, having *bracelets on his arms* (*f*). On the coast of Banffshire, in the Boyne, several sepulchral tumuli have been opened: in one of them there was found a stone coffin, containing human bones, with a *deer's-horn*: in others there were stone chests enclosing urns, which were full of ashes (*g*).

The sepulchral *tumuli* in the Hebrides and in the Orkney Isles are of the same kind, both as to their structure and contents, with those on the mainland, in their neighbourhood: and we may, from these circumstances, infer that they are the undoubted remains of the first people. Within several *tumuli* which were opened in the Isle of Skye, there were discovered stone coffins with urns containing ashes and weapons (*h*). In a Barrow which was opened in the Isle of Egg, there was found a large urn containing human bones: this urn consisted of a large round stone which had been hollowed, and the top of it covered with a thin flag-stone (*i*). In the islands of Lismore, Gigha, and others, there have been dug out of such *tumuli* stone coffins and urns, containing ashes (*k*).

In Pomona, the chief of the Orkney Isles, there are a number of Barrows: in some of these, within the parish of Holm, there were found small stone urns containing ashes (*l*). In the parish of Sandwick there were discovered in several tumuli three stone chests, about fifteen or eighteen feet square, containing ashes and fragments of bones without urns: in one of these there was found a large urn which was shaped like a jar, and was sufficient to hold fifteen gallons; and it contained ashes with fragments of bones (*m*). In the parish of Kirkwall there was a number of tumuli which have disclosed stone chests containing bones that were partly consumed, together with the ashes of the dead (*n*). In the Isles of Shapinsay, Sanday, and other Orkney Islands,

within which there was an urn of fine workmanship that was filled with ashes, and the mouth whereof was covered with an appropriate stone; there were also found in the chest, and near the urn, several *iron rings* about the size of half a crown; but they were so much eat up by rust that on being touched they fell to pieces. *Bowls*, the ornaments of the British women, have been found in several other Barrows in North and South-Britain. See Douglas's *Nenia*. *Archæiol.* v. vii., p. 474; King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, v. i., p. 256.

(*f*) Stat. Acco., v. iv., p. 435; *Ib.*, v. vii., p. 299.

(*g*) *Ib.*, v. iii., p. 57.

(*h*) *Ib.*, v. xvi., p. 227; *Ib.*, v. xviii., p. 186.

(*i*) *Ib.*, v. xvii., p. 287.

(*k*) *Ib.*, v. i., p. 493; v. viii., p. 56.

(*l*) *Ib.*, v. v., p. 413.

(*m*) *Ib.*, v. xvi., p. 459.

(*n*) *Ib.*, v. vii., p. 557.

there are sepulchral *tumuli*, in which have been found urns and half-burnt bones (*o*); the whole denoting that the Orkneys must have been originally colonized by the Gaulic-Britons of the southern shores.

The many Barrows and other sepulchral *tumuli* which have been opened in different parts of South-Britain, have evinced a perfect similarity in their structure and composition to the same melancholy monuments in North-Britain; and exhibit in the curious contents of their urns and cistaens, the ornaments which once belonged to the British women, and the weapons that enabled the British warriors to defend their country during the earliest ages. The sameness in all those objects of rational curiosity attest that they were undoubtedly the works of the same people during the most ancient period of the British history (*p*).

The sepulchral cairns, as they are composed of vast collections of stones, are more numerous in North than in South-Britain, from its abounding more with lapidose substances. Within the parish of Borthwick, in Edinburghshire, there once were a great many such cairns: In those which have been opened, and all around them, there have been found a number of earthen urns that were covered with flat stones and were full of half-burnt human bones; these urns were of coarse but ingenious workmanship, being ornamented with different figures, and would have contained about a gallon (*q*). On a moor between the parishes of Kintore and Kinellar, in Aberdeenshire, there are several sepulchral cairns, wherein were found a stone chest, and in it a ring of a substance like veined marble, which was large enough to take in three fingers; and near this stone chest was discovered an urn, containing *human hair* (*qq*). In a cairn on Crameston-hill in Berwickshire, which was dispersed in 1792, there were found several earthen urns of different sizes, containing human bones (*r*). A sepulchral cairn in Bendothy parish in Perthshire being opened, there were found in it some ashes and human bones, which had undergone the action of fire; and lower down in the same cairn, there were discovered two inverted urns, which were large enough to hold thigh and leg bones; and contained human bones: these urns were adorned with rude sculpture, but were without inscriptions (*s*).

(*o*) Stat. Account, v. xvii., p. 234.; v. vii., p. 489.; Pennant's Arctic Zool., v. i., p. xxxv.

(*p*) Archaeology, throughout; Gough's Camden, throughout; Borlase's Cornwall, p. 211—222; King's Munimenta Antiq., v. i., p. 267—326; Mr. King has shown that the notion which attributes several of those sepulchral *tumuli* to the Danes, is groundless.

(*q*) Stat. Acco., v. xiii., p. 635-6.

(*qq*) Ib. v. xiii., p. 92.

(*r*) Ib. v. xiv., p. 584.

(*s*) Stat. Account, v. xix., p. 359: in a sepulchral cairn, in the parish of East W., there were

In the Beaully Frith, which is on both sides very shallow, there are, a considerable distance within the flood-mark, on the coast of Ross-shire, several cairns, in one of which urns have been found (*t*). We may easily infer from those facts how much the sea has encroached upon the flat shores of the Beaully Frith since the distant epoch of cairns, which are now so far within its flux.

Amidst the varieties in the manner of burial among the ancient inhabitants of our island, the *Cistvaen* is remarkable: the word in the British language signifies, literally, a stone chest, from *Cist*, a chest, and *maen*, stone; the (*m*) in the British changing in composition to (*v*) (*a*). In the various practice of those people, the *Cistvaen* sometimes contained the urn, which preserved the precious ashes of the deceased; but it often contained the ashes and bones, without an urn, as we have seen. In the same manner urns were frequently found without *Cistvaens*, which were of different sizes and shapes, as we have perceived, according to the fashion of successive ages, and to the rank of the deceased (*b*).

found some urns, which were open at both their ends; were narrow in the middle: and were glazed and ornamented with flowers. Ure's Hist., p. 214—15. In a sepulchral cairn, which was opened in the parish of Kirkinner in Wigtonshire, there was found a stone coffin containing human bones, which were half burnt. Stat. Account, v. 4, p. 145.

(*t*) Stat. Account, v. 17, p. 350; one of those cairns, to the south-east of Redcastle, stands four hundred yards within the flood mark, and is of considerable size. On the south side of the same frith, at some distance from the mouth of the river Ness, a considerable space within the flood-mark, there is a large cairn, which is called *Cairn-aire*, that is, the *cairn in the sea*. West from this, in the same frith, there are three other cairns, at considerable distances from each other: the largest is a huge heap of stones in the middle of the frith, and is accessible at low water: and, it appears to have been a sepulchral cairn, from the urns which are found in it. Ib. v. 9, p. 631.

(*a*) Davies and Owen: it is curious to observe that the British word *Cist* remains to this day in the Scoto-Saxon language.

(*b*) Stat. Account, v. 12, p. 342; v. 13, p. 272—3; v. 10, p. 186; v. 3, p. 57; which have been already quoted. Ib. v. 14, p. 113—370. Scarcely anything has appeared within any of the sepulchral tumuli which have been opened in North-Britain to shew that the funeral remains were Roman. Two circumstances are always wanting: (1.) The sepulchral urn with its appropriate ashes and burnt bones, ought to be found around some Roman camp; or, (2.) It ought to be discovered near some Roman road: such urns have been found near the Roman camps at Ardoch and at Orreca. Stat. Account, v. 8, p. 495; v. 15, p. 528. It has been a very common error to attribute those sepulchral urns, which have been discovered in North-Britain, to the Romans, on the supposition that they originally introduced urn burial, and that they only were capable of making such urns. Ib. v. 14, p. 30; Trans. of Antiq. Soc. of Scotland, v. 1, p. 304: and see Douglas's Nenia, p. 127, 131—3. But Mr. King has evinced that several barrows,

The same observation may be made with respect to urns, which have been generally found in *tumuli*, but often below the surface without a hillock: they were composed, as we have seen, usually of pottery, sometimes of stone; and they were of different shapes and variously ornamented, according to the taste of the times and ability of the parties (*c*). There are still other varieties in the modes of sepultures in South and North-Britain. In both, sepulchral tumuli have been found in close connection with the Druid circles. At Achen-corthie, the field of the circles, there is a Druid temple, which, we have already seen, was composed of three concentric circles; and there has been dug up, between the two outer circles, a cistvaen, about three feet long and one and a half feet wide, wherein there was found an urn containing some ashes (*d*). And we may thus see an additional example of the similar policy, which appears to have existed in every age, between the inhabitants in the southern and northern parts of our island, as well as the close continuity which there seems to have existed between the Druid places of worship and of sepulture, and those of the Christians in Gaelic Britain.

There appears to have been a still more natural connection between the British strengths and sepulchral tumuli; as stone chests, and clay urns, con-

which have been falsely attributed to the Romans, are really British; and that the Roman sepultures in Britain are generally without tumuli: it was not the usual practice of the Romans to raise barrows over their dead. *Munimenta Antiq.* v. 1, p. 300—304. And it ought to be recollected that the Danes had desisted from burning their dead before their expeditions into Britain. *Douglas's Nenia*, p. 125.

(*c*) In the parish of Mousewald, in Dumfries-shire, urns containing pieces of human bones and ashes have been found in places where there was no appearance of tumuli. *Stat. Account*, v. 7, p. 299. Near *Fordun*, in Kincardineshire, there have been discovered clay urns, which were enclosed in stone cases, that were sunk in the earth without any tumulus; and which contained ashes. *Ib.* v. 4, p. 498; and Mr. Leslie, the Minister's Letter to me. In the parish of Cleish, in Kinross-shire, several urns were found under a large stone and some under small cairns: the urns appear to have been made of coarse materials, and to have been pretty well glazed and ornamented with dotted lines. *Ib.* v. 3, p. 561.

(*d*) *Stat. Account*, v. 4, p. 456. At Barrach, in the parish of New Deer, Aberdeenshire, a peasant digging for stones in a Druid temple found, about eighteen inches below the surface, a flat stone lying horizontally; and on raising it, he discovered an urn full of human bones, some of which were quite fresh; but on being touched they crumbled into dust; this urn had no bottom, but was placed on a flat stone such as covered its top: and about a yard from this excavation another urn was found containing similar remains. *Scots Mag.* 1772, p. 581. There are many other instances both in South and North-Britain, which evince an intimate connection between Druid remains and tumuli. *Stukeley's Abury*: *Douglas's Nenia*, p. 171; *Gough's Camden*, v. 1, p. 285—294, and pl. xv.; *Gent. Mag.* 1767, p. 170.

taining ashes and bones, are frequently dug up about such ancient fortresses. On the east side of the British fort at Inchtuthel, there are two sepulchral tumuli (*e*). Such were undoubtedly the burial places of the chiefs who commanded the Caledonian hill-forts in early times.

Analogous to those are the sepulchral cairns which, at the end of so many eventful ages, still denote the fields of ancient conflicts. It is more than probable that the battle at the Grampian is still perpetuated, and that the memory of the Caledonians who fell in defence of their country is yet preserved by sepulchral tumuli (*f*). In the parish of Liberton, Edinburghshire, there were several large cairns, wherein were found various stone chests, enclosing urns, which contained ashes and weapons: some of these cairns, which still remain, are called the *Cat-stanes*, or *Battle-stanes* (*g*). Single stones in various parts of North-Britain are still known by the appropriate name of *Cat-stanes* (*h*). The name is plainly derived from the British *Cad*, or the Scoto-Irish *Cuth*, which signifies a battle. On Lauder-muir, in Berwickshire, where a battle is said to have been fought, there are a number of sepulchral tumuli; and there have been found near them fragments of swords, of bows, and of arrows, which have been pointed with flints (*i*). The early practice of raising cairns to perpetuate the memory of those who had fallen in domestic conflicts, or in repelling foreign invasions, has come down to our own times (*k*).

(*e*) Stat. Account, v. 9, p. 505. There are several sepulchral hillocks on a moor contiguous to a British fortress, in the parish of Monzie: in one of these, called *Carn-Comhall*, a stone coffin was found. Ib. v. 15, p. 257. An urn curiously carved and filled with ashes was dug up within the area of a British fortress on the top of Benan-hill in Ayrshire. Ib. v. 3, p. 586. Under the ruin of the wall of a British fort, in the parish of Pittenain, Lanarkshire, there were found several stone chests, including urns, which contained ashes. Ib. v. 12, p. 39.

(*f*) "On the hill above the moor of Ardoch, says Gordon. Itin. Septen., p. 42, are two great "heaps of stones, the one called *Carn-wochel*, the other *Carnlee*: the former is the greatest curiosity "of this kind that ever I met with; the quantity of great rough stones lying above one another "almost surpasses belief, which made me have the curiosity to measure it; and I found the whole "heap to be about one hundred and eighty-two feet in length, thirty in sloping height, and forty- "five in breadth at the bottom." The minister of the parish concurs in this account; and adds, that there has been found in it a stone coffin wherein there was a *skeleton seven feet long*. Stat. Account, v. 8, p. 497.

(*g*) Transac. Edin. Soc. Antiq., v. 1, p. 308.

(*h*) Stat. Account, v. 19, p. 591; Mait. Edin., p. 508; Gough's Camden, v. 3, p. 317: a rude upright stone, which stands at Kinver, in Staffordshire, is called *the battle stone*. King's Munimenta Antiq., v. 1, p. 120.

(*i*) Stat. Account, v. 1, p. 77.

(*k*) Ib. v. 15, p. 279; v. 13, p. 422; v. 15, p. 526—7; v. 17, p. 444; v. 6, p. 136; v. 17, p. 516; v. 17, p. 442; Gough's Camden, v. 3, p. 430.

Connected with those cairns of remembrance are stones of memorial. Besides the upright stones, which we have seen so essentially connected with Druid works, there is, in every district of North-Britain, a variety of stone pillars which are in their natural shape without the mark of any tool, and which are called traditionally *standing stones*, from their upright position. They frequently appear single and often in groups of two or three, or four, and sometimes in a greater number. These stones have been raised in successive ages to perpetuate events which, as the stones are without inscriptions, they have not transmitted. In Arran there are two large stone columns, which are quite rude (*l*). There is a number of these columnar stones in Mull, whereof some are very large, and are commonly called by the Scoto-Irish inhabitants *Carra'*, a word signifying in their language, a stone pillar (*m*). In Fife there are four huge standing stones, near Lundin, and one near Dysart, which tradition says are memorials of battles (*n*). For the same purpose similar stones have been erected in every part of North-Britain, which, as they are without inscriptions, do not answer the end either of personal vanity or of national gratitude (*o*).

We are thus led on to some inquiries with regard to the hill-forts, and other safeguards of the original people. That such strengths existed in North-Britain, at the epoch of the Roman invasion, we know from the information of facts (*p*). Burrenswark hill, in Annandale, was the site of a Selgovæ fort,

(*l*) Pennant's Tour, v. 3, p. 178; there are others of the same kind in Arran. Martin's West. Isles, p. 220. There are similar stones in Harris. Ib. 47—59.

(*m*) Stat. Account, v. 14, p. 154, 203.

(*n*) Stat. Account, v. 4, p. 546; v. 12, p. 522.

(*o*) See the Stat. Accounts every where. Similar stones may still be seen in many parts of England, Wales, Cornwall, and in Ireland. Borlase's Cornwall, p. 160—1; Rowland's Mona; King's Munimenta, v. 1, p. 113—23.

(*p*) The situation of those British strengths, their relative positions to one another, and the accommodations attached to them show that they have rather been constructed for the purpose of protecting the tribes from the attacks of one another than for the purpose of checking an invading enemy. They are placed upon eminences in those parts of the country which, even in those early ages, must have been the most habitable, and furnished the greatest quantity of subsistence. They frequently appear in groups of three, four, and even more, in the vicinity of each other; and they are so disposed upon the tops of heights that sometimes a considerable number may be seen from one another; having one much larger and stronger than the others, in the most commanding situation, which has no doubt been the distinguished post of the chief. Such was the large and strong post on the Eldon hills, around which, in the adjacent country, there are the remains of more than a dozen smaller strengths: such also were the large strengths on Burrenswark-hill, at Inch-

and of the Roman station of *Trimontium*, as we may see in Ptolomy and Richard. All around the edge or summit of this hill there are traces of something like the foundation of a breastwork : but this defence, as well as the lines of circumvallation, appear to have been prior to the camps, and possibly might even have existed anterior to the arrival of the Romans, according to Roy. The meaning of the name, which he egregiously mistook, would alone establish the fact that a British fort existed on this commanding hill before the construction of the Roman camps (*q*). The term *Burrin* may be derived from the British *Bur*, the plural *Burau*, signifying an inclosure or entrenchment, or work thrown up for defence (*r*) ; Yet Birne, Byrn, Byrna, signify *thorax*, *lorica*, in the Anglo-Saxon ; and *wark* is merely Scoto-Saxon for *work*. The coincidence of the British and Saxon terms for a defensive work has preserved the ancient name to the present times. From Burrenswark, about two miles, there is a village named Birrens or Burrens, at which there is a Roman camp : there are at Burren hill, in Mousewald parish, Dumfriesshire, and at Burren hill, in Kirkbean parish, in Kirkcudbright, the remains of fortifications : from the coincidence of the facts we may easily perceive whence all those fortified hills derived their appropriate appellations. *Burron* hill, in Mousewald parish, was plainly the commanding site of a British strength, being surrounded by a double ditch (*s*). Near *Burronhill* there is another British fort on the summit of *Panteth-hill*, which also commands an extensive prospect (*t*). On a well known hill, which is now called Wardlaw, in the parish of Caerlaverock, there is a circular British fortress that is surrounded with two ditches at the top, whence there is a most extensive view. On the same site there are faint traces of a Roman camp, the

tuthel, the Caterthuns, Barra-hill, Castle-over, and others, all which had their subordinate posts around them ; and the remains of many of those strengths are still to be seen. That many of those fortresses were in existence before the Romans invaded North-Britain, appears from this decisive circumstance, that several of the larger strengths were converted into Roman posts. The large British fort on the Eldon hills, that at Inchtuthel, that at Castle-over, and some other smaller British fortlets were converted into Roman posts. We may also draw the same inference from this curious fact that Roman camps are judiciously placed among several groups of those British strengths, for the evident purpose of overawing and watching them.

(*q*) See this station described in book i. ch. iii. of this work, and the true etymon of *Trimontium*, from *Tre*, the well known British appellative for a town : see Roy's *Antiq.*, pl. xvi., for a plan and sections of this hill and camps : see also the *Trans. of the Antiq. Society of Scot.*, v. 1, p. 125.

(*r*) Owen, in vo.

(*s*) *Stat. Account*, v. 7, p. 298.

(*t*) I. l. The prefix *Pan* is plainly a corruption of the British *Pen*, which signifies a head or top.

area whereof is now much ploughed up (*u*). This eminence afterwards served as a watch-hill to a strong castle of the Maxwells, who were wardens of this frontier during the middle ages. From this circumstance it is apparent that this commodious height acquired the Scoto-Saxon name of *Wardlaw* (*x*). In the same vicinity there is on Eskdale-moor *Castle-over*, which appears to have been a British fortress before the establishment of the Roman post on the same commodious site. The ancient entrenchment is of an oval form on the top of a hill; and there are a number of small strengths of a similar nature on the surrounding eminences (*y*).

In the parish of Menmuir, in Forfarshire, are two well known hill-forts called White Caterthun, standing to the south, and Brown Caterthun, to the northward (*z*). Pennant, whose Welsh etymons are not always accurate, says that the literal translation of Caterthun is *Camptown* (*a*). The name is plainly from the British words, *Cader*, a fortress, a stronghold, and *Dun*, a hill (*b*). Several of the fortified hills in Wales bear the same prefix *Cader*; as *Cader-Dinmoel*, *Cader-Idris*, and others: *Cader-dun* would be made *Cader-dhun* by the Scoto-Irish, *Cater-thun* by the Scoto-Saxons, and *Fort-hill* by the English. These are said to be decidedly reckoned amongst the most ancient Caledonian strongholds, and to be coeval with what are called British posts (*c*). White Caterthun is of uncommon strength: it is of an oval form, constructed of a stupendous dike of loose stones, the convexity of which, from the base within to that without, is a hundred and twenty-two feet: on the outside, a hollow, which is made by the disposition of the stones, surrounds the whole. Round the base is a deep ditch; and below, about a hundred yards, are vestiges of another trench that went round the hill. The area within the stoney hill is flat; the length of the oval is four hundred and thirty-six feet; the transverse diameter two hundred: near the east side is the foundation of a rectangular building; and there are also the foundations of other erections, which are circular and smaller; all which foundations had once their superstructures, the shelters of the possessors of the post: and there is a hollow which is now nearly filled

(*u*) Pennant's Tour, v. iii., p. 95; Munimenta Antiq., v. i., p. 28; Stat. Account, v. vi., p. 31.

(*x*) See *Weard* and *Hleaw*, in Somner.

(*y*) See Roy's Antiq., pl. xxvi., for a plan and section of *Castle-over*, which has exactly the same appearance and form as the *Caterthun*.

(*z*) Ainslie's map of Forfar-shire; Stat. Account, v. v., p. 150, and v. iv., p. 214.

(*a*) Tour, v. ii., p. 159.

(*b*) Davis and Owen.

(*c*) King's Munimenta Antiq., v. i., p. 27, and pl. i. and ii., which exhibit beautiful and accurate drawings of the White Caterthun.

with stones, and which was once the well of the fort (*d*). The other fortress, which is called *Brown Caterthun*, from the colour of the earth that composes the ramparts, is of a circular form, and consists of various concentric dikes (*e*).

Similar to the Caterthuns is the British fortress on Barra-hill, in Aberdeenshire. This fort was of an elliptical form: the ramparts were partly built with stones; having a large ditch that occupies the whole summit of the hill, which, as it is about two hundred feet above the vale, overlooks the low ground between it and the mountain of Benachie. It was surrounded by three lines of circumvallation. Facing the west the hill rises very steep, and the middle line is interrupted by rocks; the only access to the fort is on the east-side, where the ascent is easy, and at this part the entry to the fort is perfectly obvious. This Caledonian hill-fort is now called, by the tradition of the country, *Cummin's Camp*, from the defeat which the Earl of Buchan there sustained when attacked by the gallant Bruce. Of the name of this strength it may be observed that *Bar*, in the British language, as we have seen, is a top or summit; and its plural is *Barau* (*f*): but as this hill has only one top, we may suppose that the name is from *Bar*, which, in the Scoto-Irish, equally signifies a *summit*, and *Ra'*, in the same speech, signifying a fort, a strength (*g*).

Barry-hill, near Alyth, in Perthshire, is probably nothing more in the derivation of its name than *Bar-ra*, a hill-fort. At the base Barry-hill is about a mile in circumference, and six hundred and seventy-six feet high. The summit has been levelled into an area of about one hundred and sixty-eight yards in circumference within the rampart. Barry-hill appears, from its vast ditch and walls, to have been a fortress of impregnable strength. The approach to the fort was from the north-east, along the verge of a precipice; and the entrance was secured by a bulwark of stones, the remains whereof still exist. Over the ditch, which was ten feet broad, and fourteen feet below the foundation of the wall, a narrow bridge was raised, about eighteen feet long and two feet broad: this bridge was composed of stones, which had been laid together without much art, and vitrified on all sides, so that the whole mass was firmly

(*d*) Those intimations correspond with the remains of the several British forts in South-Britain, which had their *Cells*, and structures, and wells. Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, v. ii., p. 203, 215, 216, 321; *Archaiol.*, v. iii., p. 305, pl. xiv.

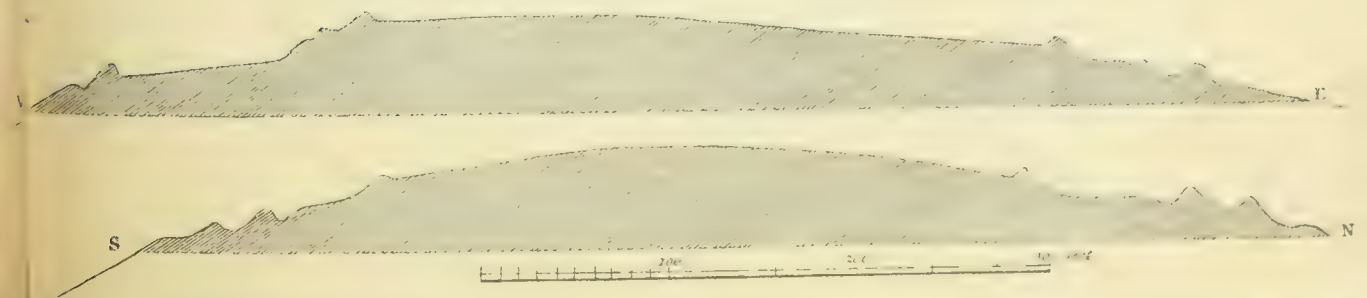
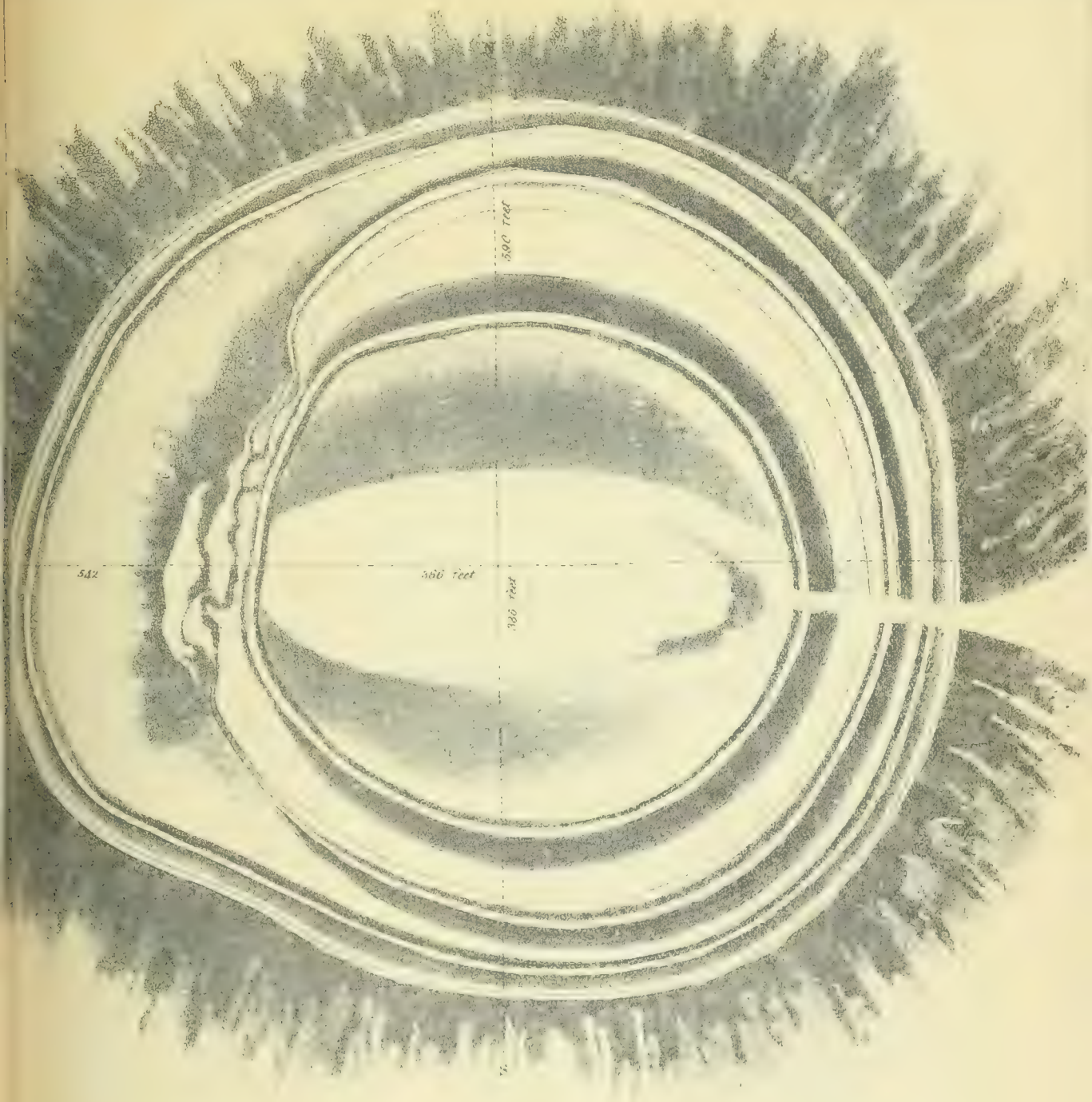
(*e*) Pennant's *Tour*, v. ii., p. 157—9; *King's Munimenta Antiq.*, v. i., p. 27.

(*f*) Davis, Richards, and Owen.

(*g*) O'Brien and Shaw: there is a British fortress on Pen-y-crug, in Brecknockshire, which is said to be on the top of a high hill: to be of an oval form, and to be surrounded by three deep and broad entrenchments. *Archaiol.*, v. i., p. 299. See the Drawing of this fortress.

Plan and Section of the British fort on Barra-hill in - Hordenshire -

To face p.



cemented: this is the only part of the fortifications which appears to have been intentionally vitrified (*h*). There seems to be no vestige of a well; but westward, between the base of the mound and the precipice, there was a deep pond which had been recently filled up. The tradition of the country, which is probably derived from the fiction of Boece, relates that this vast strength of Barry-hill was the appropriate prison of Arthur's queen, the well known Guenever, who had been taken prisoner by the Picts. About a quarter of a mile eastward, on the declivity of the hill, there are some remains of another oval fort, which was defended by a strong wall and deep ditch; and which, however, was of less strength than the preceding. The same tradition relates, with similar appearance of fiction, that there was once a subterraneous communication between those two British strengths on Barry-hill (*i*).

There are many forts in every district of North Britain of a similar nature and of equal magnitude; and several of those fortresses have also the remains of the same kind of structures, within the area of each, for the same purpose of shelter. There is a fortress of this kind, which commands an extensive view of the lower part of Braidalban (*b*). On the summit of a hill, called Dun-Evan, in Nairnshire, there is a similar fortress, consisting of two ramparts, which surround a level space of the same oblong form with that of Craig-Phadric, though not quite so large. Within the area of Dun-Evan, there are *the traces of a well* and the remains of a large mass of building which once furnished shelter to the defenders of the fort (*c*). In Glenelg, in Inverness-shire, there is a similar fort: the top of the hill is surrounded with a stone rampart, and in the area there is the vestige of a circular building (*d*), for the use of the ancient inhabitants. Within

(*h*) It is observed by the Rev. Dr. Playfair, that "among the ruins, there are several pieces of vitrified stone; but this vitrification must have been accidental, as they are inconsiderable." *Stat. Account*, v. i., p. 508.

(*i*) For a more minute description of those fortresses, see the *Stat. Account*, v. i., p. 508—9, and v. vi., p. 405: there appears, from those descriptions, to be the remains of some superstructures within the walls, the undoubted remains of the dwellings of the ancient inhabitants who defended the fortress.

(*b*) Stobie's Map of Perthshire; Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 53; and this British strength Mr. King has mistakingly described as lying in the parish of Moulin, in Athol. *Munimenta Antiq.*, v. i., p. 30.

(*c*) *Trans. of the Royal Soc. Edin.*, v. ii., p. 13, part ii. The area is said to be about seventy paces long and thirty broad within the walls. *William's Account of Remarkable Ruins*, p. 36.

(*d*) This is exactly similar to the circular enclosure within the centre of Caerbran, a hill fort in Cornwall. *Borlase*, p. 346.

sight there is another of these retreats which are called in Scoto-Irish *Ba'-dhun*, says Pennant, the place of refuge (*e*).

A much more complete specimen of those hill-fortresses with buildings in the upper area of them, is that on Carby-hill, in the parish of Castleton, Roxburghshire. This hill stands detached from all others, and commands a most extensive view of a wide country. The whole summit of the hill, which is circular, and is about a hundred feet diameter, is surrounded by a very strong wall of stones. In the centre of the area there is a circular building of stone, and around this there are other circuitous erections of stone lying circumjacent. A road for ascending to the fort appears plainly to have been made in a winding course round the hill, so as to enter the fortress on the south side (*f*).

Beyond Liddel Water, northward, on the summit of a hill, there is a camp which is nearly of a *square form*, and about three hundred feet diameter: the rampart is entirely of *earth*, and is about eighteen feet high; but within the area, as in Carby Fort, there are no remains of any buildings. This square camp, which thus stood opposed to the British fortress, is plainly a remain of the Romans that they had placed here, according to their usual custom, to besiege, or muffle, the previous strength. A similar coincidence appears in the same parish. On the farm of Flight, near to the Castle of Clintwood, there are two camps at a little distance from each other; the one is *round*, and is fortified with a stone wall about a hundred feet diameter; the other is *square*, about a hundred and sixty-eight feet in length, and strengthened with two ramparts of earth (*g*). There are similar coincidences in the same vicinity, which equally establish a curious fact and illustrate a singular policy. On two hills to the eastward of the village of Bengal, in Annandale, there are two fortresses; the one circular and British, the other square and Roman; and they equally stand opposed to each other, being only separated by a narrow morass. A little

(*e*) Tour, v. iii., p. 336—7: but there is no such word in the Gaelic as *Ba'*, for a *place*: *Ball* is a spot. *dùn*, not *dun*, signifies *shelter*, or protection. *Dun*, which in the oblique case is *dhun*, signifies a hill, and secondarily a fort, from the summits of hills being in ancient times the sites of the forts: *Ba'* is the plural of *Bo*, a *Cow*: so according to the intimations of Pennant, *Ba'-dhun* might be properly enough explained to be the *Cows-fort*, or safe-guard. But this notion and name are more modern than the age of the Britons.

(*f*) Stat. Acco., v. xvi., p. 83: wherein may be seen a draught of the fort, with the circular structures within it. There are similar structures within the areas of Castel-an-dinas, and Buntine Hill, in Cornwall. Borlase, p. 346—7: there are similar structures in the area of Dinas, a hill-fort near Llandudno, in Wales. Pennant's Tour, v. ii. p. 346.

(*g*) Stat. Acco. v. xvi., p. 84.

higher in Annandale there is a pretty entire British fortress at Drysdale-gate, occupying about two acres of ground, and commanding a most extensive prospect : about half a mile eastward from this, beyond an intervening moor, there is a large Roman camp (*g*). If the Roman policy be apparent, as we have formerly seen, this circumstance would evince that the British strengths existed before the Roman times (*h*).

In the country upon the Forth northward of the Roman wall, on the isthmus between the friths, there are a number of British forts which are perched upon little hills. The round, sometimes the oval summits of those hills, are surrounded by a rampart, which on many of them still remains. And the general appellation in the country for those forts is *Keir*, which is evidently a corruption of the British *Caer*, a fort, the (C) being pronounced in that speech like (K) in the Scoto-Saxon (*i*).

Such were some of the British forts standing southward of the Forth. There is also a range of the same kind of strengths along the face of the country, on the north side of the same river, which are equally known by the common name of *Keir*, and which appear to have been the only Caledonian posts which were designed by them to oppose the Roman progress, as indeed Tacitus intimates (*k*).

(*g*) Stat. Acco., v. ix., p. 423—6.

(*h*) There are many other instances of the judicious position of Roman camps in particular situations, for the evident purpose of overawing or besieging the adjacent British strengths. In the districts upon the eastern side of the Dee, in Kirkcudbright, there are a great number of British strengths, which protected a part of the Selgovæ people in the western extremity of their country; and among these we find the remains of three Roman camps, which were placed in appropriate situations for overawing the Selgovæ posts. See the Stat. Acco., v. xi., p. 24—5, with the map prefixed. The Roman camp at Lyne-Kirk is placed in the midst of some British hill-forts, which formed the safe-guards of a part of the Gadeni territory on the western extremity of their country. See Armstrong's map of Peeblesshire and the companion to it. Several other instances of the relative situation of Roman posts to the previous strengths of the Britons may be seen in the account of Roman transactions in North-Britain, and in the detail of the British antiquities in the county histories. But what must have made the yoke sit very uneasy on the conquered Britons, was the invidious circumstance that several of the distinguished posts of their chiefs were converted into Roman stations, which completely commanded the subordinate British strengths around them, as we have seen.

(*i*) Of such forts, and names, there are in the parish of Kippen, *Keir*-hill of Glentirran, *Keir*-hill of Dasher, *Keir*-brae of Drum, *Keir*-know of Armmore and *Keir*-brae of Garden : and all these forts are of the above description. Stat. Acco., v. xviii., p. 329. A little southward of the village of Gar-gunnock, there is a conical eminence called the *Keir*-hill, the summit of which was surrounded by a rampart of a circular form. Ib. v. xviii., p. 116.

(*k*) Ib. v. xvii., p. 58 : the prefix in *Car*-by-hill, before mentioned, is merely the British *Caer*, a fort.

At the base of the Campsie Hills, about three miles from the *Peel* of Kirkintilloch, there are the remains of two British forts on the summit of their several hills, which are each surrounded by ditches and ramparts in a circular form as the hills are round: one of these, which is called in the country the *Meikle Reeve*, is about a hundred yards in diameter, the other, which is known by the appropriate name of *the Maiden Castle*, is about twenty yards in diameter (*l*). A mile northward from the Roman fort of Barhill, on the same wall, there is a British fortress at Ball Castle, and it is situated on a small mount of a triangular shape. About a mile northward of another Roman fort at Wester-wood, there once was a British fort at Cunny Park, of a similar form and dimensions with other fortresses that owed their erection to British hands, before the ancient inhabitants were instructed by Roman arts, and which defended the tribes from each other before they were called on to defend their country from foreign intruders (*m*).

Within the parish of Castleton there are also several circular forts, which are appropriately called *Picts-works*. They are all strongly fortified by a rude wall of large stones. They seem also to have been erected with a view to foreign as well as to domestic war. There are two of those forts near Herdshouse, two on the farm of Shaws, one on Toftholm, one on Foulshiels, one on Cocklaw, one on Blackburn, and one on Shortbuttrees. When the ruins of this last fort were lately removed, there was found on the south side of it a place, which was ten feet wide and twenty feet long, and was paved with flat stones, and enclosed by the same sort of stones that were set on edge, and there was discovered within this enclosure what seems to intimate its culinary use, ashes and burnt sticks (*n*).

On the east side of Loch-Ness stands the mountain fortress of *Dundhardduil*, upon a very high hill of a circular and indeed a conical shape. The summit of it is only accessible on the south-east side by a narrow ridge which connects the mount with a hilly chain that runs up to Stratherrie. On every other quarter the ascent is almost perpendicular, and a rapid river winds round two-thirds of the circumference of the base. The summit is surrounded by a very strong wall of dry stones, which was once of a great height and thickness. The enclosed area is an oblong square of twenty-five yards long and fifteen yards broad, and it is level, is clear of stones, and has on it the remains of a well.

(*l*) Stat. Acco., v. xv., p. 377.

(*m*) Stat. Acco., v. xviii., p. 291—2.

(*n*) Stat. Acco., v. xvi., p. 84. From their circularity, those *Picts-works* are also known to the people by the appropriate name of *round-abouts*.

Upon a shoulder of this hill, in the course of the ascent, about fifty feet below the summit, there is a *Druid temple*, consisting of a circle of large stones which are firmly fixed in the ground with a double row of stones, extending from one side as an avenue or entry to the circle (s). In the parish of Penycuik, on the Linton road, near the ten mile stone, on an eminence there are the remains of a British fortress, which is called by the country people *the Castle*. It has an oval area of eighty-four yards long and sixty-seven broad, and is surrounded by two ditches, each of which is four yards wide, and having in the middle, between the ditches, a rampart six yards broad. In the area there is *a number of tumuli*, about eleven yards each in diameter. There is a similar fort on the side of Harkin-burn, within the woods of Penycuik (t).

From the foregoing details, it is now apparent that the above mentioned hill-forts and other strengths, which may still be traced in North-Britain by their remarkable remains, are all similar in their structure, form, and site to the British hill fortresses in England, Wales, and Cornwall, that were everywhere in Britain the safe-guards of the first people or their immediate descendants. The site which was chosen for the whole was the level summit of hills with difficult access, while the Roman camps were generally placed on rising grounds below. The ramparts of all those British forts were composed of dry stones and earth, without any appearance of mortar or cement. They vary in their forms according to the figure of the hills whereon they were placed. In the areas of some of them there are still to be seen the ruins of buildings for habitation, and of wells which supplied them with water. In the areas of a few of those forts, both in North and South-Britain, there are tumuli. There appears to have accompanied some of those fortresses on the declivity of the hills below, outworks, which were probably designed as shelter for the cattle belonging to those who defended the forts above. The hill-forts in Ireland, which are called in the Irish language and antiquities, *Raths*, and which have been mistakingly attributed to the Danish invaders, were really the strengths of the ancient

(s) Phil. Trans. of Edin., v. ii. part ii., p. 14—15. There are several Druid remains on Carnbre, a British hill-fort in Cornwall. Borlase, p. 118—19. Near the British hill-fort on Warton Craig in Lancashire, there are three rocking stones, which stand in a right line from North to South, at equal distances, about forty feet asunder. Archæol. v. ix., p. 212., pl. xv. Near a British hill-fort called Dinas, in the vicinity of Llandudno, in Wales, there is a large *Maensiyl*, or rocking stone. Pennant's Tour, v. ii., p. 346.

(t) Stat. Acco., v. x., p. 431. In the area of a British hill-fortress on Moel-y-Gaer, in Wales, there is a small artificial mount. Pennant's Tour in Wales, v. i., p. 85. In the area of the British hill-fort on Pen-maen-mawr, there is a barrow, or tumulus of the longitudinal sort. Archæol. v. iii., p. 306.

Irish : and those *Raths* are similar in their site and structure to the hill-forts of the ancient Britons in South and North Britain ; the *Raths* were placed on the summit of hills ; were generally surrounded with a greater or less number of entrenchments. In the areas of several of them there were huts or other buildings for habitations, and wells for supplying the garrisons with water. In some of those forts there is the appearance of excavations like caves, which were probably the repositories for stores (*u*). Every intimation concurs to attest that all those strengths were the work of kindred hands, for the safeguard of the Gaelic inhabitants within the British islands.

Connected with those British forts on the summits of heights are the safe-guards which have been found in excavations within the earth below. The most ancient people in every country and in every age have constructed *hiding holes* for the safety, both of their property and persons, during seasons of danger. The inhabitants of the East, and of the West, have equally resorted to this rude policy of unprotected tribes (*x*). The Britons in the most early times, as the individual was little protected by the many, resorted to this subterraneous shelter (*y*). The Caledonian descendants of the Britons, as they were perhaps less civilized, equally adopted similar safeguards (*z*). The same sort of excavations for similar purposes have been discovered in Cornwall (*f*). The same sort of subterraneous buildings have also been found in congenial Ireland (*g*). From all those coincidences, we may easily suppose that the subterraneous safe-guards which have been discovered in many parts of North-Britain, were constructed by the pristine people during a rude age (*h*).

These interesting objects of a rational curiosity may be considered under three heads : (1.) The artificial structures which have been formed under ground of rude stones without cement ; (2.) Natural caves in rocks, which have been made more commodious by art ; and, (3.) Caves which have been appropriated as religious retreats in later times.

Of the first sort are the subterraneous apartments which have been discovered in Forfarshire, within the parish of Tealing : this subterraneous building

(*u*) *Munimenta Antiq.*, v. i., p. 77—9 ; Gough's *Camden*, v. iii., p. 482—3, wherein there is a description and view of the *Rath*, at Ardsaul.

(*x*) King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, v. i., p. 44—7.

(*y*) *Ib.* 48 ; wherein Diodorus Siculus is quoted for the fact.

(*z*) *Ib.* ; and the Remains.

(*f*) Borlase, p. 292.

(*g*) Wright's *Louthiana*, p. 16.

(*h*) See the *Stat. Acco.* throughout ; Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 219 ; Pennant's *Tour*, v. iii., p. 181—2 : it is moreover to be added, that all those subterraneous safe-guards are constructed of rough stones without cement of any kind.

was composed of large flat stones, without any cement, consisting of two or three apartments, which were not above five feet wide, and were covered with stones of the same kind : and there were found in this subterraneous building some wood ashes, several fragments of large earthen vessels, and one of the ancient hand-mills, called querns. In the same parish there has been discovered a similar building, which the country people call in the Irish language a *weem* or *cave* : it was about four feet high, and four feet wide ; and it was composed of large loose stones : there were found in it a broad earthen vessel and an instrument resembling an adze (*i*). In the same shire, near Lundie-house, there has been discovered a subterraneous building of the same kind, constructed of rough stones that had never felt a tool, but without cement : and there were found in this structure the remains of some burnt matter, the fragments of small bones, and some querns about fourteen inches diameter, with the remnant of an iron handle, and with appearances which indicate that they had been much worn (*k*). In the parish of Auchterhouse have been found two subterraneous buildings which are also called *Weems*, and which also contained ashes, bones, querns, and a brass ring without any inscription (*l*). Several hiding holes of a smaller size, and of a somewhat different construction, have long been known in the Western Hebrides (*m*). In Sanday, one of the Orkney Isles, there are several barrows, one whereof being opened was found to contain a building nine feet in diameter, round on the outside, but square and hollow within, with a well at the bottom : in the upper part of the building there was found a human skeleton standing almost upright (*n*).

In every part of North-Britain there are natural caves which have been improved into hiding places by artificial means. In Applecross parish, there

(*i*) Stat. Acco., v. iv., p. 101.

(*k*) Stat. Acco., v. xviii., p. 117—19.

(*l*) Ib. v. xiv., p. 526. Near Dundee, on the lands of Balgay, similar dwellings have been found under ground. Ib. v. viii., p. 207. Such a structure has also been found in Alyth parish. Ib. v. vi., p. 406. In Bendothy parish there have been found similar structures of a larger size, with rafters of wood, which were covered with earth. Ib. v. xix., p. 359. On the moor of Kildrummie, in Aberdeenshire, such subterraneous structures have also been found. Ib. v. xviii., p. 420; Cordiner's Antiq., p. 15. Similar buildings have been discovered in several parts of Kirkcudbright Stewartry. Ib. v. xvii., p. 120. In the district of Applecross in Ross-shire, such structures have been found. Ib. v. iii., p. 409. Such buildings have been discovered in Kildonan parish, in Sutherland. Ib. v. iii., p. 409. Similar structures have been found under ground, in Shapinsay parish in Orkney : and in them was found a gold ring of very uncommon construction. Ib. v. xvii., p. 237-8. On the estate of Raits, in the parish of Alvie, in Inverness-shire, such a building sixty feet long has been discovered. Ib. v. xiii., p. 382-3.

(*m*) Martin's Western Isles, p. 154; Pennant's Tour, v. iii., p. 223-4.

(*n*) Stat. Acc., v. vii., p. 489. The circumstance of the Well seems to evince that this building was rather a place of concealment than of sepulture.

are several natural caves, which have been rendered more commodious by artificial means, for the purpose of secret habitation (*o*). On the coast of Skye, in the parish of Portree, there are several caves of very large extent, of which idle tradition relates many fabulous stories (*p*). In the isle of Arran there are several large caves which appear to have been the necessitous retreats of the ancient inhabitants during the rude policy of early ages. One of those at Druman-duin, is noted in the fond tradition of the country as the lodging of Fin mac-Coul, the Fingal of Ossian, during his residence in Arran. There are in this favoured isle other caves of great dimensions, which are also attended by their appropriate fictions (*q*). In the parish of Roxburgh, there are several caves which have been formed in the face of a rocky precipice which is washed by the river Teviot (*r*). In Ancrum parish, on the river Ale, there are several caves wherein there are fire places and vents for the smoke (*s*). On the shores of the Solway Frith, in the parish of Borgue, at the bottom of some remarkable cliffs, there are some curious natural caves, one whereof has been assisted by art (*t*). In the parish of East Monkland there is an artificial cave which has been scooped out of a bold rocky eminence, on the river Calder, in a sequestered spot (*u*). On the north bank of the same river, in the parish of Bothwell, there is, in the face of a steep rock, a cave which has been improved by art, and is capable of sheltering fifty men : it is difficult of access, and the entrance was guarded by an iron gate, which was fixed during modern times in the solid rock (*v*). Such, then, were the sad expedients to which a rude people were

(*o*) Stat. Acco., v. iii., p. 378.

(*p*) Stat. Acco., v. xvi., p. 146-7 ; Martin's Western Isles, p. 151 ; King's Monumenta Antiq., v. i., p. 60. Similar to the great Cave in Skye, which is said to be capacious enough to contain five hundred persons, is the Giant's Cave near Penrith. Gent. Mag. 1791, p. 990.

(*q*) Martin's Western Isles, p. 219 ; Pennant's Tour, v. iii. p. 181-2 ; Stat. Acco. v. ix. p. 167 : by this account the Cave of *Fin mac-coul* is called the *King's Cave* and is said to have had the honour of giving shelter to the illustrious Bruce, with the patriot companions of his perilous efforts, for his country's independence. The well known Caves of Hawthornden have also furnished commodious retreats to similar patriots, who risked their all for their country and to religious bigots, who hazarded much for their faith in more recent times. See Stukeley's Itin. Curiosum for a description and plan of the Caves at Hawthornden ; Mait. Hist. of Edin., p. 505 ; Grose's Antiq., v. i., p. 54-5 ; Pennant's Tour, v. ii., p. 253 ; Stat. Acco., v. x., p. 284-5.

(*r*) Stat. Acco., v. xix., p. 136 : Several of those caves are of large dimensions.

(*s*) Ib. v. x., p. 294 ; and see Ib. v. xiii., p. 273 for a singular cave in Kirkpatrick-Fleming. Within a sequestered glen in the parish of Moffat there are two caves which have been cut out of a freestone rock, and are capable of holding several men : they are at present used as farm houses. Ib. v. ii., p. 288.

(*t*) Ib. v. xi., p. 41.

(*u*) Ib. v. vii., p. 280

(*v*) Stat. Acco., v. xvi., p. 325 : The fire-place and floor of this remarkable cave still remain.

obliged to recur for safety, before society had collected men into regular tribes, and it had become the duty of government to protect the few by the efforts of the many.

The next objects of rational curiosity to the strengths and hiding places of the British tribes are their weapons. Several of these have been already mentioned, as they were occasionally found in the graves of the warriors who had once made an appropriate use of them. These weapons are of different kinds, axes or hatchets, and arrow heads. The hatchets which have been most frequently found, both in North and South-Britain, are generally of flint, and are usually called *celts*, though antiquaries have been unable to explain the meaning of the name. Yet the *flint* hatchets that have occasioned so much discussion among learned men were called *celts*, from the nature of the material whereof they were made; the *celt* of the British speech literally signifying a *flint stone* (*a*). These axes, or *celts* as they have been called, even when they were made of *brass* or other metals, have been discovered in both North and South-Britain, and they were often formed of brass and of other materials of a similar kind as well as of flint. Several of these brass hatchets have been found in the British barrows on Salisbury Plain (*b*). The places where these hatchets had so long reposed with the original owners, and were at length discovered, attest that they were British weapons. These brass hatchets, as they have been also found within the British barrows in North-Britain, must equally be deemed the curious weapons of the Caledonian Britons (*c*). Several arrow heads which had been made of sharp-pointed flint have been found within various graves in North-Britain, as we have already seen (*d*). Such arrow

(*a*) Owen's Dict. These *Celts* have been found in various places and of different sizes all over South-Britain. Dug. Warwick., p. 778; Stukeley's Itin. Curiosum, p. 54; Plot's Staffordshire, p. 397; Hutch. Cumberland, p. 13-14; Whit. Manchester. 8vo. ed., v. i., p. 19, 20—22. Those curious *Celts*, which even appear on British coins, have also been discovered in every part of North-Britain. Gordon's Itin. Septen., p. 172; Sibbald's Hist. Enquir., p. 51; Companion to the Map of Tweeddale, p. 34; Acco. Antiq. Scot., p. 55—92; and part ii., p. 46—122; Stat. Acco., v. iv., p. 479; Ib. v. iii., p. 56; Ib. vol. v., p. 85; Ib. v. x., p. 186; Ib. v. xvii., p. 159; Ure's Hist. of Rutherglen, p. 149, pl. 1.

(*b*) Stukeley's Stonehenge, p. 46; Gibson's Camden, 1263; Whit. Manch., 8vo. edition, v. i., p. 17—19.

(*c*) Stat. Acco., v. vii., p. 251; Ib. p. 60; Ib. v. viii., p. 305; Ib. v. x., p. 56; Ib. v. xviii., p. 117. Sibbald says, "that several swords, heads of spears, and small darts made of brass, have been found in several places of Scotland." Hist. Enquir., p. 51. There is a delineation of some brass axes, which were found in Scotland, in Gordon's Itin. Septen., pl. 50.

(*d*) Stat. Acco. of Lauder, v. i., p. 78. In the parish of Benholm, Kincardineshire, on the side of a hill, where tradition says a battle was fought in ancient times, there have been found a number of flint arrow heads, and in the same vicinity a quantity of human bones. Ib. v. xv., p. 238.

heads of flint have been found in the isle of Skye (*e*). To these arrow heads of flint, superstition has given the name of *elf-shots*, from a supposition that they are shot by elf's or fairies at cattle. The common people derive many of the disorders of their cattle from the *elf-shots*, and superstition also directs the cure. The afflicted beast must be touched by the elf-shot, or must be made to drink the water wherein the elf-shot has been dipped (*f*).

The armouries of the Britons were generally furnished with helmets, shields, and chariots, and with spears, daggers, swords, battle-axes, and bows (*g*). The helmet and the chariot were confined to the chiefs, and the common men fought always on foot, provided with shields for their defence, and with spears, swords, daggers, bows, and battle-axes for offending the enemy (*h*). These accoutrements have been mostly all found in the graves of the warrior, or have been seen during recent times on the Gaelic soldiers in fight. The Caledonian chariots encountered Agricola's legions at the foot of the Grampian mount. And they only wanted union and discipline to have enabled a gallant people with such armour to repel their invading foe.

Connected with their armour are their vessels, either for the enterprizes of war, or the accommodation of peace; and these consisted of canoes and of cur-rachs. The first consisted of a single tree, which they hollowed with fire, in the manner of the American Indians; and in the mode of the same Indians it was put into motion by a paddle: canoes of this sort have been discovered, where indeed they were to have been expected, in lakes and in marshes, both in South and in North Britain (*i*). In the great Locher-moss, in the loch of Carling-wark, in Loch-winnoch, and in the winding Carron, the canoes of the first people have been found (*k*). How early the Britons improved their art

(*e*) *Acco. Antiq. Soc. Scotland*, p. 55, and part ii., p. 46—122. Similar arrow heads have been found in the parish of Logierait. *Stat. Acco.*, vol. v., p. 85. In the parish of Penn-y-cuick, near Brunstone Castle, has been found an arrow head of flint, ragged on the edges and barbed. *Ib.* v. x., p. 425. Similar arrow heads have been found in South-Britain. *Stukeley's Abury*, 33; *Thoresby's Leeds*, 493-4; *Whitaker's Manchester*, 8vo. edition, v. i., p. 25.

(*f*) *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, v. i., p. 101.

(*g*) *Whitaker's Manchester*, 4to edition, v. i., p. 13—16, wherein is a delineation of British battle-axes.

(*h*) *Ib.*

(*i*) Eight British canoes were found in Merton-mere in Lancashire. *King's Munimenta Antiq.*, v. i., p. 29; *Hutch. Cumberland*, v. i., p. 12.

(*k*) In Locher-moss near Dunafries, an extensive tract of swampy ground, through which runs the Locher, there have been discovered several canoes; one of these Pennant examined and found to be eight feet eight inches long, the cavity in the inside being six feet seven inches in length: it was

of shipbuilding cannot easily be ascertained. Before the age of Julius Cæsar they had certainly enlarged their canoes into currachs. Cæsar describes the currachs as being accommodated with keels and masts of the lightest wood; as having their bodies of wicker, which was covered over with leather, as he had learned from the Britons, and knew from his practice in Spain. Lucan calls the British currachs little ships, and in these, he adds, the Britons were wont to navigate the ocean (*l*). In such currachs, according to Solinus (*m*), it was common to pass between Ireland and Britain. Adamnan, in his life of St. Columba, describes one of those currachs with all the parts of a ship, with sails and oars, and with a capacity for passengers; and he adds, that in this roomy currach St. Cormac sailed into the North Sea, where he remained during fourteen days in perfect safety (*n*). We have thus seen what were the British vessels, both for the occupations of peace and the adventures of war, and what were the currachs wherein the Scoto-Irish made incursions from their woody isle into Romanized Britain during the age of Claudian, when the Scottish rowers made the sea foam with their hostile oars (*o*).

Such, then, were the Caledonian Britons; such the topographical position of the several tribes; and such were their antiquities at the memorable epoch of Agricola's invasion of North-Britain. This country was, at that critical period,

two feet broad, and eleven inches deep; and at one end there were the remains of three pegs for the paddles; and it appeared to have been hollowed by the action of fire, in the manner of the American Indians. In the same morass another canoe was dug up, which was seven feet long, and dilated to a considerable breadth at one end; an iron grapple or anchor was discovered with one of these canoes; and paddles, and oars, and other similar antiquities have been found in Lochermoss, which is ten miles long and more than two miles broad. Pennant's Tour, v. iii., p. 93-4; Stat. Acco., v. i., p. 60; vol. v., p. 37. In Carling-wark-Loch, in Kirkcudbright stewartry, there were found, when it was drained, several canoes which appear to have been hollowed in the manner of the American Indians. Ib. v. viii., p. 306. In Loch-winnoch, in Renfrewshire, there have been discovered several canoes, which appear to have been formed in a rude manner out of single trees, like the American canoes. Ib. v. xv., p. 68. The greatest of all the canoes which were thus discovered in North-Britain was that which was found in 1726, near the influx of the Carron into the Forth, and was buried fifteen feet in the south bank of the Forth; it was thirty-six feet long, four feet broad in the middle, four feet four inches deep, four inches thick in the sides; and it was all of one piece of solid oak, sharp at the stem and broad at the stern. This canoe was finely polished, being perfectly smooth within and without. The wood was of an extraordinary hardness, and had not one knot in the whole block. Reliquiæ Galeanæ, p. 241-2; Hutch. Cumber., v. i., p. 12.

(*l*) Cæsar de Bel. Gal., l. iii.; De Bel. Civ., l. i. Lucan, l. iv.

(*m*) Ch. 35.

(*n*) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. pref., p. lxi.

(*o*) That celebrated poet flourished in the fourth century under Theodosius and his sons.

undoubtedly rude; it was strong by nature, and its various hills were fortified with great discrimination, and by a singular sort of untutored policy. The people, who were constitutionally brave, had been long occupied with domestic war. Their arms were sufficiently powerful for enabling intrepid men to resist intruders of less skill and courage and experience than the Roman legions. And above all, though the Northern Britons were disunited by principle and habit, they were actuated by a strong sense of national independence, which prompted their vigorous spirits to defend their land, their religion, and their women with obstinate resolution against unprovoked invaders.

CHAP. III.

Of Agricola's Campaigns.

WE have now surveyed the region, and seen the people whom Agricola was destined to defeat rather than subdue, after a braver struggle than his foresight could have easily supposed; but their country was strong from nature, and the mountain tops were all fortified by art, as we know from the remains, and as we have already perceived from research. One hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed since the Romans, under the conduct of J. Cæsar, first invaded the southern shores of our island; and the disappointments of that great commander discouraged the repetition of such expeditions for upwards of a century. The invasion and conquest of Britain were at length undertaken by some of the ablest officers of Rome. But, opposed by the strength of the island and the bravery of the people, their success was not equal to their expectations and their efforts. In this alternate state of hope and disappointment Agricola assumed the government of a country, wherein he had learned the art of war under the most experienced commanders.

It was in the year 78 of our common era that Agricola undertook his command in Britain, by displaying his address as a statesman, and evincing his skill as a soldier. In the memorable year 79, by the exercise of both those qualities, he appears to have been chiefly employed in subduing and civilizing Lancashire. After all those necessary measures of precaution, he set out at the age of forty, in the year 80, from Mancunium, the Manchester of the present times, to penetrate into the north, along the western coast (*a*). Unknown nations were now discovered by the perseverance of the Roman troops;

(*a*) The late Dr. Robertson has mistakenly fixed this date in A.D. 81. But the critical Tillemont in his *Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. ii., p. 32—39; the intelligent Horsley in his *Romana*, p. 46; the learned Whitaker in his *Hist. Manch.*, 8vo. ed., v. i., p. 43, all concur in proving that Agricola assumed the command of Britain in 78, and entered North-Britain in 80. In this manner, by searching out certainties, may be satisfactorily settled the fancied uncertainties of the ancient history of North-Britain. That Agricola entered North-Britain by marching along the *west coast*, and not the *east*, is equally certain. See Horsley's *Romana*, p. 43.

and they are said to have pushed their ravages in this third campaign as far as the *Tau* (b).

In his fourth campaign, during the year 81, Agricola, if we may believe Tacitus, explored and overran the mountainous region extending from the Solway to the friths of Cluyd and Forth, which flow so far into the country as to leave only a narrow isthmus to be fortified. Much skill and labour and time were employed in trying to effectuate the difficult enterprize of removing "the remaining enemies, as it were, into another island (c)."

Yet much remained to be done before the power of the Caledonians could be effectually broken, and the Roman conquests could be sufficiently secured. In his fifth campaign, during the year 82, Agricola, meditating further conquests, thought it prudent as an officer to inspect the country and to subdue the tribes who, on his marching beyond the Forth, would have been, from their western positions, in his rearward. With those views he invaded "that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland," the whole extent of Galloway (d). As he resolved to carry on his operations both by land and sea, he probably sailed from Kilbride-loch in Cumberland, and landed in the country of the Selgovæ, within the *loch* near Brow at the Locher-mouth, which here forms a natural

(b) Tacitus, who wrote the life of Agricola at the end of seventeen years after the events which he relates, as he affected brevity, has left much obscurity to be cleared and some contradictions to be reconciled. It is incredible that the Roman legionaries, who were so vigorously opposed during their sixth campaign in the very strong country which lies between the Forth and the Tay, could have crossed so many waters and mountains, subdued so many strengths, and penetrated to the river, which is so well known at present by the name of *Tay*. It is certain, however, amid so much uncertainty that the word *Tau* signified any thing spread out, any extended water, an estuary in the language of those Britons who accompanied Agricola into the North. Comparing this circumstance with the context, it will appear sufficiently obvious that the Romans carried their ravages in their third campaign to the Solway Frith, which answers remarkably to the plain meaning of the British *Tau*; as Tacitus indeed informs us: "*Vastatis usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est) rationibus.*" If the distance from Manchester to the Solway be attended to, if the strength of the intervening country be considered, it will appear to military men to have been an exploit of sufficient celebrity to have carried his arms through Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland to the Solway, in one summer's march, occupied, as we are told Agricola was, with securing the country as he proceeded, by fortifying his posts. Agric. xxii. But they had strengths to conquer. The high and strong grounds which separate South and North-Britain seem at all times within the period of history, to have formed the boundaries of nations. In the age of Agricola, the Selgovæ, the Gadani, and the Ottadeni, appear to have regarded those heights as their boundaries, that they were studious to strengthen by art, if we may judge of their policy from the many hill-forts which may still be traced throughout their countries, and which could not have been taken by the Roman armies without many conflicts.

(c) Agric. xxiii.

(d) Agric. xxiv.

harbour. But he immediately found his march obstructed by an impenetrable wood and a vast marsh of many miles extent (*e*): yet nothing could set bounds to Roman skill and labour (*f*). And marching along the shore with his left to the estuary of Locher, and leaving Caerlaverock also on his left, he encamped against the Selgovæ town, the *Ucellum* of Ptolomy, and the Wardlaw of Pennant (*g*), while he sent out detachments to open the woods and to form such roads as the urgency of the war required. We here see for the first time a Roman camp directly opposed to a British hill-fort. We shall perceive this interesting fact more frequently as we proceed. And from the frequency of this hostile opposition of encampments against fortresses, we may infer that the Roman invaders found much obstruction in their progress from the British strengths. This post of *Ucellum* on the Wardlaw, seems to have been retained by the Romans during the age of the Antonines while Ptolomy flourished. Agricola, having removed every obstruction which arose either from art or nature, probably passed the Nith near Dumfries, where he may have been assisted by his ships, and where Roman remains have been found (*h*). He now turned to the left, and marching in a south-west direction into Kirkgunzeon, left in his route traces of his operations, which may still be perceived in the vestiges of the Roman camps within that district (*i*). A march of five miles would have carried him thence to the Moat of Urr, on the west margin of the river Urr, where there are the remains of a British hill-fort, and near it the vestiges of a Roman encampment (*k*). Another march of ten miles

(*e*) See the *Locher-moss*, in Crawford's map of Dumfries-shire.

(*f*) There is reason to believe that Agricola opened a passage through the whole extent of that wood, the trees which were then cut down have been recently found five feet below the moss, and a causeway that had been formed of trees on that occasion, probably, has also been discovered six feet below the Locher-Moss. Several Roman utensils have also been dug up in this moss. Pennant's Tour, iii., p. 88—94; Stat. Account, v. i., p. 160.

(*g*) Tour. v. iii., p. 95. and Richard's map. which shows the mistake of Roy in placing *Ucellum* at Castle-Over, in the upper end of Eskdale. The Wardlaw hill agrees well enough, though it be not extremely high, with the British word *Uchel*, signifying a height. On the summit of Wardlaw hill there are the remains of a British hill-fort, of a circular form, which was surrounded by two ditches. Id. On the south side of this ancient strength of the Selgovæ, there are the remains of a Roman camp. From the Wardlaw-hill, which seems to have acquired a modern name, from its recent use, there is a vast prospect of the Solway Frith, of the mouth of the Nith, and a long extent of the Galloway hills. Id. King's Munimenta Antiq. v. i., p. 28; Stat. Account, v. vi., p. 31.

(*h*) Stat. Account, vo. v., p. 142.

(*i*) Ib. v. vii., p. 193.

(*k*) On the estate of Mr. Maxwell of Munshes, about a mile and a half south-west from Urr-Moat there were found lately several legionary spear heads, which appeared to be made of a very

and a half in a south-west direction, brought his army from the Urr into the midst of several British forts on the west side of the Dee; among these, may be traced the opposing remains of several Roman camps (*l*). On the farm of Little Sypland there is a large British fort of a circular form, which is surrounded by a double rampart and fosse, and somewhat more than a mile south-south-west from this ancient strength, near Whinny-Legate, there is a Roman camp of a square form, and from this about a mile and a half south-south-west, there is another Roman camp of a similar kind, on the farm of Bombie; between these two Roman camps there is a large British strength of an oval form near Mickle Sypland (*m*). From Bombie about three miles south-south-west, near the old church of Dunrod, there is another Roman camp (*n*): and in the intermediate country there were several British strengths which seem to mark the track of Agricola's route. Such then were the military posts, both of the invaders and defenders of the Selgovæ country, which thus appears to have been strongly defended on every side during the march of Agricola, which brought him at length to the *Cuerbantorigum* of Ptolomy, the Drummorie-Castle of modern maps.

hard kind of brass. Stat. Account, v. xi., p. 70. Of this country the Romans remained long in possession. In the same vicinity, at the Mill of Buittle, there were found some years ago three Roman silver coins: one of Tiberius, one of Adrian, and one of Commodus. Id. About three miles north-north-east of Urr-Moat, on the lands of Glenarm, there was discovered in a cavern, on removing a quantity of stones in a quarry, a Roman cinerary urn of a gravelly brown earth, six inches and a quarter in diameter, and five inches and a quarter in height: and it contained some black liquor like tar. Other urns of the same kind were found along with it, but they were destroyed by the workmen. Account of the Antiq. Society of Scotland, p. ii., p. 55. This cavern appears thus to have been a Roman cemetery. In the year 1776 a piece of a Roman sword of fine brass, and a round pin of the same metal, were found in Carloch-Cairn, on a hill in the lands of Chapelcarn, about four and a half miles west-south-west from Glenarm. Id.

(*l*) In the course of this route there was dug out of the earth, near Gelston, a Roman urn, which had been nicely carved, and was full of reddish coloured ashes. Stat. Account, v. viii., p. 305. In the Carlingwark-Loch there was raised from the bottom of the lake, in a mass of marl, a brass *pugio* or dagger, which was twenty-two inches long, and plated with gold. Id.

(*m*) Between the Roman camps at Whinny-Legate and at Bombie there are three British forts, — one large fortress and two smaller ones, which all derived much of their strength from the eminences on which they were placed. Stat. Account of Kirkcudbright, v. xi., p. 24, by the intelligent Dr. Muter, and the map prefixed to his account, with Ainslie's map of Kirkcudbright.

(*n*) About more than half a mile west-south-west of this Roman camp there is, on the summit of an eminence, a large British hill-fort, which is called Drummorie-Castle. About the same distance north-east, on the farm of Milton, there is another British fort. There are also several other British posts which strengthened several parts of this strong country. See the reverend Dr. Muter's Stat. Account of Kirkcudbright, and Ainslie's map of this shire.

The *Caerbantorigum* of the Egyptian geographer is placed by Roy at Kirkcudbright town: it is fixed nearly on the same site by Richard. The prefix *Caer*, in the name of this station, plainly intimates that there had been a British fortress on its site, from which the name was borrowed, and to which was added, as usual, a Latin termination. Among the many forts of the Selgovæ in this country, that which is now called Drummore castle, and is situated on an eminence above Drummore, was the largest, the strongest, and the most important; and from its position and structure it seems to have been calculated for a permanent strength, where the Selgovæ no doubt had a town (*a*). As there is in the vicinity of this ancient strength the remains of a Roman camp, there can be little doubt whether this were the real position of the *Caerbantorigum* of Ptolomy and of Richard, which, as we learn from both, was possessed by a Roman garrison during the reigns of the Antonines. The many remains that may still be traced in the southern face of this great peninsula of Galloway, and the absence of remains on its northern side, are circumstances which seem to evince, with strong conviction, that Agricola entered the country from the south of it, and not from the north, as is too often supposed.

The Romans, in order to invade the Novantes, must have crossed the Dee to the westward. Their country seems not to have been so strongly fortified; neither are there found in it many Roman remains (*b*). The only Roman position which can now be traced among the Novantes is at Whithorn, the *Lucophibia* of Ptolomy, the *Candida-Casa* of Bede (*c*). From the paucity of remains

(*a*) This fortress is situated on an eminence above Drummore, and commands an extensive prospect of the Solway frith and the country along the side of it. It is surrounded by a rampart and deep fosse, that remain pretty entire; near the base of the height whereon it stands there is a large well, which is now built up with stones, and which had supplied the place with water.

(*b*) A helmet of brass, which is supposed to be Roman, was found in a tumulus near the river Cree, in Galloway. Gordon's Itin. Sept., p. 172. A Roman securis of brass, five inches long, three inches broad at the edge, and an inch broad at the opposite end, was found in the moss of Cree, which lies in the direct route from the passage of this river to Whithorn. Account of the Society of Antiquaries of Scot., p. 74. The head of a Roman spear, which was made of brass, was also dug up in Wigtonshire: it measured thirteen and a half inches in length, and was encrusted with verdigris when found. *Ib.*, p. 115.

(*c*) Within a mile of the town of Whithorn there are the remains of a Roman camp which, though much defaced, plainly evinces it to have been a *Castra Stativa*. Stat. Account of Whithorn, by the Rev. Dr. Davidson, vol. xvi., p. 288. Other Roman remains are said by the same intelligent writer to have once existed in this neighbourhood where they cannot now be traced. *Ib.*, v. xvii., p. 594. Roy, notwithstanding the hints of Richard, was probably misled by Horsley to place Lucophibia at Wigton, rather than at Whithorn: and Ainslie was so idle as to copy his error. There are no Roman remains at Wigton. The Lucophibia of Ptolomy, Camden himself knew not, indeed, where to seek.

we may easily believe that Agricola did not pursue the Novantes into the recesses of their country. It is much more probable, whatever Tacitus may intimate, that the Roman general, retracing his steps to the eastward, forced his doubtful way northward through the mountainous country, till he fell in with the south-western sources of the Clyde. His fleet, indeed, may have sailed round the Novantian promontory, have taken some towns on the Glottan shore, and may have met him in the commodious estuary of the kindred Clyde. In this fifth campaign, however, he is said to have subdued several nations who were till then unknown to the Roman officers (*d*).

In the summer of the sixth year of his command Agricola extended his views to the countries which lay to the northward of the Forth. He dreaded a general concert of the more remote tribes, who had hitherto been disunited by their principles, and hostile to each other from their habits. He ordered his fleet to survey the coast, and to sound the harbours. And he learned from captives that their countrymen had been greatly alarmed at the sight of so new an object on their shores, when they reflected that now they had no other hopes of safety but in the efforts of despair. With all those designs, and knowing that his route by land would be unsafe from the vigilance and strength of the enemy, Agricola set out from the fortified isthmus in the

(*d*) Agric. xxiv. The brevity of Agricola's biographer has again given rise to some contest among antiquaries, with regard to the route by which the Romans entered the country that is opposite to Ireland. From the circumstance, which is emphatically mentioned by Tacitus, "that Agricola crossed over in the first ship," it has been supposed by some that he crossed the frith of Clyde, below Dunbarton, and invaded Kintyre, where Roman footsteps have not yet been traced. The fact is, that every part of the river Clyde, from Dunglas upwards, was in those days *fordable*: and this important fact is established by the well known circumstance that the Romans, when they built the wall of Antonine, eight and fifty years afterwards, carried it as low down as Dunglas, with design, plainly, to prevent the tribes from fording the Clyde into the Roman province on the south-west. Horsley's Brit. Romana, plate 176, number 1; Watt's MS. Report on the Fords of the Clyde. It is to be inferred, from the context of Tacitus, that Agricola did not command in person the Roman detachments who fortified the Isthmus of Forth and Clyde, during the year 81: if he had been present, he could have conducted his army into the hostile peninsula opposite to Ireland without crossing any river: but that prudent commander probably remained at some station on the south of the *Taa*, whence he collected information and issued his orders: and it was, therefore, the Solway frith which *he was the first to cross in a ship*, in order to subdue nations that were till then unknown. This exposition, by obviating all difficulties, seems to reconcile Tacitus to himself, and to illustrate the real policy of Agricola, who was attended by his fleet, as we learn from his biographer. The Roman remains, which may still be traced in Galloway, confirm this reasoning, for they are found in the south, from the Solway to the Dee, and not in the north, from the Dee to the Clyde.

summer of A. D. 83, on his expedition beyond the Forth (*c*). He was no doubt induced by the previous knowledge of his naval commander to the most commodious passage of a frith, the shores of which are in some places near the Isthmus very marshy, and in others very steep. And turning to the right he was probably directed by his purpose, by the minute information of his naval officers, and by the nature of the country, to the narrowest strait of the Forth at Inchgarvey, where the frith is greatly contracted by the projecting points of the opposite shores. He was here no doubt met by a part of his fleet, which would speedily waft him over this contracted part of the frith to the advancing point in Fife, which is now known by the appropriate name of the Northferry (*f*).

Agricola was now arrived among the Horestii. In the meantime the Caledonian Britons commenced offensive operations from the higher country, by attacking the strengths on the Isthmus, which Agricola had left behind him without adequate defence. By thus *daring to act offensively*, they are said to have inspired terror. The general was advised by those officers, who disguised their timidity under the mask of prudence, to retreat from this hostile land by recrossing the Forth, rather than be driven out by the force of the enemy. But he was too firm to be moved by such insidious advice. And being informed that the tribes intended to attack him on all sides in a country with which he was unacquainted, he disposed his army into three divisions. He

(*c*) Agric. xxv. With all his brevity Tacitus has given many circumstances in respect to Agricola's campaign of the year 83, which show distinctly the site of his operations: 1. The country *beyond the Forth* was his great object; 2. The roads were supposed to be rendered unsafe by the enemy's army; 3. He was induced, partly by this circumstance, to make use of the assistance of his fleet, which he caused to survey the Forth, and which pushed on the war by land and sea,—the cavalry, infantry, and marines were frequently mixed together in the same camp. 4. From the combination of all those circumstances, which are distinctly stated by the son-in-law of Agricola, it is apparent that the Roman general crossed the Forth by means of his ships, which had first explored the several shores; and the additional intimation of the advice given to the general by some officers, in consequence of an *offensive attack* of the enemy, "that he should *retreat on this side the Forth*," carries the strongest probability, arising from the previous circumstance, up to undoubted certainty, that the Roman army carried on their operations in FIFE during the year 83. Add to all those circumstances that there are the remains of a strength near Dunearn hill, adjoining to Burntisland, which are to this day called *Agricola's Camp*. Stat. Account, v. ii., p. 429. This intimation makes it probable that the Roman fleet may have here found a harbour while it explored the frith.

(*f*) See Stobie's map of Perth and Ainslie's map of Fife for this inviting contraction of the frith. Sir R. Sibbald, who had accurately surveyed Fife, fixes on the same ferry as the place where Agricola must have passed the Forth.

probably marched towards Carnock, a little to the left at no great distance, where there are still to be traced two military stations which, in the names of two farms, are still known by the significant appellations of East Camp and West Camp (*g*). Unacquainted as the general was with the country, he pushed forward the ninth legion, which was weak from former engagements, to Loch-Ore, about two miles southward from Loch-Leven, with two ranges of hills in front, the Cleish range on their left, and Binnarty hill on their right. At this position the Romans pitched their camp, the remains of which are still apparent to the eager eyes of antiquaries (*h*). In the meantime one of the three divisions of Agricola's army may have defiled to the right, and with the marines from the fleet may have encamped near Dunearn hill (*i*). During the night the Horestii made a vigorous attack on the Roman entrenchments at Loch-Ore. They were already within the camp, when Agricola, being informed of their march, hastened forward the lightest of his troops to attack the rear of the assailants. A furious engagement was now maintained in the gates of the

(*g*) See Ainslie's Map of Fife, and the Stat. Account of the parish of Carnock, v. xi., p. 497. Those camps are not seven miles from the shore of the Forth; they stand on a pleasant bank, which gives them an extensive prospect of the frith and the intervenient country. It is apparent, then, that Agricola could, from this eminence, at once see and communicate with his fleet. Upon *Car-neil* hill, near Carnock, the Horestii appear to have had a strength, as we might learn from the prefix of the name, the *Cæter* of the British signifying a fort. The Romans probably took this strength by assault, as in 1774, upon opening some tumuli upon Carneil hill, several urns were found containing many Roman coins. *Id.* From Carnock, northward a mile and a half, the Horestii had another strength on Craighlusear-hill, which the minister of Carnock supposed to have been a camp of the Romans. *Id.* The minister of Dumfermline more truly calls this a Pietish camp. *Ib.* v. xiii., p. 453. From Carnock, three miles north-north-west, there is another British strength on the summit of Saline hill. Stat. Account, v. xiii., p. 453. And there was a similar camp of the Britons at no great distance below. *Ib.*, v. x., p. 312. These several fortresses of the Horestii were no doubt taken by the legions of Agricola in the campaign of 83 A.D.

(*h*) This camp is situated on the north side of Loch-Ore, less than half a mile south-west from Loch-Ore house, in the parish of Ballingry, in Fife. Its form is nearly square. In some places it is levelled and defaced, but on the north and west sides there still exist three rows of ditches and as many ramparts of earth and stone. The total circumference of it is about 2020 feet. On the side towards the loch there is a round turret, analogous to those at the Roman camp on Burnswark hill. Gordon's *Itin.*, p. 36; Stat. Account, v. vii., p. 315; and Ainslie's map of Fife. Sibbald says, indeed, that the ninth legion was attacked in the Roman camp at Loch-Ore. *Hist. Inquiries*, p. 37. In a moss near Portmoak there were dug up the heads of Roman lances and javelins, which were made of fine hardened brass. *Ib.* 38.

(*i*) This hill is only a mile distant from Burntisland, where there is the best harbour in the Forth, and where the Romans had a naval station till the late period of their departure. Sibbald's *Rom. Forts*, p. 5-15; Stat. Account, v. ii., p. 424-6. On Dunearn hill there was a British fort of great strength, which soon yielded to the Roman art. *Ib.* 429.

camp. But the Britons were repulsed, though not discouraged: they attributed their repulse, not so much to the superior bravery of their adversaries, as to the skill of the commander and the accidents of war. They magnanimously resolved to defend the last defile of their country. They sent their wives and children into places of safety (*k*), they armed their youth, and they ratified the confederacy of the tribes, in their solemn assemblies by public sacrifices. This is the first occasion on which we hear of the union of the Caledonian tribes. We may judge of the pressure of the moment and the fortitude of the clans, which could unite so many people whose ruling passion was independence on each other.

The Romans on their part were elated with their victory; they cried out that no force could resist their valour, that now was the time to penetrate into the recesses of Caledonia. Agricola resolved to gratify their ardour, as it promoted his own designs; and he immediately proceeded to subdue the Horestii, who do not appear, in the pages of Tacitus, to have made much resistance after that decisive blow. In these operations he spent the remainder of A.D. 83, and the beginning of the subsequent year, he occupied in procuring information of the enemy's motions (*l*).

Excited thus, and instructed, Agricola marched from Fife, the hostile land of the Horestii, in the summer of 84, with an army equipped for expedition, to which he added those Britons whom he had brought with him from the south as useful auxiliaries. He in the mean time dispatched his fleet around the coast with design to spread distraction. He was probably directed in his route by the natural positions of the country, as it was shown to his intelligent eyes by the course of the Devon; he turned to the right from Glen-devon,

(*k*) In those times the British tribes had on every hill-top a fastness of considerable strength, as we know from their remains.

(*l*) It is perfectly obvious, from the narrative of Tacitus, that Agricola passed the winter of the year 83 in Fife, where he was readily supplied with provisions by his fleet, and whence he easily corresponded with his garrisons on the southern side of the Forth. Besides the Roman works which have been noticed, there are the remains of others that may still be traced along the riith. At Halyards also, in the parish of Tullybole, there is a Roman encampment which would merely hold a detachment. Stat. Account, v. xviii., p. 470. In the parish of Tillycoultry there is said to have been a Roman station on the north end of the Cuningar hill. *Ib.* v. xv., p. 214. There appears to have been an advanced camp at Andargie, the *height of warriors*, among the Oeild hills above the river May; and it is still remembered as a Roman work. *Ib.* v. iii., p. 309. And see Stobie's map of Perth. Many circumstances with regard to this campaign seem to have been unknown to Roy, who combats the opinion of Gordon, without denying his facts. See also Sir R. Sibbald's Account of the Forts, Colonies, and Castles of the Romans, between the Forth and Tay, 1711, throughout.

through the opening of the Ochil hills, along the course of the rivulet which forms Glen-eagles, leaving the Braes of Ogilvie on his left. He now passed between Blackford and Auchterarder towards the Grampian hill, which he saw at a distance before him as he defiled from the Ochils (*m*). An easy march soon carried him to the moor of Ardoch, and to the presence of the Caledonians, within the district of the Damnii. He found the Caledonians already encamped at the Grampian mountain to the number of thirty thousand, under the command of Galgacus, a general who appears to have merited the celebration of Tacitus. An obstinate battle ensued, which was at length decided in favour of the Romans, not so much by great valour as by superior skill and better weapons. Night put an end to a well fought engagement (*o*). The

(*m*) In the parish of Blackford there is a small camp on an eminence fronting Gleneagles, about five miles east from Ardoch. Stat. Account, v. iii., p. 310. In Auchterarder parish, opposite to it, there are some traces of encampments on the east of that village, at the foot of the Ochils: a coin of the Emperor Vespasian was here found in digging the foundation of the church. Stat. Account, v. iv., p. 44.

(*o*) The site of this famous battle has been sought for in vain by antiquaries. All that can be done for the acquirement of certainty is to adjust circumstances. Having sent round his fleet to spread terror, he marched with an army equipped for expedition, *expedito exercitu*; and he arrived without any obstruction that we hear of, as his route lay through the country of the subdued Horestii, *ad montem Grampium*, the *Gran-pen* of the Britons, signifying in their language the head or chief ridge, or ledge. As his fleet no longer co-operated with him, as he was lightly equipped, he could not carry much supply of provision with him. From his scouts he probably knew that the enemy were encamped at no great distance from him, a circumstance which the text seems to suppose. As he marched through the pass of the Ochil hills, along the natural track of the modern road, he saw the Grampian mountain, beyond the intervenient valley, before him; and he also saw the ground whereon he could conveniently encamp. He took his station at the great camp which adjoins the fort of Ardoch, on the northward. See this interesting spot in Roy's Mil. Antiq., pl. 10: and Stobie's map of Perth. From this camp Agricola drew out his army, as Tacitus informs us, on the neighbouring moor, whereon Gordon saw a vast large ditch, which might be traced for above two miles. The Caledonians came down from the declivity of the Grampian, which begins to rise from the north-western border of the moor. "On the hill above the moor," says Gordon, "are two great heaps of stones: the one called *Carnvochel*, the other *Carnlee*: in the former the quantity of stones exceeds belief; and I found, by mensuration, the whole heap to be about 182 feet in length, 30 in sloping height, and 45 in breadth at the bottom." Itin. Septen., p. 42. These two cairns are the British monuments of the Caledonians who fell in this celebrated conflict. Every circumstance concurs to evince that this moor was the bloody scene where so many Caledonians perished for their country's freedom. Here there was room enough for the combatants, who were not so many as Tacitus states: there was not a district in North-Britain during that age which could have fed 30,000 persons for one day. It is not easy to tell how Agricola could have found supplies for his army, if it had been less in numbers than is generally supposed from the intimations of Tacitus. The camp is allowed by competent judges

Caledonian Britons retired to the most distant recesses of their impervious country. Agricola led his army back to the confines of the Horestii, on the track of his former route. And having taken hostages from them, he slowly conducted his troops through the conquered tribes into winter quarters on the south of the friths, perhaps on the south of the Tyne and Solway. He, meanwhile, ordered the commander of the Roman navy, who probably met him in the Forth, to sail round the island on a voyage of discovery, and with the design of intimidation. This voyage was happily accomplished, by the return of the fleet *ad portum Trutulensem* or Richborough before the approach of winter, when it returned to the Forth. With these remarkable events ended the campaigns of Agricola in North-Britain.

The news of those exploits, however modestly stated, gave apparent joy to the Emperor Domitian; but inspired him, at the same time, with real envy. And Agricola was recalled from Britain in the year 85, under the pretence of promotion, which was rather declined by that great officer than seriously

to have been sufficient for such an army, whatever may have been its numbers. The vast cairns are British monuments of some great conflict here: the name of *Victoria*, which the Romans afterwards gave to their station on the Ruchel, near Comrie, in this vicinity, is a significant memorial of their decisive victory. Gordon was so idle as to place the site of the battle at the station of *Victoria*. Pennant was so ill informed as to confute Gordon's position upon mistaken principles; and Pennant supposed that the scene of action must be near the sea, where the fleet could co-operate; but the plan of the campaign only admitted of general co-operation. If the Roman fleet came into the Tay, it performed all which was expected from it; and Agricola, at the close of the campaign, communicated with his fleet either in the Tay or in the Forth. Pennant had attended so little to the intimations of Tacitus, as to suppose that the attack on the ninth legion, in the preceding year, was at the station of *Victoria*. Tour, 1772, p. 96; but we have already seen that the whole operations of the preceding campaign were in Fife. There is no evidence that Agricola ever reached the Tay: the *Tay* of Tacitus was the Solway frith of modern maps. Maitland, who was the first antiquary who traced Roman roads and Roman camps beyond the Tay, was also the first who pointed to Urie hill as the appropriate site of the battle of *Mons Grampius*. In his loose conjectures he was copied by Lord Buchan. And Roy followed both, who, in giving an account of the campaigns of Agricola, is always supposing what cannot be allowed and what he cannot prove. There is a thread of sophistry which, as it runs through the reasonings of all those writers on this point, it is time to cut for the sake of truth. They presume that Agricola was the only Roman officer who made roads or constructed camps in North-Britain, and that Lollius Urbicus and the Emperor Severus never appeared on that arduous theatre of war. It has indeed been suggested to me by a friend, the late Colonel Shand of the artillery, for whose opinion I have a great respect, that the camp at *the Findochs* in the parish of Monzie, on the Anon river in Perthshire, is very likely to have been the site of the battle of the Grampian. Stat. Account, v. xv., p. 256-7. But the weight of circumstantial evidence appears to my deliberate judgment to be far stronger in favour of the moor of Ardoch, which contains many more interesting remains, both British and Roman.

offered by his unfeeling master. Agricola died, probably from the effects of chagrin, on the 23d of August 93, celebrated by his friends and lamented by his countrymen, whose grief attests his worth. The silence of history, which intimates that there were no events to record during five and thirty years after the recall of Agricola, evinces the wisdom of his measures as a statesman, and shews the extent of his victories as a general (*p*).

(*p*) The foregoing sketch of the campaigns of Agricola was drawn up from his life by Tacitus. Considerable assistance was derived also from the learned notes of the elaborate Tillemont. *Histoire*, 2d tom. 475-6. Truth obliges me to notice the mistakes of Horsley, *Brit. Romana*, p. 39, 40. Most of the writers upon that period, by attributing every Roman labour to Agricola, have only obscured the splendour of his conduct. The late General Roy has debased his curious work on the *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North-Britain*, by ascribing every road and every rampart, the vestiges whereof are still to be traced in that country, to Agricola, as if neither Lollius Urbicus nor the Emperor Severus had led armies into the northern parts of Britain in after times. I do not observe that any monumental stone has preserved the name of Agricola, who is nevertheless recollected and admired without the aid of such perishable notices. The late M. de la Rochette, who was a French engineer that had inspected the Roman camps in Scotland, observing the mistakes of Roy, had prepared materials for writing an account of Agricola's campaigns, as Mr. Faden, the King's geographer, informs me. I endeavoured in vain to secure the papers of M. de la Rochette before his death.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Transactions of Lollius Urbicus.

WHEN Agricola was recalled by the envy of Domitian in the year 85, victory had declared in favour of Roman discipline at the foot of the Grampian mountains. The long silence of history shews, with sufficient clearness, that the Caledonian Britons had felt the Roman hostility, and that they had at length dreaded the Roman power (*a*). The British tribes derived confidence, during Adrian's war with the Jews, from the recall of some of the Roman troops, with some of the best officers in the Roman armies (*b*). They were provoked to turbulence by the misrule of proprætors. The Emperor Adrian, who derived much of his celebrity from inspecting with a judicious eye every part of the empire, came into Britain, corrected many abuses, and, in the year 120, built a wall from the Tyne to the Solway; a rampart which has, in every age, been a monument of his power and a memorial of his circumspection (*c*). The antiquaries in their inattention have supposed that Adrian meant by this work to relinquish the large extent of country from his wall to the northern friths. But their conjecture was made in opposition to the fact, and is in itself inconsistent with probability. That several stations remained on the north of the wall is a truth which we know from the discovery of inscriptions; and his policy seems only to have intended to provide an additional security for the more southern provinces against the insurrections of the Ottadini, and Gadeni, and the ravages of the Selgovæ and Novantes, who having neither domestic tumult nor distant devastation to occupy them, were

(*a*) From the departure of Agricola in 85, for thirty years the Roman historians took scarcely any notice of the affairs of Britain. Horsley supposes, from a loose expression of Tacitus, a querulous historian, that the Romans lost much of their conquests here during that period. Chron. Sub. An. 86. But the silence of history conveys a quite contrary inference.

(*b*) Horsley's Brit. Rom., p. 49; Tillemont Hist. Des Emper., tom. ii., p. 287.

(*c*) Horsley, p. 50. Spartian is the ancient historian who is quoted for the facts. Scrip. Hist. Aug., p. 51. And see Warburton's *Vallum Romanum*, with his map, which show, from an actual survey, the track of Adrian's *Vallum* with Severus's wall.

neither restrained nor overawed by the stations of Agricola on the Isthmus between the Clyde and Forth (*i*).

Antonine assumed the purple on the death of Adrian, the 10th of July 138, A.D. Among a thousand other good qualities the new emperor was remarkable for appointing to the government of the Roman provinces the fittest officers; nor could he have chosen for the rule of Britain a more proper officer than Lollius Urbicus, a man who possessed talents for peace as well as a genius for war. His most early attention was drawn to the Brigantes, who, having raised a revolt, were again reduced to order by him in 139, A.D. He marched northward in the subsequent year to the Friths, and tranquilized the tribes beyond them. There is cause for believing that this great officer carried his arms from the Forth to the Varar, and settled stations in the intermediate country, throwing the whole of that extensive country into the regular form of a Roman province. Antonine, in the meantime, with the beneficent spirit of his character, extended the right of Roman citizenship over the whole Roman empire (*k*). From this epoch, every inhabitant of North-Britain who resided along the east coast, from the Tweed to the Moray Frith, might have claimed, like St. Paul, every privilege which peculiarly belonged to a Roman citizen. But the Caledonian tribes probably paid little regard to such privileges, while there remained among them indelible marks of subjection, which humbled their pride of independence, as well as incited their hatred of submission.

Whatever may have been thought during the infancy of our archæology, there can be no doubt that the earthen rampart, the vast ditch, and the military way which conjointly extend from Caer-riden on the Forth to Dun-glas, and perhaps to Alclud on the Clyde, were constructed during the reign of Antoninus Pius, under the orders of Lollius Urbicus, his lieutenant (*l*).

(*i*) Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*, 241-2; Whit. *Manchest.*, 8vo ed., p. 259-60, who settles the point with his usual acuteness and ability; and Horsley, p. 51. The finding of a succession of coins and medals belonging to the intermediate Emperors at the northern stations, is also a strong proof that the Roman soldiers remained in them during the period of that succession. Wood's *Hist. of the Parish of Cramond*, p. 4, 5.

(*k*) Ulpian Digest. Tit., *De Statu Hominum*.

(*l*) Capitolinus, who flourished during the third century, was the first who intimated that Antoninus Pius had built a wall in Britain. Richard, who wrote from classical informations, specifies the wall of Antonine to have extended from the Forth to the Clyde. And Bede, who appears to have possessed local knowledge, mentions the actual commencement and termination of Antonine's wall. Yet Buchanan did not live long enough to be acquainted with those curious truths. It was the discovery of one inscription which enabled Camden to have a single

The second legion, detachments from the sixth and twentieth legions, with some auxiliaries, are recorded in monumental stone to have performed those military works, which are equally demonstrative of their skill and creditable to their perseverance (*m*). The length of their labours, from old Kirkpatrick on the Clyde to Caerriiden on the Forth, is thirty-nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty-six Roman paces, which agree nearly with the modern measurement of thirty-six English miles and six hundred and twenty yards (*n*).

glimpse of the fact. The successive discoveries of many monumental stones, by digging up the foundation of the wall, have shown to all intelligent men the whole circumstances of the time when that singular fence was made, and by whom. Those stones may be considered as so many records. The University of Glasgow, by engraving the great collection of stone monuments which have been deposited in their library, and which often mention the titles of Antoninus, and once the name of Lollius Urbicus, have liberally furnished exemplifications of those records. I owe to that learned body my acknowledgments for the favour of a copy of those exemplifications. Timothy Pont first had the learned curiosity to inspect the remains of Antonine's wall during the age of Camden. See Extracts from his Survey of this *Prætentura* in Gibson's Camden, 1695, p. 958-9. Sir Robert Sibbald followed his example at the distance of a century. Gordon, the tourist, made a personal survey of the same work about the year 1725. Horsley soon followed his track of inquiry and mensuration, but with a more vigorous spirit and more careful steps. And Roy, a professed engineer, with as much curiosity as either, and more science than both of them, made similar inquiries and mensurations in 1755, when the remains were unfortunately more faint. Owing to all those inquiries, the *Prætentura* of Antoninus Pius has ceased to be an object of antiquarian research, and now engages merely historical attention. Whoever wishes to know every particular with regard to objects which are altogether worthy of a rational curiosity, must read Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, l. i. ch. x. and study Roy's *Military Antiquities*, § 3. From their curious informations it will appear that this *Prætentura* consisted of a vast ditch on the outward, which was generally about twenty feet deep and forty feet wide, and which there is some cause for believing might have been filled with water as occasion required; 2dly, of a rampart within the ditch, which was upwards of twenty feet high and four-and-twenty feet thick, composed of earth on a stone foundation, and this ditch and rampart were strengthened at both the extremities and throughout its whole extent by one-and-twenty forts, there being one station at each extremity of it, and one at the end of every two miles nearly; 3dly, of a military road which, as a necessary appendage, coursed within the rampart from end to end, for the necessary use of the Roman troops, and the usual communication between so many stations.

(*m*) Horsley's *Brit. Romana*, l. i. ch. x.

(*n*) Roy's *Military Antiquities*, p. 164. It herein appears, also, that the mean distance from station to station of the nineteen forts along the course of the wall is $3554\frac{1}{2}$ yards, or something more than two English miles. Horsley, as above, had pointed out this curious intimation before him, and has acutely shown that the stations on the wall were designedly placed on the previous fortifications of Agricola. Horsley has also remarked a curious fact, which tends to support the reasonings in the text, that the fortified stations on Antonine's wall were placed more nearly to each other than the military posts on Severus's wall. There are nineteen stations along the course of Antonine's *Prætentura*, exclusive of the fortified posts at Caer-riiden, and at Dunglas, a mile and three

This rampart, this vast ditch, and this military road, which accompanied both in the rearward, were constructed in the year 140, along the course of the stations which had been established in A.D. 81 by the judicious policy of Agricola (*o*). At Dunglas near the western extremity of this memorable fence, the Romans found a commodious harbour for their shipping, such as they likewise may have possessed at Blackness near the eastern extremity of the same strength, and such as they certainly enjoyed while they remained in Britain at Cramond (*p*).

In the popular language of the country the wall of Antonine is called *Grime's-Dyke*. Roy was so idle as to adopt from Gordon, the tourist, the

quarters beyond Old Kilpatrick. The military road went on to Dunglas, and may have proceeded even to Alclud: the obvious reason for carrying the *Prætentura* so low down on the Frith was plainly to cover the fords of the Clyde. At Old Kilpatrick, where the modern opinions place the western termination of the wall, the Clyde was quite shallow throughout its whole breadth, which is about a quarter of a mile. Pennant's Tour, v. iii., p. 140. Lower down, between Dunglas and Dunbarton, there was the ford of Dumbuck stretching across the river, which, when it was surveyed by Mr. Watt in 1769, "had only *two feet depth of water* at ebb tide, and this shoal had only three feet depth of water, for an extent of six hundred yards up and down the Clyde, at this place." MS. Report. The state of the river was not probably much different during the first century, and this circumstance must have dictated to the Roman officers the policy of covering those fords where the Caledonian people might have easily passed into Valentia. From these considerations, it is apparent that they must have carried their posts and their military road to Dunbarton, the *Theodoria* of Richard. Bede and Nennius seem to have given the Roman *Prætentura* this full extent. Camden concurred in this by placing the wall between Abereorn and Dunbarton. Brit. ed. 1586. p. 481. But from their several ages the remains were continually disappearing before the eye of curiosity. Nevertheless, sufficient remained to enable the intelligent Dr. Irvine, who was appointed historiographer royal in 1686, to trace the several forts very distinctly. Sir Robert Sibbald, in giving his account of this wall, says: "The west part of it, from Dunbarton to Falkirk, was accurately traced by Dr. Irvine, who told me *he had several times travelled alongst it*. The forts he observed upon the track of it, *as I found them in his papers*, are these, with the distances of each set down: (1) At Dunbarton a great fort; (2) the castle, half a mile from it; (3) a mile thence, at the foot of Dumbuck hill, a fort; (4) a mile thence, at Dunglas, a fort; (5) a mile thence to Chapel hill above the town of Kilpatrick, a fort;" and so he proceeds with other nineteen forts along the course of this *Prætentura*, which has since been surveyed by Gordon, Horsley, and Roy. Roman Antiq., p. 28-9. The great defect of all these, in reasoning about the extent of the wall of Antonine, seems to be that they did not attend to the ancient shallowness of the Clyde, and to the great object of the Roman policy. The Roman fleet, says Pennant, probably had its station under Dunbarton, where there is sufficient depth of water, and the place was convenient and secure: the water beyond [above] is impassable *for any vessels of large burden*. Tour, v. iii., p. 141.

(*o*) Horsley Rom. 52: and see his plate, Scotland, N xxv., for an inscription showing that Antonine's wall was constructed in A.D. 140.

(*p*) Roy's Mil. Antiq., p. 164.

tradition of *Grime* and his Scots breaking through the wall, and so credulous as to suppose "that from this circumstance it might possibly have the "name of *Grime's-Dyke* (*q*).” It has not yet been proved that such a person ever existed, whatever such fablers as Fordun, Boece, and Buchanan may assert. The fact is that there are several works of the same kind in England which bear the name of *Grime's-Dyke* (*r*). This significant appellation was undoubtedly imposed by the British people, who were long restrained in their courses by its opposing strength. In their speech, and in the Welsh language of the present day, *Grym* signifies strength; and hence, by a little deflexion, *Grym* came to signify any strength (*s*). The fact, then, and the etymology concur to explode for ever the historical fiction which has passed into popular story, and which speaks of Grime and his followers as having once been real characters, and as having, in some age, broke through the strong dyke of Antoninus Pius. The Roman territories in Britain had been now carried to their largest extent, and the Roman power to its greatest height: they had conducted *Iters* from the rampart of Severus to the wall of Antonine, and from this fence to the *Ptoroton* of Richard, the Burgh-head of Moray; they had formed roads throughout the extent of country; they had established stations in the most commanding places within the districts of *Valentia* and *Vespasiana*; and it may be of use, at this epoch, to investigate with some attention, those several objects which are so interesting to a rational inquiry as well as so demonstrative of the Roman art.

As the wall of Antonine was obviously intended to overawe the tribes who lived within it, as well as to repel the wild people who ranged beyond its immediate scope; with the same policy *iters* were settled, roads were constructed, and stations were fixed, to command the Caledonian clans throughout the

(*q*) Roy's *Mil. Antiq.*, 161.

(*r*) As to the appellation of *Grimes-dike*, says Warton, or the ditch made by magic, it is common to other works of the same sort, and indiscriminately applied to ancient trenches, roads, and boundaries, whether British, Roman, Saxon, or Danish. He then gives five examples of different places, which are called *Grimsdic*, *Grimesdike*, *Grimmesdic*, and *Grimesditch*. Warton's *Kiddington*, p. 54-6. There is also a *Grimesditch* in Bucklow hundred, Cheshire. See Horsley's *Romana*, p. 173, which seems to relinquish all hope of being able to explain the origin of the name of *Grime's-dyke*; and see what Hearne says in his edition of *Newbridge*, v. iii., p. 756-60, with regard to the proper name being *Grume's ditch*; *Grumæ*, or *Gromæ*, he says, were boundaries of provinces, but the intimation of Hearne is too refined for the occasion.

(*s*) Davies, in voce *Grym*; *Gryme* in Cornish signifies *strong*. Borlase. *Grim* in the Gaelic means *war, battle*. Shaw's *Diet*. It is curious to remark that Timothy Pont points pretty plainly to this natural derivation of this well known but mistaken name, Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, p. 87.

Roman territories. Soon after the erection of the wall of Antonine three *iters* appear to have traversed the provinces of Valentia and Vespasiana. The ninth *iter* of Richard extended from Carlisle to the northern wall, near Camelon, and from this strong fence to *Ptoroton* (*t*). The intelligent monk thus places his four stages, from Carlisle to the wall, from Luguballium to Trimontium, from Trimontium to Gadanica, the Colana of Ptolomy, from Gadanica to Coria, the Coria Damniorum of Ptolomy, and from Coria to the wall, without being able, however, to assign the distance of any one of his journies (*u*). Richard's first stage, as we have seen, is from Luguballium to Trimontium. Setting out from Carlisle, along the track of the Roman road through Annandale, about twenty-three statute miles would carry the Roman armies to the station of Trimontium on Burrenswark-hill (*x*). From Carlisle, the Roman armies were naturally carried along Annandale on the eastern side of the Annan past Moffat, where there were some large Roman encampments, at

(*t*) Richard supposes, from the documents before him, that the distance from Carlisle to the wall was eighty miles : but the fact does not warrant his supposition. The shortest distance between his extreme points is ninety statute miles.

(*u*) The *Gaulanica* of Richard's 9th *iter* is evidently a mistake, for *Colanica*, which is plainly the name in his own map, and is the *Colania* of Ptolomy's table, a town of the *Damnii*.

(*x*) A thousand circumstances fix the *Trimontium* on Burrenswarkhill the *Selgovæ* town, before Agricola placed a commanding garrison near the site of this British fortress. This remarkable hill is situated between the rivers Mein and Milk, on the east side of Annandale, and is exactly in the position which the *Trimontium* occupies in Richard's map. It was the site of the most important fortress, and also of the most eastern town of the *Selgovæ*. This hill commands a very extensive prospect of the surrounding country, comprehending Dumfriesshire, the east part of Galloway, nearly all Cumberland, and even part of Westmorland. As it was also seen from afar, it seems to have early attracted the notice of the Romans, who appear to have set a high value on its commanding powers. The area on the summit of this hill was surrounded in prior times with a stone rampart, the remains whereof are still apparent, and evince that the rampart had been constructed without mortar; and within this area there also appear some vestiges of buildings for the purpose of residence or shelter, which are similar to those in the British hill-forts on Carby hill in Roxburghshire, Caterthun in Forfarshire, and in many others. There also remain on this hill some other vestiges of the British people; particularly on the east side there are the remains of a line of circumvallation, which appears to have surrounded the hill at some distance below from the circuitous trench on its summit. On the sides of this hill the Romans constructed two different camps; one on the south side, which is an irregular oblong three hundred yards long and two hundred yards broad, having three gates, one in each end, and one in the south side; the other camp, on the north side of the hill, is an irregular oblong three hundred yards long and one hundred yards broad, having two gates, one in each side. Both these camps are surrounded by two ramparts, having a fosse between them; and they are connected by a large rampart of stone and earth, which runs round the end of the hill. See Gordon's *Itin.*, p. 16. pl. I.; Pennant's *Tour*, v. iii.,

the distance of nineteen statute miles, from Burrenswark-hill (*y*). The Iter must now, in its course north-eastward, have ascended Erickstane-brac; and passing this ridge that separates Annandale from Clydesdale, it must have fallen in with the sources of the Clyde; and descending a little lower, it must have arrived at a Roman post at Little Clyde, upon the track of the Roman road (*z*). This Roman post is about one-and-thirty miles from Burrenswark-hill. And it is more than probable that this was the site of *Gadanica*, in the ninth Iter, the *Colanica* of Richard's map, and the *Colania* of Ptolomy, a town of the Damnii, which both concur in placing on the south-eastern corner of their extensive territories. From this post, which corresponds so exactly with the Damnian town on Little Clyde, the Iter must have proceeded in a north-east direction, along the south-east side of Clydesdale to the remarkable turn which the Clyde makes opposite to Biggar: from this position it would naturally proceed in a northerly course along the eastern side of the river to *Cuer-stairs*, the *Coria* of the Iter, another town of the Damnii, which is four-and-twenty

p. 91; Transact. of the Antiq. Soc. of Scotland, v. i., p. 125; and Roy's Mil. Antiq., p. 72, pl. xvi. and xxv. The Roman station on Burrenswark-hill must not be confounded with the station which is nearly two miles and a half southward from it on the north side of Mein-Water, and which, as it is near the hamlet of Burrens, is frequently called by that name. See Roy's pl. xxv. In order to suit a favourite but mistaken etymology, General Roy has, in opposition to Ptolomy and Richard, and in hostility to the Selgovæ, carried away the *Trimontium* from its true site, where the ninth Iter calls for it, into the distant track of a different Iter. Stukeley, without much consideration, guessed Canoby to be the Trimontium of the ninth Iter; but this position is much too near Luguballium, and is moreover out of the route of Richard's Itinerary and design. Of this station Horsley says: "*Trimontium*, according to Ptolomy, is not far from the estuary of Ituna or Solway-Frith. I think," he adds, "the situation brings us near to Annan, or perhaps to *Burrenswark* or Middleby, which I take to be the *Baltum Bulgium* of the Itinerary." Brit. Rom., p. 377. Maitland, amidst many mistakes, in the Roman topography of North-Britain, comes very near to the true position of *Trimontium* by placing it on the Roman station at Middleby, which, as we have seen, is little more than two miles south of Burrenswark-hill. Hist Scot., v. i., p. 142.

(*y*) Stat. Acco., v. ii., p. 288. But it is pretty certain that neither of those camps were the station of Ptolomy's *Colania* or Richard's *Gadanica*. Camden, who had not the help of Richard, placed *Colania* at Coldingham on the east coast, sixty miles from the undoubted track of the ninth Iter. Maitland still more absurdly placed it at Cramond on the Forth, which is at least seventy miles from Trimontium. Stukeley idly placed *Colania*, at Colechester or Peebles, but there is no such place here as Colechester, and Peebles is almost fifty miles from Burrenswark-hill without the range of the Iter.

(*z*) Roy, 104. The minister of Crawford parish, wherein is this Roman post, mentions indeed the remains of three camps which he considers as Roman. Stat. Acco., v. iv., p. 514. But the fact is that only one of these is a Roman fort, as its *square form* attests; the other two are British strengths, as their round forms and positions on the summits of heights demonstrate.

miles from the Colania, on Little Clyde (*a*). At this place is the Roman station of *Castle-dykes*, which, with many Roman remains in its vicinity, attest that here had been many transactions of that enterprising people (*b*). Horsley fancifully places *Coria* at Kirkurd, in Peebles-shire; Maitland, who did not live to see Richard, absurdly supposes *Coria* to be near Stirling; Stukeley conjecturally places *Coria* at Crossford, below Lanark, out of the track of the *Iter*; and Roy, who had Richard before him, most mistakingly carries this *Iter*, which we have thus traced through Annandale and Clydesdale, past Hawick and the Eklon-hills, to *Currie* on the Gore-water. Several of our acutest antiquaries have confounded *Coria*, a town of the *Damnii*, with *Curia*, a town of the *Gadeni*. From *Coria* this *Iter* proceeded *ad vallum* to Falkirk, says Stukeley. From *Caer-stairs* northward to *Camelon*, without the wall, is the distance of two-and-twenty miles. Whether this *Iter* went along the vale of Mous-water, past Cleugh to Whitburn, and thence northward to the wall, or went by a more westerly course past Shots, the distance is nearly two-and-twenty miles to the opening of the wall at *Camelon*, the Roman mart (*bb*).

We have now traced the course of the ninth *Iter* of Richard from Carlisle to the wall, and have also ascertained the several towns which are called for by it, and which have been so strangely confounded and misplaced by the ablest antiquaries. It is at length proper to trace with equal precision the fifth *Iter* of the same instructive monk, which went southward by the eastern route, throughout the whole extent of *Valentia*, before we pass the wall into *Vespasiana*.

The fifth *Iter* of Richard, which proceeded from the eastern extremity of Antonine's wall to the south, is much more certain, though Stukeley has only

(*a*) The coincidences of the course of this *Iter*, of the distance and of the name, concur to ascertain the *Coria* of the *Iter* and *Caer-stairs* of the maps to be the same. In marching from Biggar, about three miles past Carnwath, the Roman troops would arrive at the entrance of a small glen or narrow vale, which is called *Cleugh*, from the Saxon *Clough*, a glen, that is the same in sense as the Celtic *Coiré*; and the *Coiré* in a thousand instances is applied in the North-British topography to glens of a similar description, and appears in many names of places in the form of *Corrie*; before the Saxon people settled in this district we may easily suppose that this *Cleugh* was called, in the language of the Celtic inhabitants, *Coiré* or *Corrie*, the *Coria* of Ptolemy and of Richard.

(*b*) In the course of this *Iter*, between those stations there were several small Roman posts: there was one between Catchapel and Little Gill, several miles from Little Clyde; there was another post below, on the western side of Culter-water, opposite to Nisbet; and there was a third post lower down at the turn of the Clyde opposite to Biggar.

(*bb*) Sir R. Sibbald, who wrote from the papers of Timothy Pont, in speaking of the Roman road through Clydesdale says, "the people have a tradition that another Roman *street* went from Lanark to "the Roman Colony near Falkirk." *Rom. Antiq.*, p. 39. By the *Roman Colony* we are to understand the Roman port at *Camelon*, to which the tide once flowed and vessels navigated.

obscured by his conjectures what he proposed to clear by his research. Richard conducts this *Iter*, *a limite Prætorium*, to *Curia*; thence *ad Fines*; and thence to *Bremenium*; without being able to assign the distances of his several stages. If the Roman troops set out from the eastern end of the wall, nine-and-twenty Roman miles would have conducted them to *Currie*, on the Gore-water; the *Curia* of the *Iter*, where there was undoubtedly a Roman station, and where several remains have been found. His next stage *ad Fines* would have reached the Eldon-hills, at the end of two-and-twenty miles (*c*). And another stage of thirty miles would have conducted them to *Bremenium*, which is undoubtedly *Roe-chester* in *Reedsdale*, on the borders of *Northumberland*.

Beyond the wall of *Antonine*, an *Iter* with its accompanying stations traversed the whole extent of *Vespasiana*, from the wall to the *Varar*. This is merely the continuance of the ninth *Iter* of *Richard*, when he enters *Vespasiana*, and ends at *Ptoroton*. His first stage extended twelve miles, from the wall to *Alauna* on the *Allan* river, near its junction with the *Forth*, as the coincidences of the name and of the distance attest. From *Akauna* the *Iter* went forward along *Strathallan* nine miles to the *Lindum* of the *Itinerary*, the well-known station at *Ardoch*, as the course and distance evince. From *Lindum*, the celebrated scene of many conflicts, the *Iter* passed throughout a course of nine miles to the *Victoria* of the *Itinerary*, the proud monument of *Agricola's* victory at the *Grampian*, the *Dalginross* of the tourists, at the western extremity of *Strathern*, eight miles out of the direct course of the Roman road. The *Iter* now pursued its course in an easterly direction nine miles to *Hierna*, the station on the *Earn* at *Strageth*, as every coincidence attests, whatever *Stukeley* supposed. The next stage of the *Iter* is the central *Orrea* on the *Tay*, at the distance of fourteen itinerary miles. From *Orrea* the *Iter* went *ad Tavum* nineteen miles, and thence *ad Esicam*, twenty-three miles. If we set out from *Orrea* in an easterly direction through the passage of the *Sidlaw-hills*, and along the *Carse of Gowrie*, nineteen miles would carry us to the northern side of the estuary of *Tay*, near *Dundee*, which is certainly the *ad Tavum* of the *Iter* (*d*). If from this last station we proceed in a north-

(*c*) *Stukeley*, by an odd mistake, reads *ad Times*, and so fixed the station at the *Tine*, as *Whitaker* observes; and, as he adds, this station must have been on the limits of the *Gadenian* and *Ottadinian* territories, and must have been somewhere on the banks of the *Tweed* in *Tweeddale*. *Hist. Manch.*, v. ii., p. 346. This station was no doubt at the *Eldon-hills*, where there were a Roman camp and a British strength.

(*d*) In the course of this route, at the distance of two miles west from *Dundee*, and half a mile north from *Invergowrie*, on the estuary of the *Tay*, there are the remains of a Roman camp, which *Maitland* says are about two hundred yards square, fortified with a high rampart and a spacious ditch. *Hist. Scot.*, v. i., p. 215; and see also the *Stat. Acco. of Liff*, v. xiii., p. 115.

north-east direction, through the natural opening of the country, we shall at the distance of eleven miles fall in with the well known Roman camp of Hare-faulds; and at the end of three and twenty miles nearly, we shall arrive on the South Esk at Brechin, the *ad Esicam* of the Iter (*a*). This route exactly agrees with the names and distances in the Iter, and with the track delineated on Richard's map (*b*). Setting out from the South Esk at Brechin, and proceeding in a north-north-east direction, the natural course of the Itinerary would arrive at the end of five miles and three quarters on the North Esk, the *Tina* of Richard (*c*). Having passed this river at the King's ford, the Roman troops would naturally march straight forward through the valley of Luther-water about eight and a half miles to the station of Fordon, where there are the remains of two Roman camps; and thence by Urie-hill, where there is the well known

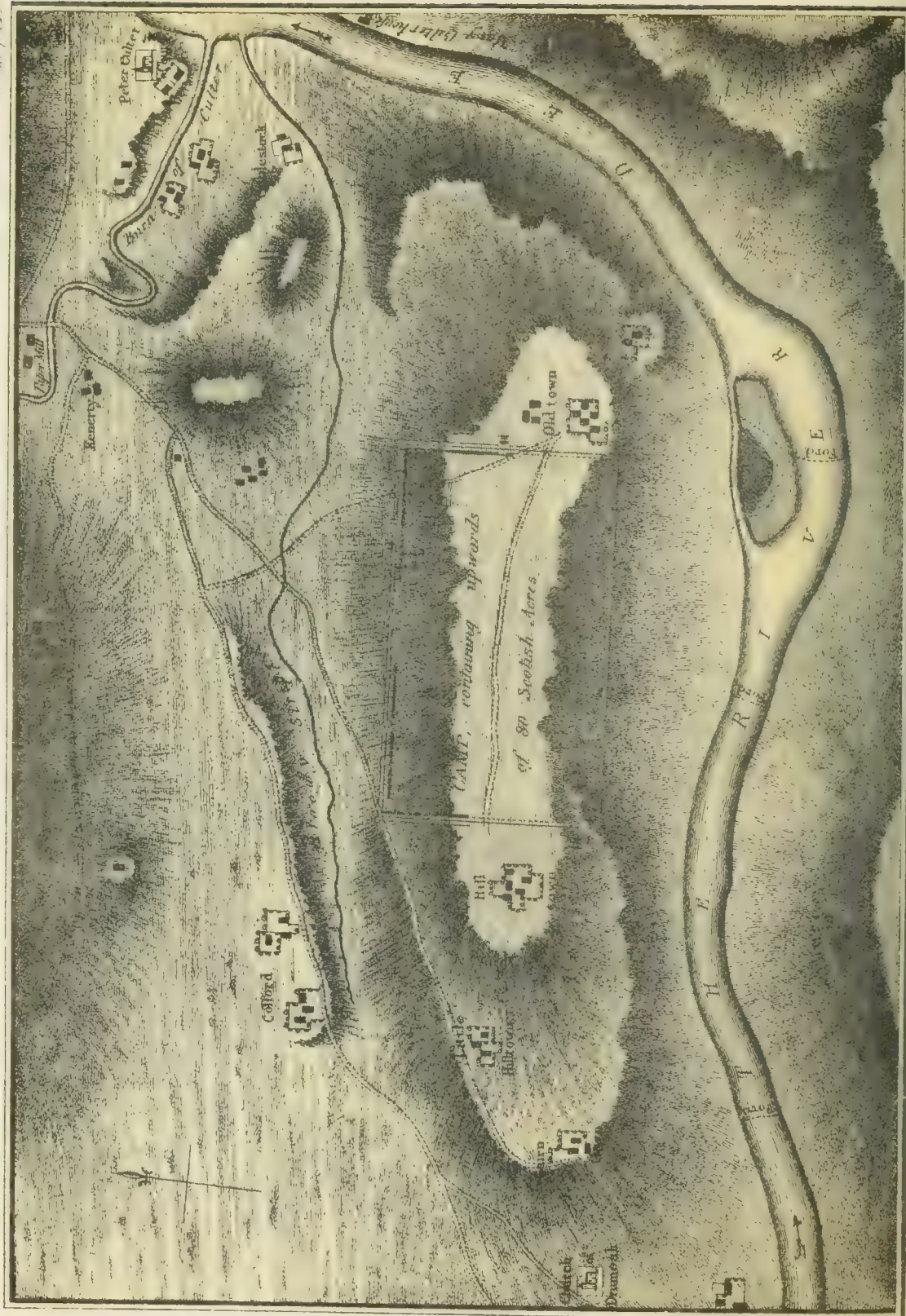
(*a*) Stukeley placed the station *ad Esicam* by conjecture at Brechin.

(*b*) In tracing the Roman route forward from Orrea, General Roy departs from his usual guide; Richard had shewn him the right track, but his desire of novelty forced him into a wrong one. Roy carries the Iter from Orrea to Burghtay [Broughty] castle, four miles east from Dundee, which he supposes to be the *ad Tarum*, and states it to be eighteen English miles from Orrea; the fact, however, is that the real distance from Orrea to Burghtay castle is twenty-three miles, which extent is four beyond the Itinerary distance; and moreover, as their object was to get through the country northward, they would naturally file off in that direction from Dundee through the open country towards the South Esk at Brechin. Going beyond Dundee to Burghtay castle would have been going four miles out of their way without any apparent object. From Burghtay castle he carries the Iter along the coast to the river South Esk at Montrose, which he supposes to be the *ad Esicam* of his guide, and from this he carries on his route three and a half miles to the river North Esk, which he equally conjectures to be the *ad Tinam* of Richard: yet this deviation is quite irreconcilable with the distance in the Iter of eight miles from *ad Esicam* to *ad Tinam*. From North Esk Roy carries the Iter along the coast to old Aberdeen, his supposed *Devana*, and he states the distance to be twenty-five English miles, though the real distance is in fact not less than thirty-three miles, and the Itinerary distance from *ad Tinam* to *ad Devana* is only twenty-three miles. For these great deviations from the distances in the Iter, the object of their route, and from the track pointed out on Richard's map, not one good reason is assigned. Both in this and the track of the Iter north of the *Devana*, General Roy has erred in carrying their route round the coast in place of through the interior of the country. It is apparent that the hostile policy of the Romans did not induce them either to place stations or carry roads along the shore of the German sea.

(*c*) Richard in this stage must be over-ruled by the fact: the distance between the two Esks does not extend to eight miles, without diverging from the straight course, so far as to make up two and a quarter miles. The Roman name of *Tina*, or the British appellation of *Tine*, which, like the other Tines, signified in that language a *river*, the same as *Aron*, could not apply to any other river than the North Esk, because there did not exist any other river nearly in that site. The station *ad Tinam* may indeed have been a little beyond the river *Tine*, from which, having recently passed it, the Romans would naturally borrow the name. It is a very curious fact that the North Esk was called by the British name of *Tine* during the Roman period.

A PLAN of the Roman Camp, called, Sarnan dikes, with the adjacent Country, and the course of the Dec. Dy (Capt. Henderson) of the 29th Reg^t.

1. 500 p 120



Scale in Feet

8 Furlongs

1 Mile

Scale in Miles

camp of Raedikes; and going thence in a northerly direction about six English miles would carry the Roman troops to the river Dee at Peter-Culter, the Devana of Ptolomy and of Richard. This position is thirty-one miles from the South Esk at Brechin, and this distance exactly agrees with the number of miles in the *Iter*, being *ad Tinam* eight miles, and *ad Devanam* twenty-three miles. This route corresponds with the devious track which is delineated on Richard's useful map. At the termination of the *Itinerary* distance on the north side of the Dee, west from the church of Mary-Culter, and south-west from the church of Peter-Culter, there are the remains of extensive entrenchments, which are of a rectangular form, that indicate the site of a camp, and are usually called in popular tradition the *Norman dikes* (*d*). The agreement of the distance with that of the *Iter*, the correspondence of the name of the Deva or Dee with the Devana of Richard, and the undoubted remains of the large encampment on the northern margin of the river, on a high ground of moderate elevation opposite to several fords in the Dee, which the camp was designed to cover, all these coincidences concur to fix the station of Devana on this commodious site, in opposition to the conjecture of Stukeley, and to the mistake of Roy (*e*).

(*d*) This camp appears to have been of a rectangular figure, extending from the east-north-east to west-south-west. The rampart and ditch on the northern side are about three quarters of a mile long, and remain pretty entire. From each end of this work a rampart and ditch ran off at right angles, and formed the ends of the camp, a few hundred yards whereof only remain; the whole of the southern side is destroyed. Colonel Shand, who was intimately acquainted with the field fortification of the Romans on the north of the friths, and to whom we owe the discovery of the Roman camp at Glen-mailen, examined the Norman dikes in February, 1801, and he informed me "that the profiles and other dimensions of the ditch and rampart appeared to be the same as those of the camps at Glen-mailen and Urie, at Battledikes and other camps in Strathmore." The *Stat. Account* of Peter-Culter, v. xvi., p. 380, confirms these relations, though the minister attributes this camp either to the Danes or to William the Norman when he warred with Malcolm Ceanmore. This camp has been since more minutely inspected by more skilful men,—by Mr. Irvine of Druma, Captain Henderson of the 29th Regiment, and Mr. Professor Stewart of Aberdeen, who agree in thinking the Norman dikes to be a Roman work. This camp has lately been surveyed by Captain Henderson, who has obligingly furnished me with an accurate plan of this curious remain. The camp of Normandikes is delineated by him as of an oblong rectangular form, 938 yards long and 543 yards broad, comprehending an area of 80 Scottish acres, being nearly of the same size as the camp of Raedikes on the Ithan, the next stage in the *Iter*. It has two gates in each side, like the camps of Battledikes and Harefaulds, and at Urie, and one gate in each of the ends, which appear from this delineation to have been each covered by a traverse in the Roman manner. See Captain Henderson's *Delineation of the Camp of Normandikes*.

(*e*) In respect to the station of *Devana*, antiquaries have been divided in their opinions between

It is as curious as it is instructive to remark how different the course of Richard's ninth Iter is from the track of the Roman road through Angus, from Orrea. We have seen the Iter go, from the common departure at Orrea, in an easterly direction, through the Sidlaw hills to Dundee, the supposed station *ad Tarum*, and thence proceed nearly in a north-north-east direction to the South Esk at Brechin. The Roman road went from Orrea, in a north-east course, along the east side of the Tay and Isla, past Coupar-Angus, Reedie, Battledikes, and across the moor of Brechin to the camp of Wardikes at Keithoc. This contrariety naturally suggests what is probable, from the tenor of history, that the ninth Iter, as recorded by Richard, was established *previous* to the formation of the road, which is two miles shorter than the Iter, and even *previous* perhaps, to the settling of the camps on the line of the road, at Grassywalls, Coupar, Battledikes, and Keithoc. It is apparent, then, that the ninth and tenth Iters of Richard must have been made in the early part of the administration of Urbicus, and before the middle of the second age (*f*). And these intimations equally evince that none of the Roman camps, the remains whereof exhibit their sites on the north of the Tay, were formed by Agricola in the prior century.

In pursuing their object northward from the Dee at Peter-Culter to the Moray-frith at Burgh-head, the Romans penetrated through the obvious opening of a rough country by the right of Achlea, Fiddy, and Kimmundy, and thence passing forward in a north-north-west direction, through a rather plain district, till they arrived at the site of Kintore on the Don, whence they would

the two towns of Aberdeen, and Aberdon, without reflecting that the object of their searches might have existed on a much more convenient site than either. We have seen above how many coincidences attest the real position of Devana to be at *Normandikes* on the Dee. But no castrensian remains have hitherto been found at either of those towns which would remove doubts or establish certainties on this curious point; we learn indeed from Gordon the tourist "that in a place called the Silver burn, near Aberdeen, a great quantity of Roman medals was discovered, many of which I saw in the hands of some curious gentlemen." *Itin.*, Sept., p. 186. Those coins may undoubtedly have been dropped here by the Romans during some of their excursions, but that fact, without other circumstances more pregnant with proof, cannot ascertain the existence of a station which we have now found more commodiously placed at *the fords* of the Dee than at its *Aber* or issue.

(*f*) The learned Whitaker, after investigating this point with his usual acuteness, has decided "that the Itinerary of Richard was compiled as early as the middle of the second century, in a period when the Roman empire among us was in its greatest glory, and at its farthest extent." *History of Manch.* v. i., p. 88. The facts which have now been ascertained confirm his decision; yet the Itinerary was obviously settled at some epoch subsequent to the construction of Antonine's wall in 140 A.D., which is more than once called for by the Itinerary.

follow the strath of the river, according to their practice, to the bend of the Don, where they found a ford at the same place where the high road has always passed the same river to Inver-urie; they soon after passed the Urie; and they now pushed on, in a north-north-west course, through a moorish district, to the sources of the Ithan, the *Ituna* of Richard, where the camp of Glen-mailen was placed, an extended course of twenty-six statute miles between those itinerary stations (*g*). The next station of the Itinerary is *mons Grampius*, but neither the course nor the distance is specified, though the *mountain* is supposed by Richard to be what it appears to the eye of mariners from shipboard, at no great distance from the sea. Proceeding from Glen-mailen northward, and crossing the Doveran at Achengoul, where there may still be seen considerable remains of military works, thirteen statute miles would carry the Roman troops to the high ground on the north of Foggy-lone, at the eastern base of the *Knock-hill*, the real *mons Grampius* of Richard (*h*). From this

(*g*) From Aberdon, or Old Aberdeen. General Roy, supposing it to be the station of Devana, conducts the ninth Iter of Richard across the Don to the issue of the Ithan, which he supposes to be the itinerary station; but the Don appears never to have been fordable where the road must necessarily have passed, and the distance from the Don to the Ithan, which is only eleven miles, by no means corresponds with the itinerary distance of twenty-four miles. From the issue of the Ithan at Newburgh General Roy carries the route along the coast to Peterhead thirty-three miles, and from thence to Doveran, nineteen miles. But for this difference between the itinerary distance and the fact, and for this deviation from probability and from the map of Richard, neither proof, nor authorities are given, nor have any Roman remains been found in that part of Aberdeenshire lying between the Ithan and the Doveran eastward to the sea which would justify those departures from the truth. On the other hand, the station *ad Itunam* has been found, not at the issue, but at the sources of the Ithan. This important station was discovered in 1786 by Colonel Shand, who communicated his discovery first to the antiquarian society at Perth in 1788, and afterwards his survey of it to General Roy. The Roman Camp, which the people of the country call the *Rae-dykes*, stands on the southern bank of the Ithan a mile below the two well-known springs of the river. There is in Roy's *Military Antiquities*, pl. li., "a plan of the grounds in the parishes of Forg, Auchterless, and Culsalmon, exhibiting the ancient camp of Redykes, near Glenmailen, on the south bank of the Ithan." But *this plan* came too late to enable General Roy to see that the camp at Glenmailen was undoubtedly the station *ad Itunam* of Richard, which, from its central situation, commanded the ample extent of Aberdeenshire, the ancient country of the *Taixali*. There are other remains in the vicinity of this camp which indicate the long residence there of a military people. The camp at Glenmailen, as well as the camp at Urie, is called the *Rae-dykes*, from the Gaelic *Ra'*, signifying a cleared spot, a fortress.

(*h*) The very intelligent Colonel Shand informed me of the obvious remains of military works at Achengoul. From the heights, indeed, near Glenmailen, the Roman officers could see distinctly the whole course of the Moray frith before them, and the intermediate country through which they were to pass forward to their ultimate object at *Putoron*. From the high grounds

station the Itinerary goes forward *ad Selinam*, which is mistakingly supposed by Stukeley to be the Doveran. The distance from the *mons Grampius* of the Itinerary to the station *ad Selinam* is not mentioned by Richard, but we are conducted, by the object of the Romans, by the coincidence of the name, and by the discovery of coins, to the rivulet *Cullen*, near the old tower of Deskford, at the end of ten statute miles (*i*). The next station is *Tuessis*, at the Itinerary

north of Foggydone may be seen Kinnaird's head and the whole of the north-east of Buchan, which head juts out here into the German ocean, and from which the lofty summit of the Knock hill is the first landmark that is seen by mariners as they approach the most eastern point of North-Britain. Such were probably the circumstances which led Richard to speak emphatically of the promontory which runs out into the ocean towards Germany, though he wrote in contradiction to his own map.

(*i*) The route probably lay from the height on the north of Foggydone round the north-east base of the Knock hill near Ordiquhill, and from it to the rivulet of Cullen at Deskford, where Roman coins were found some years ago near the old bridge, a little below the tower of Deskford. The coins were given to the Earl of Findlater, the lord of the manor. We had, indeed, been previously informed by Gordon, *Itin. Septent.* 186, "that in the country of the Boyne several Roman coins were dug up, twenty-seven whereof are preserved by the Earl of Findlater. Four of them I perceived to be medals of Antoninus Pius, one of Faustina, one of Otho, whose reverse had this legend, *Victoria Othonis*." Gordon was less lucky when he talked ignorantly of "there being no vestiges of Roman encampments or Roman Remains beyond the Tay." *Ib.* 187. But Gordon published the result of his enquiries in 1726, when such objects had not been so diligently sought for. The Rev. Mr. Lawtie, the late minister of Fordyce, the great antiquary of Banffshire, having minutely inspected the site of Deskford, cast his observations into a memorial. The antiquarian eyes of Mr. Lawtie saw appearances here of a Roman station, which he conceived to have the form of an oblong square, along the west side of the rivulet *Cullen*, comprehending ten acres, with the tower, the church and manse, and the village of Deskford. In order to obtain more certainty, I caused the same interesting spot to be surveyed by the ingenious Mr. George Brown the land-surveyor, in November, 1799. To his more accurate eyes the entrenchments appeared so indistinct that it was impossible to determine by what people or for what purpose they had been made. The discovery of Roman coins in this position seem to render it probable that the Romans may have had some station here. There are, moreover, about four hundred and fifty yards of an old paved road leading from the south-east directly up to this supposed station. The antiquarian zeal of Mr. Lawtie pronounced this to be the remains of a Roman road. The indifferent eyes of Mr. Brown saw nothing but a regular causeway over a deep clay soil, which necessity may have caused to be made here in much more recent times. Colonel Shand, the great discoverer of Roman camps, and the zealous explorer of Roman ways, inspected this ancient pavement during the summer of 1801. He informed me that it is evidently very old, and is certainly paved like the Roman roads, but is much broken at the sides, and it does not proceed in a straight line like the Roman roads in Strathearn, with which he was very familiar. But it may be observed that the Roman camps do not invariably describe a straight line or a right angle where the ground does not admit of either, neither do the Roman roads always pursue a straight course when they are pushed aside by the inequality of the natural site. Horsley's *Brit. Romana*, 1. i., ch. 2.

This is a detailed historical map of the Forth and Clyde region. The map shows the River Forth flowing from the top left towards the center, where it meets the River Clyde. The River Spey is also depicted, flowing from the bottom left towards the center. The map includes various towns and landmarks, such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, and the Forth Bridge. It also shows the surrounding landscape, including hills and forests. The map is oriented with North at the top.

distance of nineteen miles from the station *ad Selinam*. From Deskford, pursuing the course of the rivulet to Inver-Culen, and passing along the coast of the Moray frith seventeen statute miles, the Roman armies would be conducted to the Roman post, which may still be seen on the high bank of the Spey, the *Tuessis* of Ptolomy and of Richard, below the church of Bellie, and which was obviously intended to cover the ford of this rapid river (*k*). This station was placed without any authority at Rothies, higher on the Spey, by Stukeley, and still more absurdly at Nairn by Horsley.

On the eastern bank of the Spey, with the Moray frith at no great distance to the right, the Romans were now only one day's march from the *Alata-Castra* of Ptolomy, the Ptoroton of Richard, the Burgh-head of Ainslie, at the mouth of the Estuary of Varar. The distance from the Tuessis to Ptoroton is not specified by Richard; but a day's march of seventeen Roman miles would have enabled the Roman troops to reach the Ptoroton, though they would in

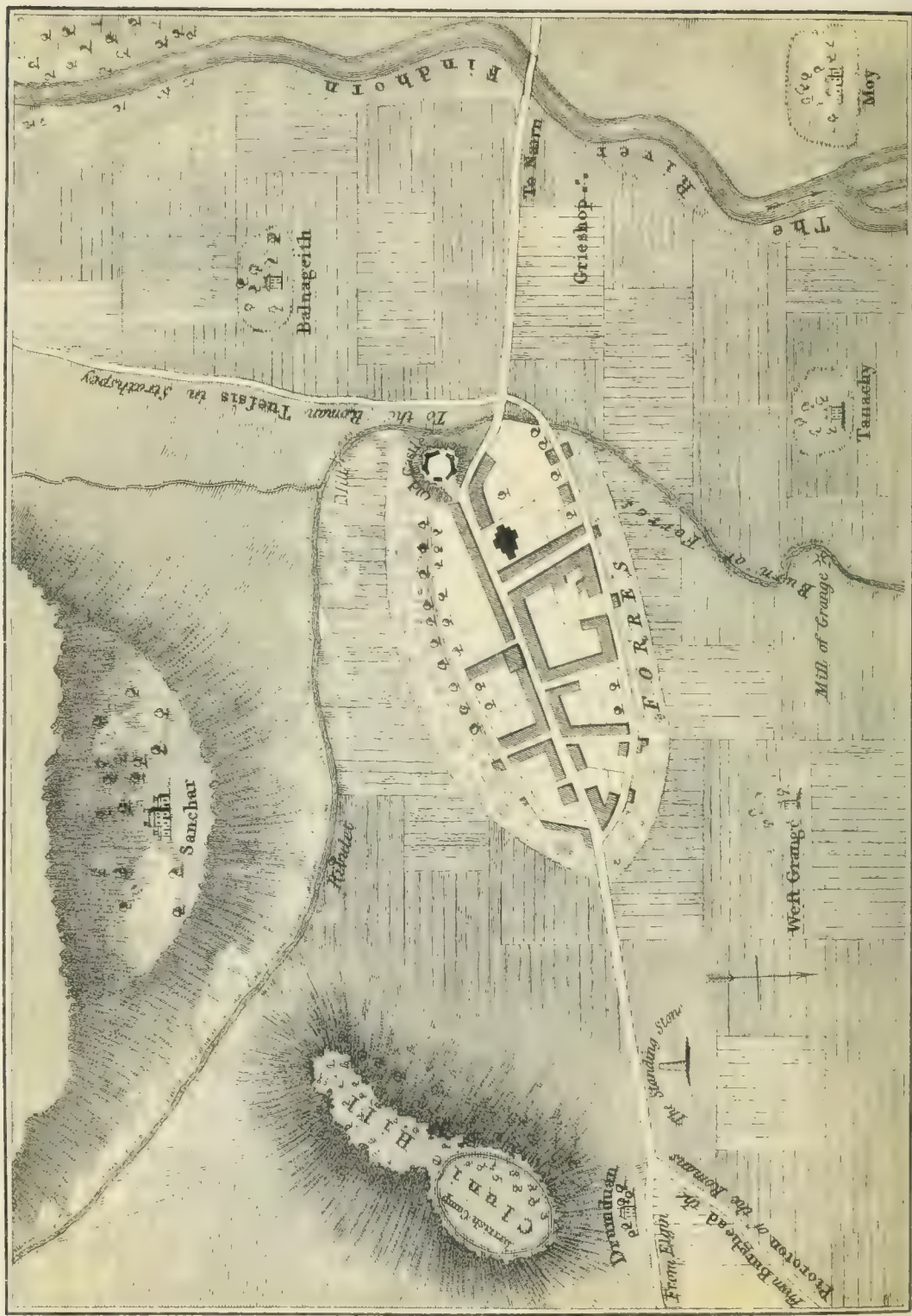
(*k*) "The remains of the Roman encampment," says Colonel Imrie, who examined it in January, 1799, "is situated about half a mile north-east of the ruins of the kirk of Bellie, on a bank overlooking the low fluviated ground of the river. It is upon a flat surface, and has been in form nearly a *rectangular parallelogram* of 888 feet by 333, but the west side and the greatest part of the north end of the parallelogram are now wanting. I say *nearly* a rectangular parallelogram, as a small though perceptible deviation from the straight line exists in the vallum and ditch of its eastern side. As deviations of this kind are not frequently found in Roman field fortification where there is no obvious necessity, this deviation may be considered as an objection to the camp at Bellie, when it is said to be a Roman remain; but from having examined with much attention the remaining vallum and ditch of this camp, it is my decided opinion that this has been the work of a Roman army. It appears to me that the vallum and ditch of this camp are nearly of the same size and depth as those of the camp at Battledykes in the county of Forfar; and if I might be permitted to form a judgment from the present appearance of the works, I should say that, according to my opinion, these works were formed nearly about the same period, and certainly by people who followed the same general rules with regard to their field fortifications." Thus much from the intelligent Colonel Imrie in his obliging letter to me. The same ford on the Spey which enabled the Romans to connect their stations in the north during the second century, also facilitated the passage of the Duke of Cumberland in April, 1746, when he pressed forward to Culloden in order to decide the fate of the Gaelic descendants of the ancient race. At Upper Dalachie, near the Roman station, there remained inviolate till 1794, a sepulchral tumulus, which is popularly called the *Green Cairn*, and which contained the ashes of some Roman chief. About two feet from the surface was found, when it was broken up, an urn of rude workmanship, which, when the ashes of the dead were shaken out, disclosed a piece of polished gold like the handle of a vase, three inches in diameter, and more than one eighth of an inch thick. It appeared to have been the handle of a vase. As the society of antiquaries at Edinburgh declined to purchase this curiosity, the finder sold it for bullion at the price of thirteen guineas. The foregoing intimations were received from Mr. James Hay of Gordon Castle, in his letters to me, dated the 22nd December, 1798, and the 6th April, 1799.

those days have been obliged to make a circuit for avoiding the waters which formed the ultimate station almost into a commodious islet. Horsley and Stukeley concur in fixing the Ptoroton of the Itinerary at Inverness, supposing the distance to be twenty-seven miles from Tuessis, instead of forty-seven statute miles (*l*). The distance, as there was no intermediate station, will not permit such an inference to be drawn from such dubious premises. Other antiquaries have tried, with as little felicity of conjecture, to fix this station where the ninth *Iter* ends and the tenth begins, at Nairn; but as this improbable position is distant at least one and thirty statute miles from *Tuessis*, the distance alone is sufficient to refute such an improbability, though Roman coins have indeed been found at Nairn. The situation of the Burgh-head, at the mouth of the Varar, where Richard had placed it; the remains which show its vast strength from the skill and labour of ancient times; the coincidence of the distance from Tuessis to Ptoroton, and from Ptoroton to Varis; all concur to fix unalterably the ultimate station of Richard at Burgh-head (*m*).

(*l*) Taylor and Skinner's Road Book, pl. 32.

(*m*) See Roy's Milit. Antiq., p. 131, pl. 33, 34. I caused the Burgh-head to be surveyed in 1792, by Mr. James Chapman, the land-surveyor, who described the whole site of this remarkable station as follows: "The north and west sides of this promontory are steep rocks, which are washed by the sea, and rise about 60 feet above the level of the low water mark; the area on the top of this height is 300 feet long on the east side, and 520 feet long on the west side; it is 260 feet broad, and contains somewhat more than two acres English. It appears to have been surrounded with a strong rampart 20 feet high, which had been built with old planks cased with stone and lime; the south and east sides are pretty entire, but the north and west sides are much demolished. On the east side of this height, and about 45 feet below the summit, there is an area 650 feet long and 150 feet wide, containing upwards of three acres English. The space occupied by the ruins of the ramparts, which have fallen down, is not included in this measurement. It appears to have been surrounded with a very strong rampart of stone, which is now much demolished. On the south and land side of these two fortified areas, two deep ditches are carried across the neck of the promontory; these ditches are at present from 16 to 20 feet deep, from 12 to 16 feet wide at the bottom, and from 40 to 50 feet wide at the top. The bottoms of the ditches are now 25 feet above the level of the sea at high water, and are considerably higher than the extensive tract of the flat ground on the land side. The ditches, ramparts, rocks, and waste ground which surround the areas above described, contain upwards of five acres English. The contents of the whole peninsula, with the rampart of the outer ditch, are more than eleven acres English." The vast ditches and ramparts which anciently guarded the entrance to this strength, are obviously the laborious works of Roman hands. The rampart, which consisted of oak planks and of stone and lime, and which was subsequently erected for the security of the upper area, was undoubtedly raised by the less skilful work of Danish rovers in the middle ages. Till recent times the Burgh-head was called, in the common speech of the ancient people, *Tory-town* or *Tery-town*, which antiquarian ears have regarded as something similar in sound to the *Ptoroton* of Richard. Survey of Moray, 1798, p. 51.

A PLAN of the site of FORRES, the VARIS of the Romans, with the British Camp on the adjacent height



The modern name is obviously derived from the Danish invaders, who re-fortified this commodious station during the middle ages.

From this remarkable strength, of which there can be no doubt that it is the *Ultima Ptoroton* of Richard, we are now to proceed southward, according to the *tenth Iter* of that curious collector, *per mediam insulæ*. The first station is *Varis*, at the end of eight miles: from Burgh-head to Forres is, in fact, eight statute miles. The coincidence of the name, of the distance, and of the object, together with the discovery of Roman coins at this town, demonstrate *Forres* to be the *Varis* of Richard (*u*). From that station to the *Tuessis*, the same river Spey, which the Romans had crossed below at the ford of Bellie, the Itinerary distance is eighteen miles; the real distance to the lower ford at Cromdale is nineteen statute miles. *Tamea*, at the Itinerary distance of twenty-nine miles, is the next station from *Tuessis*. Proceeding southward along Strathavon by Loch-Bulg to the junction of the Dee and Cluny, twenty-eight statute miles would carry the Roman troops to the commodious ford in that vicinity. Etymological torture could not derive *Tamea* from *Mar*, as Roy wildly suggest; but the misapprehension of foreign ears may have transformed Tam or Tame of the British topography into *Tamea*.

The silence of Richard with regard to the next station leaves us to suppose that he was unacquainted both with its name and distance, but nine and a half English miles would have carried the Roman troops from Tamea to the height which separates the waters that flow in opposite directions to the Dee and the Tay, and which consequently divides Aberdeen from Perthshire. That learned monk is equally unacquainted with the name of the next station, which he places at the end of one and twenty miles, though the route un-

(*u*) Roy's Milit. Antiq., p. 132. In November, 1797, J. Brodie of Brodie, F.R.S., assured me "that when the streets of Forres were lately dug up in order to repair the pavement, there were discovered several Roman coins and a Roman medallion in soft metal, which resembled a mixture of lead and tin: this medallion he presented to the antiquarian society of Edinburgh." The *v* and *f* were often changed in the names of places, as *Muref* for *Murev*: and the *Varar* of Richard is now called *Favar*: so *Varis* is the same as *Faris*, which is the Gaelic name of the place even to this day, as I am assured by the Gaelic minister of the town. The *Vaconagi* had probably a village at *Varis* or *Faris*. They certainly had a large hill-fort, the remains whereof are still extant on the summit of the Clunie hills at Forres. This strength is of a form between oval and circular, is surrounded by a strong rampart of earth and a fosse which is still 12 feet wide. The area within the ramparts measures 6 acres, 3 roods, and 25 falls Scottish. On the south side of the hill there is a small post of a square form, defended by an earthen rampart and fosse, inclosing an area of 10 feet square, or 16 falls Scottish. This description is given from an accurate survey and plan which were made for me in 1798 by Robert Macwilliam, a land-surveyor.

doubtedly lay along Glen-beg and Glen-shee, to the confluence of the Shee with the Lornly water. From this position nine miles would conduct the Roman troops to the station *in medio*. From the passage of the Dee or the Tamea of Richard, along the Cluny water, Glen-beg, and Glen-shee, the whole extent of the route amounts to almost forty statute miles. This distance, the natural direction of the country, the constant course of the waters, and the existence of Roman works, all concur to fix the station, *in medio*, at *Inchtuthel*, which still exhibits a remarkable camp of Roman construction on a height that forms the northern bank of the river Tay (*o*). From the station, *in medio*, is the distance of nine Itinerary miles to *Orrea*, and the real but corresponding distance from Inchtuthel, along the banks of the Tay to ancient Bertha, is almost ten miles (*p*). At this central station, which has in every age continued a military position of great importance, the tenth Iter rejoined the ninth; and from *Orrea* it proceeded southward by the former route, though with some trivial errors in the distances, to the wall of Antonine (*q*). Such errors may be well pardoned in Richard, when we consider how much Ptolomy has perverted the true position of North-Britain. It is, indeed, seldom that an ancient author is so completely confirmed by coincident facts, subsequent discoveries, and recent experience, as the Westminster monk, to whom every British antiquary is so greatly indebted for his interesting researches.

The whole extent of country from the wall of Antonine to the Estuary of Varar, which we have thus traversed, is said by Richard, who is supported by strong proofs, to have been erected into a Roman province by the name of *Vespasiana* (*r*). His authority for this information has been doubted, though his facts, which are confirmed by remains, can admit of no dispute. Whether the east coast of North-Britain, from the frith of Forth to the frith of Moray, had, in the age of Antonine, been formally erected into a Roman province, is a question which need not be strenuously argued. The country was traversed, as we shall immediately see, by Roman ways (*s*); the Caledonian tribes who lived on that coast were overawed by Roman posts; and coins, and medals, and pottery, have been frequently discovered, which indicate, wherever they are found, the footsteps, and illustrate the arts, of that powerful nation. It is certain, as we have already learned from Ulpian, that

(*o*) See afterwards an account of the station at Inchtuthel.

(*p*) Richard, p. 38; Stobie's map of Perthshire.

(*q*) Roy's Milit. Antiq., p. 134.

(*r*) Richard, p. 31.

(*s*) Bergier lays it down as a sort of maxim that every Roman province must have had its military ways. Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Rom., tom. i., p. 334.

the Caledonian people who lived within the Roman boundaries in North-Britain, were entitled to the privileges of Roman citizens under the beneficial edict of Antoninus Pius (*t*).

One of the most striking monuments of the Roman power was their highways, which, by traversing their provinces, supported their authority and promoted their intercourse. The whole extent of territory which lay between the southern and northern walls, was every where intersected by Roman roads. A Roman way may still be traced into the very interior of Vespasiana, where it conducted the march of the Roman armies, kept up the communication between the stations, and thereby enforced the submission of the Caledonian clans. It is important to trace all those roads in their series, that we may be enabled to judge of the Roman polity which invigorated the Roman armies to subdue so many people. The western road, as its course had been traced by the genius of Agricola, though constructed by his successors, was the oldest, and being the usual route of the troops, was the most frequented, even down to the sad epoch of the march of Severus. This road issues from the southern rampart at Stanwix, near Carlisle, and crossing the Esk at Langtown Church, points westward through Solway-moss (*a*). After passing the Sark at Barrowslacks, the vestiges of this road are distinctly to be seen for many miles leading west-north west, through the *procestrium* of the station at *Birrens*, the British name where it indicates an ancient strength. Passing on the west of Burrens-wark hill, where there are the striking remains of two Roman camps, the road proceeds in a north-western direction to the river Milk, which it seems to have passed at the Drove-ford, between Scrogs and Milk-bridge; and leaving the post of Malls-Castle, Lockerby and the Roman camp on Tor-wood Moor, all on the left, it crosses the river Dryfe below Dryfesdale Church, at a little distance from its confluence with the Annan (*b*). At this position a branch of this great road departed from its usual course to the left towards Nithsdale (*c*). The Roman

(*t*) Digest. This supports the notices in Richard, p. 36.

(*a*) From Ainslie's map of Scotland, which delineates the Roman road from Roy's *Mappe Britannicæ Septentrionalis*, it appears that the Roman road pushed across the present site of Solway Moss, about the middle of it, and afterwards passed the White and Black Sark-waters a considerable distance northward of Gretna. From this intimation there is some reason to conclude that the Solway Moss did not exist in anything like its present state during the first century.

(*b*) See Maitland's History, v. i., p. 191-2.

(*c*) The minister of Dryfesdale says: "There are plain traces of the great Roman road from the borders of England up to the vast encampments on the hill of Burnswark, and thence, crossing this parish at Lockerby, to Drysdale-gate, up to the Galaberry-hill, on which there is a Roman fort, where

road now pursued its course along the east side of Annandale by Dinwoody Green, and a small post at Girthhead, to Wamphray-water, which having crossed, it pushed forward along the east side of the Annan by another small redoubt, and then passed that river, near the Burnfoot of Kirkpatrick (*d*). The Roman road now proceeded along the west branch of the Annan, leading by the entrenchments at Tassies-holm; and having passed the Avon, near its conflux, with the Annan, it pursued its course along the ridge, between these two rivers, and ascending Erickstane-brae, and passing this remarkable ridge, which sends out the Annan, the Tweed, and the Clyde, it soon arrived on the upper branch of this river at a place that is named Little Clyde, where the Romans had a small post (*e*). The Roman road thence coursing the right bank of the Clyde by Newton, that is opposite to Elvan-foot, appears to have been joined by the branch, which went off from its track to the westward in Annandale, near Crawford Castle, at the foot of Camp-Water (*f*).

From this remarkable position, where we have just perceived both the branches of the Roman road again join their accustomed track, it pursued the shortest course over the high grounds of Crawford parish; and then descending from this elevation into the valley of the Clyde, it passed by Gateside, *Causeway*, and Catchapel, where there is a square redoubt towards Lamington. (*g*).

“the road divided, one branch leading up through Annandale, by Moffat, to Clydesdale; the other branch crossed the Annan, visited Lochmaben, and thence passed along the west side of the rivulet Ae, “through Nithsdale into Ayr.” Stat. Acco., v. ix., p. 426.

(*d*) The minister of Wamphray says: “The post-road between Glasgow and Carlisle passes through that parish, and in the track of it there was a Roman road, by the side of which a few upright stones, each about five feet high, are still standing, nearly at the distance of a Scots mile from one another, and therefore are supposed by some to have been mile-stones.” Ib. v. xiii., p. 606. Yet are we to recollect that the Scots mile was larger than either the Roman or the English mile.

(*e*) The minister of Kirkpatrick-Juxta says: “There is a Roman road yet to be traced running through this parish from south to north. It comes up the east bank of Annan from the ruins of a large camp at Burrenswark, and passes here a place called Tassiesholm, where there are some remains of a small square encampment.” Stat. Acco., v. iv., p. 522. The minister of Moffat adds: “The Roman road from Esk to Stirling passes through part of this parish to the west of the village of Moffat. The vestiges of that road, and of some military stations near it, are still visible. Some large Roman encampments also can be distinctly traced in this neighbourhood. Near the Roman road, where it enters the parish of Moffat, there was found in a mass, about three years ago, a piece of gold having a semicircular form, on the outer edge of which was cut the following inscription: JOV. AVG. VOT. “XX.” Ib. v. ii., p. 287.

(*f*) Maitland, v. i., p. 193, says the Roman road runs from Newton along the south side of the Clyde, where it is plainly to be seen.

(*g*) The minister of Crawford tells us: “We have two Roman roads which come through this

The united road proceeded from the Roman post near Lamington along the right bank of the Clyde towards Biggar, but except in crossing Biggar-moss, where its vestiges are very obvious, few traces of it any where appear (*h*). At Biggar there is a strong redoubt, which is called *the moat*, where Roman coins have been found. From this place, which seems to have been a central position, there probably went off a vicinal way to the Roman stations in Tweeddale, with which this was plainly the natural communication (*i*).

From the station at Biggar the great road passed by Liberton-kirk towards Lockhart-hill, which is now called Carstairs-house (*k*). Having traversed the enclosures of Lockhart-hall, this road passes through the station of Castle Dykes near Carstairs, which is finely situated on the right bank of the Clyde; and leaving Renstruther on the right, proceeds to Cleghorn Mill, where it crosses the river Mous (*l*). The road leads thence through the enclosures of Cleghorn, leaving the Roman camp on the right, and going on by Collylaw, Kil-Cadzow, Coldstream, and Yuilshields to Belstane, in the neighbourhood of Carluke, being throughout Clydesdale known by the appropriate name of *the Watling-street* (*m*).

At Belstane the Watling-street pursued its course to the wall in two several directions: a branch went off to the right by Shotts, to the opening in the wall near Camelon (*n*); the principal branch continued its usual course along

parish." *Ib.* v. iv. p. 514. He obviously alludes to the two branches of the great road which came out of Annandale and Nithsdale, the one coursing the left and the other the right side of Upper Clyde.

(*h*) Roy carries the Roman road up to the vicinity of Biggar, where there are the remains of a camp.

Pl. i. Ross, when he surveyed Lanarkshire, traced this road almost to Biggar.

(*i*) Maitland, v. i., p. 193-4, says mistakenly that a branch went off from Biggar in a north-east direction by the eastern end of the Pentland-hills.

(*k*) Near Carstairs-kirk have been found the remains of a bath. Roy, p. 104. And many Roman bricks, Roman coins, and other objects, which all denote the long residence of the Roman troops at this station, on the track of the road. *Stat. Acco.*, v. xv., p. 10; *Ib.* xviii., p. 180.

(*l*) Roy, p. 104; and pl. xxvii.

(*m*) Sibbald's Roman Antiquities, p. 39; Roy, p. 104-5; *Stat. Acco. of Scot.*, v. xv., p. 10. In the *Stat. Account of Carluke*, v. viii., p. 136, the Rev. Dr. Scott says: "From south-east to north-west runs the Roman road, which is called here *Watling-street*. In some places, especially at Kileadzow, it is still so visible that the manner of its formation can be easily ascertained: the Romans appear to have placed broad stones in the bottom of the road where the ground was soft, and broke others very small with which they covered the surface. Roman coins have been found in the direction of this road at Burnhouse and at Castle-hill."

(*n*) Sir R. Sibbald, when speaking of the Roman road through Clydesdale called the Watling-street, says, "The people have a tradition that another Roman street went from Lanark to the

Clydesdale to Garongilhead, and thence passing Blindwalls and Cambusne-than kirk on the right, it pushes on by Meadowhead to a place called *Roman Stands*; whence it passes forward by Motherwell towards Orbiston, on the west side of Calderwater, where there was a Roman station in a remarkable bend of the Calder (*n*). The Roman road passed thence along the height to the southward of Bellshill, and must have crossed West Calder Water not far above its conflux with the Clyde. Between this passage and Glasgow some traces of it were lately to be seen, particularly a little to the eastward of Tollcross; its remains were also to be recently traced beyond Glasgow, between Dalmure-burn and Old Kirkpatrick, where the road joined the western end of Antonine's wall.

We must now return to that branch of the western road which went off from the principal road in Annandale, near its passage of the Dryfe Water. It

"Roman colony near Falkirk." *Rom. Antiq.*, 1707, p. 39. In his map of the Roman roads, 1726, Gordon delineates this *Roman street* from Clydesdale, several miles northward from Lanarktown, athwart the country to the opening of the wall at Camelon, the Roman colony to which Sibbald alludes. This road Gordon appears to have considered as the only continuation of the Watling-street to the wall; for he does not delineate the continuation of it along the east side of the Clyde to the western end of the wall. See his map, which is prefixed to his Itinerary. Roy assures us it was affirmed (by the country people) that a Roman road went from Castlecary on the wall southward by Crowbank and Fannyside, and *that the stones of it were lately dug up*. He thus supposes that the Romans must have had such a communication, and he points out the most probable route by the Kirk of Shotts to Belstane. *Milit. Antiq.*, 107-7. It is obvious that Sibbald, Gordon, and Roy all concur in speaking of a traditionary road which went, in the opinion of the people, from Belstane by the Kirk of Shotts to Camelon, whence the same road proceeded into the interior of *Vespasiana*.

(*n*) The minister of Dalziel, in *Stat. Acco.*, v. iii., p. 458, says, "The great Roman highway commonly called *Watling-street*, went along the summit of this parish from East to West; but its course is now much defaced by modern improvements, and for some length the modern turnpike road is laid upon the top of it. In one place near the centre of the parish it has been preserved entire, so as to point out the line to after times, the *Cross-stone*, the emblem of the baron's jurisdiction, being placed upon it, and a clump of trees planted around, fenced, and secured. On this ancient road, at the western boundary of the parish, upon a steep bank over the river Calder, are the remains of a Roman encampment. Little more than twenty years ago it was pretty entire, but cultivation has now greatly encroached upon it. At the foot of the bank there is a semicircular arch over the river Calder of good masonry and very uncommon construction, which has been supposed to be the work of the Romans. By this bridge Watling-street seems to have entered the parish of Bothwell." *The Stat. Account of Bothwell*, v. xvi., p. 325, says, "About a quarter of a mile east from this there is a bridge over the South-Calder, which is judged to be of Roman construction, being of one arch, high, very narrow, and without ledges. The Roman road called Watling-street was a few years ago in entire preservation leading to it from the east through Dalziel parish; but it is now scarce discernible, being removed by the course of the plough."

turned away to the left, crossed the Annan below the influx of the river Ae, and pushed on in a westerly direction to Nithsdale, passing by the post called Wood-Castle, by Murder-loch, Lanegate, and Duncow to Dalswinton on the river Nith (*o*). This road now went up Nithsdale, on the east side of the Nith, passing by the village of Thornhill, and crossing Carron water a little above its influx into the Nith (*p*). From this passage the road continued its course in a northerly direction past a Roman fort, in a remarkable pass above the Kirk of Durisdeer; from this post it pushed through the hills by the defile called the Wall Path; and it went down the west side of Powtrail-water to its confluence with the Dair. The road now continued its course along the west side of the Dair till its influx into the Clyde, and equally proceeded along the west side of the Clyde, past Elvanfoot and Crawford village, and then crossed the Clyde to Crawford-Castle, where it joined the Annandale branch, as we have seen (*q*).

There was plainly another road which traversed Nithsdale, and which was yet unknown to Gordon, to Roy, and to Ainslie (*r*). From the road which

(*o*) The Stat. Account of Tinwald, v. i., p. 165, says that this Roman road, after coming through the parish of Lochmaben, enters the old parish of Trailflat, and passes by Amisfield-house, where there are many distinct traces of a *castellum*; and the road is traced to the village of Duncow in the parish of Kirkmahoe. A branch from this road on the north has been traced through a moss in the parish of Kirkmichael, and seems to have terminated at a *castellum*, which has been converted into the minister's garden, the fortification whereof remains very distinct on two sides. In a moss upon the line of this vicinal road there was found in 1784 a pretty large pot of a sort of base copper, and a decanter of the same metal, nearly of the shape and size of a common white stone quart decanter, with three feet about an inch and a half long. These were presented by the Rev. Dr. Burgess to the Antiquary Society of Edinburgh, and were considered as Roman. Stat. Acco., v. i., p. 64.

(*p*) On the west side of the Nith, opposite to the point where the Roman road turns up the Carron, there is the remain of a Roman fort called Tibbers-Castle, which is properly represented in Roy's Milit. Ant., pl. xlix., and in Crawford's map of Dumfriesshire; but Roy in his account of this road as well as in his Roman map, and Ainslie, who follows him in his map of Scotland, mistakingly apply the name of Tibbers-Castle to another Roman fort in the pass lying north of Durisdeer church, which is more than five miles northward from the real site of Tibbers-Castle.

(*q*) See Gordon's map, which is prefixed to his *Itinerary*, and which represents this western branch as the only communication that the Romans had between the Roman walls on the west. The track of this branch is erroneously represented by Roy in his map, pl. i., and by Ainslie after him in his map of Scotland; instead of making it touch Dalswinton on the Nith, they lead it into the valley of the Nith nine miles north of the remarkable position at Dalswinton.

(*r*) Maitland, however, seems to have had some confused notion of such a road; for in v. i., p. 193, he says: "The Roman road, after passing from Annandale to Nithsdale, ran up the east side of Nith river to the Roman fortress, called Tibbers-Castle, and being joined by the Roman road from Elwanfoot, both went on together to the county of Ayr, and to the estuary of Clyde."

went up the east side of Nithsdale, another branch diverged to the left, crossed the Nith, and traversed the Strath of the Scar in a north-west direction towards Kyle (*s*); yet is it doubtful whether this road ever went forward into Ayrshire, where no remains of it have yet been found.

From the station of Castledykes there went off a vicinal road athwart Clydesdale, which was perhaps intended to form a communication between the western road and the estuary of the Clyde. This vicinal road probably passed the Clyde near Lanark, and thence led over Stonebyre-hill towards Carro-mill, where it no doubt passed the Nethan river, though its track cannot now be ascertained; yet on Draffan-Crofts, beyond the Nethan, its vestiges are often disclosed by the successive operations of the plough. This road now crossed Canerburn at the Gill, where it becomes very visible at present, leading by Tan-hill, along the northside of Blackwood inclosures to Dins-hill; it thence passed to the south of Hazleden, crossing Kype-Water at Sandyford, and coursed along the south side of Avondale, by Wellsley and Westlingbank, towards the gorge of Loudon-hill (*t*). Beyond this remarkable position this road has not been hitherto traced; yet its natural track led along the Irvine-Water, till it terminated at the commodious haven which is formed by its influx into the Clyde (*u*).

From the Clydesdale road another vicinal way diverged to the left at Glasgow, and passing the river at the ford, went athwart the country to the station of Vanduaria at Paisley. This way was traced by Gordon in 1725;

(*s*) The Stat. Acco. of Penpont, which lies on the west side of the Nith, v. i., p. 209, says: "An old Roman causeway runs through Tynron close to the edge of Scar-water." And the Stat. Acco. of Tynron, v. xiv., p. 280, observes: "An old Roman way runs through this parish, and at this distant day from its foundation, is in many places quite uncovered with grass: its direction is from east to west (rather north-west) along the face of the hills."

(*t*) The Stat. Acco. of Strathaven, v. ix., p. 394, says: "A Roman road or causeway can be traced for several miles on the south side of the Avon." A remarkable discovery of Roman coins has been lately made near the track of this vicinal road through the upper part of Strathaven. On the 5th of March, 1805, some labourers who were employed in making a drain at Torfoot, some miles south-west of the village of Strathaven, discovered a glass bottle of an oblong square form, which was surrounded by several stones artificially placed for its preservation. The bottle was carefully sealed up with a greenish pigment, and upon being opened, was found to contain about 400 Roman silver coins of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Crispina, and of various other emperors and empresses. The coins weigh about 40 grains each, and are generally in good preservation. About fifty of them were indeed so encrusted as to adhere together, and were considerably defaced by the rude hand that attempted to separate them.

(*u*) About two miles north-east of Irvine, in Ayrshire, there was found before Gordon's time a gladius of old mixed brass three yards under ground. Itin. Sept., 1726, p. 118.

but such has been the agricultural improvements of this industrious district, that the remains, which appeared to the curious eye of the tourist, can be no longer seen (*v*). There are indeed to be traced an ancient causeway through *Maulsmyre*, on the estate of Castlemilk in Lanarkshire, which antiquarians have supposed to be a Roman remain, though they have not been very successful in connecting it either with the vicinal way to Paisley or with the Roman road through Clydesdale (*x*).

On the great western road there was also a vicinal way, which went off to the north-eastward from Langtown, by Netherby to Liddel-moat, and here, crossing the Liddel, pushed up into Eskdale along the eastern side of the Esk, as far as the station of Castle-over in Eskdale-moor (*y*).

(*v*) *Itinerarium Septentrionale*. Horsley also intimates that he had seen, soon after, the same remains. *Brit. Romana*, p. 377. Roy, p. 106. At Glasgow, when this vicinal road diverged towards Paisley, there once existed a commodious ford till the Clyde was deepened in 1772. The shoal which formed this ford was long known by the appropriate name of the *Hirst*, and extended a quarter of a mile up and down the river at this place; between the Broomie-law and the Brewery Quay. Mr. Smeaton the engineer, who surveyed this shoal in 1758, found the depth of water on it only one foot three inches at low water, and three feet three inches at high water; and Mr. Watt the engineer, who surveyed it in 1769, found that the depth of water on the *Hirst* was only one foot two inches at the ebb of a spring tide. MS. Report.

(*x*) Sir R. Sibbald says: "In Clydesdale, from Erickstane in the one end, to Maulsmyre in the other, where it borders upon Renfrew, there are evident vestiges of a Roman military way called the "Watling-street, and is visible for whole miles together." *Rom. Antiq.*, p. 39; *Ure's Ruglen*, p. 133; *Stat. Acco.*, v. xviii., p. 172.

(*y*) The *Stat. Acco. of Canoby*, v. xiv., p. 421, says: "The remains of a Roman Station appear about three quarters of a mile east of Gilknocky, near which a variety of Roman coins and stones with Roman inscriptions have been dug up. From this camp a Roman road can be traced through the east side of this parish, crossing Tarras-water, and entering the parish of Langholm, on the estate of Broomholm, and from thence leading up Eskdale to the different stations in that quarter." The *Stat. Acco. of Langholm*, v. xiii., p. 597, says: "The Roman road of communication between Netherby and Castle-over, or Over-by, in Eskdale-muir, can still be traced. It enters this parish at the south-east corner, crosses the Esk a little above Broomholm, and continues its progress north-west into the parish of Westerkirk; and the minister adds that a number of Roman coins have been found on that line of road." Particularly in 1782 there were discovered by some workmen several *denarii aurei*—four of Nero, two of Vespasian, and one of Domitian, which were all in excellent preservation, and which are now in the possession of Lady Douglas of Douglas. In the track of the same road there were found at a subsequent period a coin of Otho and two *denarii aurei* near Wauchope Bridge. The commanding station of Castle-over appears to have been originally a British strength, which, from the advantages of its situation, was converted by the Romans into a post that commanded Eskdale. In the country around this remarkable station, to the distance of several miles, there are still to be observed the remains of smaller British strengths on the top of almost every height. There are also to be seen the remains of several posts, which appear to have formed a chain of communication

After this full account of the west road of the Romans between the southern and northern walls, it is proper to revert to the Roman ways which conducted the Roman armies from South to North, on the East of the Roman province. The Watling-street, having passed the walls of Hadrian and Severus at Portgate, directed its course through a rugged country, by the stations of Risingham and Roe-chester, in Reedsdale, and thence by the Golden Pots on Thirlmoor, to the camp at Chewgreen, near the source of the Coquet, where it enters North-Britain (*z*). At the distance of three miles from Chewgreen the Roman road ascends the mountains by the remarkable pass of Wodenlaw; and at the bottom of those mountains it crosses the Kail-water at Towford (*a*). From its entrance into North-Britain it forms the boundary between the parishes of Oxnam and Hounam for the extent of more than five miles, when it enters a detached part of the parish of Jedburgh, and pushes forward in nearly a straight line to Bon-jedburgh, which is situated on an angle formed by the confluence of the Jed and Teviot, where there are said to be some vestiges of a station (*b*). After passing the Teviot at that place it leads through the enclosures of Mount-Teviot, and now, for the distance of three and a half miles, in a direct course, it bounds the parishes of Maxton and Ancrum: passing over St. Boswell's Green it crosses Bowden-burn above Newton, where its remains are very distinct (*c*); and from thence it went forward to the village of Eldon, at the eastern base of the Eldon hills, on the summit whereof there was a very strong fort of the Britons, with a Roman station in its vicinity below (*d*).

between the station of Castle-over and the great station at Middlebie, on the Mein-water, in Annandale. There is reason to believe that the Roman road which has been thus described as leading up Eskdale went even beyond the station of Castle-over to the northern extremity of Eskdale. Report states that a Roman causeway has been discovered at the head of the parish of Eskdale-muir, near a farm-house named *Ower-causeway*, before which place the remains of a pretty strong outer station are still discernible. Stat. Acco., v. xii., p. 611. From a slight notice of this vicinal road thus leading up Eskdale, General Roy mistakingly conceived that it had been begun by the Romans with a view to carry it from Eskdale to the right along Tarras-water and across the country past Hawick to the Eldon-hills, and there to join it to the great eastern road. Milit. Antiq., v. i., p. 105, and the map, p. i. This error arose from his not tracing its real track to its proper destination, the station of Castle-over in Upper Eskdale.

(*z*) See Roy, p. 102, and Stobie's map of Roxburghshire, for the track of this Roman road from its entrance into North Britain, through that country as far as it can be traced, under the name of the *Watling-street*. This appellation has puzzled all the antiquaries, yet it is merely the A. Saxon *Wathol*, erraticus, as we learn from Lye. See the Saxon Chronicle, p. 143.

(*a*) There is a Roman post on the road after it has passed the Kail-water. (*b*) Roy, p. 102.

(*c*) Mr. Kinghorn, who surveyed this part of the Roman road for me in 1803, says that the remains of it are very distinct where it passes down the bank on the south side of Bowden-burn.

(*d*) See Milne's Account of Melrose, p. 45, which Roy seems not to have consulted. This road

From Eldon the Roman road went off in a north-west direction past Melrose, where many Roman coins have been found, and traversed the Tweed at the same ford, where the common road now passes it above Melrose, and near the village of Galtonside (*c*). Near to this ford there are two camps: one on the south side, and another on the north side of the Tweed (*d*). After the passage of the Tweed the road turned to the right, and proceeded northward to the Roman station of Chester-lee, on the north side of a rivulet which falls into the Leader above Clacmae (*e*). Proceeding forward from *Chester-lee* for three quarters of a mile, the Roman road still shows its remains for a considerable distance, and crossing the present turnpike, and soon after a brook which falls into the Leader below Chapel, and pushing on northward it

is noticed in the Stat. Accounts of Hounam, v. i., p. 52: of Oxnam, v. xi., p. 330: of Crailing, v. ii., p. 331: of Ancrum, v. x., p. 294: of Maxton, v. iii., p. 277—9; and of Roxburgh, v. xix., p. 137. In some of those accounts antiquities are mentioned as having been found near the Watling-street, and the remains of Roman camps as existing in the vicinity of the same Roman road.

(*c*) Several Roman coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and of Constantine, have been found at Melrose. Milne's Account, p. 44; and Kinghorn's MS. Survey, for the passage of the road. From Eldon northward, General Roy in tracing its course, has completely mistaken its track towards Soutra-hill. Without looking for the intimations of others, he was misled by the appearance of the *Girthgate*, which passes from the bridge end of Tweed up the valley of Allan-water, across the moors to Soutra-hospital on Soutra-hill. This footway, without any examination of its formation or materials, he mistook for the only remains of this Roman road. He forgot that Warburton, the surveyor and antiquary, had rode upon the true road in 1722, from the river Reed, in Northumberland, by Jedburgh, *Melrose, Leader, Ginglekirk*, now Chammelkirk, to Dalkeith and to Graham's dike. See Warburton's Letters to Gale, dated the 12th December 1723, in *Reliquiæ Galani*, p. 438. He adds, "The pavement is untrue, and the stones large; so that some unskilful persons might perhaps take it for the foundation of a wall; but that any one versed in antiquity should do so is strange." Ib. 440. For this pavement with large stones Roy never looked. He might have seen some useful intimations in Milne's Melrose, who had thrown his curious eyes on this interesting remain in 1746. I caused it to be surveyed by the intelligent Mr. Kinghorn, in November 1803, when the real track was again ascertained.

(*d*) Ib. 46—60; Stat. Acco., v. ix., p. 92; and Stobie's Map of Roxburghshire.

(*e*) The camp at *Chesterlee* was placed on a commanding eminence, which overlooked several British forts in the surrounding country. It was of a square form, having its angles rounded: and it measures 160 yards on each side. It was secured by a double fosse and an earthen rampart: but the whole camp has been either cultivated or planted. About 500 yards westward from *Chesterlee* camp, upon the northern side of the same rivulet, there was a small Roman post called *Ridgewalls*, which stood also on a height that overlooked several British forts, both on the North and South. The post of *Ridgewalls* was of an oblong form, secured by three fosses and ramparts of earth, the area within the inner rampart being 85 yards long and 37 yards broad. This post has also been much defaced by cultivation. MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

arrives at a small station called the *Waas*, or *Walls*, near to New Blainslee (*f*) : passing on from the *Waas* the Roman road again becomes very distinct, throughout a mile and a half, when it again crosses the turnpike road, and immediately afterwards a rivulet, about half a mile east-north-east from Chieldhelles Chapel, where it enters Berwickshire. In proceeding up Lauderdale the Roman road appears to have passed on the West of Lauder town, and between it and Old Lauder, where there are the remains of a military station (*g*). About a mile and a half above Lauder the remains of the Roman road again become visible, and is here named the *Oc-road*, as it leads up to a strong station called *Black-Chester* (*h*). From this station the Roman road passes on northward by the west of Oxton, and in the course of half a mile again becomes distinct, and continues obvious to every eye as it crosses the western stream of the Leader, in its course to the Roman station at Channel-kirk (*i*). From this commanding post the Roman road proceeded forward to Soutra-hill, whence turning to the left it traversed the declivity of the country to Currie,

(*f*) This Roman station was placed upon a gentle eminence on the western side of Leader-water. It is of an oblong form, and comprehends an acre and a half of ground. Its ramparts seem to have been of stone, though they are now so much defaced as not to show distinctly of what materials they were originally composed. MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

(*g*) Roman coins have been dug up in the vicinity of Lauder, which the minister has preserved. Stat. Acco., v. iii., p. 77. This station, which was placed on a rising ground, is of an oblong form, which approaches to an oval : and its longest diameter is 120 yards from East to West, and its shortest 82 yards from North to South. It was secured by a single fosse and rampart of earth, which are now very much defaced. Proceeding from this station there are the remains of a military road, with a sloping ditch on either side, which led down from this station eastward, as if to join the great road of the Romans as it passed northward to the Roman wall. MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

(*h*) This camp was placed on a rising ground which overlooks several British forts in the surrounding country. Its figure is something between a circle and an oval, and seems to have been thus formed to suit the ground whereon it was placed. It was secured by two fosses and ramparts of earth, having one entrance on the East and another on the West. The outer ditch is, even now, nearly eleven yards wide, and from fifteen to twenty feet deep ; the inner ditch is about fourteen feet wide, and appears to have been seven or eight feet deep, but is now much filled up. MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

(*i*) The Roman camp at Channelkirk appears to have been of considerable extent and very similar to the Roman camp at Cleghorn, in Clydesdale ; but, as the greatest part of the surrounding ramparts of this camp has been levelled, its exact dimensions cannot now be ascertained. The west side and a part of the east only remained in November, 1803. The west side exhibits a gate which is covered by a traverse, and at the south-west corner there is a prodigious redoubt. The area of this camp is now occupied by the church, the church-yard, and the minister's glebe of Channelkirk, and extends to almost five acres. Roy's Mil. Antiq., p. 61, pl. vi. : and MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn.

which stands in a bend of the Gore water, and which is ascertained to be the *Curia* of Ptolomy (*k*). From this remarkable position the road pushed on in a north-western direction, and crossed the South Esk near Dalhousie Castle, and the North Esk near Mavis-bank, where many Roman antiquities have been found. The road thence pursued its course by *Loanhead* and *Straiton*, which probably owe their names to its neighbourhood, to Bowbridge at the east end of the Pentland-Hills (*l*). At this position vestiges of it were lately to be seen till the present turnpike was made, leading through the entrenchments at the Buckstane (*m*). The Roman road thence continued its course by the east end of Bruce-hill towards Mutton-hole [Davidson's Mains], near the corner of the park wall of Barnton; and from this position it pursued its short track, which is still discernible by curious eyes, to the naval station on the Forth at Cramond, the *Alaterra* of Roman times. From Cramond the road crossed the river Almond, and passing Barnbogle-hill went on along Eklino-moor, where it appeared to the inquisitive sight of Maitland, to Caeridden, which formed the eastern extremity of the Roman wall (*n*).

This memorable rampart was necessarily attended by a military road. It can be traced, indeed, behind the wall throughout its whole extent, and even to Dunglas beyond its western extremity; and a military road, though not perhaps of the same magnitude and usefulness, must undoubtedly have connected the stations which the genius of Agricola had placed on the same commodious isthmus.

As there were still more western roads which went off from the west road; so there was a more eastern branch that diverged to the eastward from the

(*k*) From the Roman post at Inveresk there went a vicinal road to a large Roman camp at Sheriff-hall, three miles south-west of Inveresk, and thence southward to the station of *Curia*. The traces of this ancient road between the post of Inveresk and Sheriff-hall were visible in the memory of several persons who are still living. Stat. Account of Inveresk, v. xvi., p. 5. In writing on this subject in 1707, Sir R. Sibbald informs us that "the track of a Roman road appeareth yet in the way "from Musselburgh to Lugton, and from thence to Borthwick-Castle" (near Currie). Rom. Antiq., 39.

(*l*) In this neighbourhood, saith Maitland, the Roman road is to be seen pointing to the station of Cramond. Hist. of Scot., v. i., p. 194.

(*m*) The entrenchments at the Buckstane which now remain are of an oval figure, and seem to have been originally much more extensive, but from their appearance they are thought to be rather of British than of Roman construction.

(*n*) For the whole track of this eastern road, see Roy's *Mappa Brit. Septentrionalis*; and Ainslie's Map of Scotland; and also Richard, and Roy's Antiq., p. 104, 5: Maitland's Hist., v. ii., p. 203. It must, however, be recollected that Roy and Ainslie, who follow him, have mistakingly

eastern Watling-street, soon after it had issued from Severus's wall. This branch, which is known by the popular name of *the Devil's Causey*, thus diverging to the right from the Watling-street at Bewclay, pushed on between that road and the sea towards the Tweed, near West Ord, and entering Scotland, it pointed its course towards Mordington, whence it has not been traced along the eastern coast (*o*). It is, however, certain, as remains attest, that a Roman road led from Inveresk to Cramond along the coast of the Forth (*p*).

One road only seems to have issued towards the North from the wall of Antonine, at the distance of a mile and a furlong eastward of the strong fort of Rough Castle, through an opening in the wall, which had been plainly left for this necessary purpose. This circumstance shows distinctly the design of Lollius Urbicus to extend the Roman authority throughout the Caledonian regions on the north-east.

The road had scarcely issued from the wall when it passed through Camelon, the Roman port on the Carron; and pushing straight forward according to the Roman manner across the Carron, it pursued its course, by Torwoodhouse, Pleannmuir, Bannockburn, St. Ninian's, and by the west side of the Castle-hill of Stirling to the river Forth, on the south side of which, near Kildean, there are evident traces of its curious remains. It here passed the Forth, and went forward to the station of Alauna, which was situated on the river Allan, about a mile above its confluence with the Forth, and which, as

carried this road up the course of Allan-water to Soutra-hill, in place of the real track along Leader-water. See the British-Roman map prefixed.

(*o*) Roy, p. 103-4. This road may possibly have communicated with the Roman station on the White Adder near Allan-bank, which is distant only about five miles from the Tweed at West Ord; but Ainslie has in his map of Scotland carried up this road to the supposed Roman post on the height near St. Abb's-head. Maitland, indeed, supposes that this road entered Scotland at Berwick, whence he carries it by Coldingham-moor, Old Cambus, and Dunbar by devious courses to Inveresk. *Hist. Scot.* v. i., p. 202. He does not, however, say that he had seen any actual remains of this road throughout this extended route. See Sibbald's *Rom. Antiq.*, p. 7.

(*p*) Maitland traced the remains of this road, near Musselburgh, on the West, whence it went on to Leith, where it passed Leith-water at the foot of the Weigh-house Wynd, where it was discovered when the pier was repaired, at the beginning of the last century. *Hist. Scot.*, v. i., p. 203. This road appears in the north-east of Duddingston parish, by the name of the *Fishwives Causey*. *Stat. Acco.*, v. xviii., p. 376. In dragging for marle in Duddingston-loch, Roman antiquities have been found. Id. Gordon traced the same road from Cramond towards Edinburgh, where it disappeared among the improvements. *Itinerarium*, 117. Had he pursued his search in 1725 towards Leith he had discovered its remains.

it is twelve miles from the opening in the Roman wall agrees with the distance in the *Iter* (a).

Pursuing its appropriate course along Strathallan, the road came at the end of nine miles to the *Lindum* of Richard's Itinerary, the well known station at *Ardoch*, according to Roy. The many Roman remains in this vicinity prove that it had been the active theatre of military operations during the successive conflicts of the Roman period. The distance of the Itinerary of Richard and the intimations of Gordon concur to show that the *Victoria* of Richard and the camp at *Dalginross* are the same (b): placed in the upper part of Strathearn, the station of *Victoria* must have formed a very commodious defence to the valley below (c). A short journey must have conducted the Roman armies from *Ardoch* to the *Hierna* of Richard, the camp of *Strageth* upon the Earn. The Roman road, after passing on the east side of *Ardoch*, ascends the moor of *Orchil* to the post at *Kemp's Castle*, which it passes within a few yards on the east (d). The road from *Kemp's Castle* descends the moor to the station of

(a) This station certainly derived its name from the river *Allan*, on which it stood, in the same manner as *Ituna* was named, from *Ithan*, the *Esica*, from *Esk*. In the vicinity of this station there were several British forts, called *Caers*, the remains of which are still extant, and are known in the country by the appellation of *Keir*, a corruption of the British *Caer*, that signifies a *fort*. From one of these the mansion-house and estate of *Keir* derive their names.

(b) Gordon's Itinerary, p. 40-42; Richard, 38, who assigns the distance of nine miles from *Lindum* to *Victoria*; Roy's Mil. Antiq., 128. In Richard's map the name of *Victoria* is misplaced in the east instead of the west end of *Strathearn*. There is, indeed, in this map a nameless station marked near the true position of *Victoria* to which the name should have been applied. The fact is, as the remains evince, that *Victoria* lay eight miles on the left from the direct course of the Roman road. At *Lindum* the Romans went off in a north-west direction nine Roman miles to the *Victoria* of Richard, the *Dealgin-Ross* of Gordon. In prosecuting their march northward they turned easterly nine Roman miles to their camp at *Hierna*, the *Strageth* of modern times, which is only six Roman miles in a direct line from *Lindum*. The truth as is attested by facts, appears to be that the road and the *Iter* of Richard often took different routes, as here at *Ardoch* and farther on at *Orrea*. Bede and Richard agree in saying that *Agricola* founded *Victoria* as a memorial of his victory over *Galgacus* at the *Grampian*. The following coincidences confirm their opinion: (1) The name of *Victoria*; (2) There is a high stone which stands within the right gate; (3) The tumuli or circle of stones which are scattered about the plain show that this had been the busy scene of some signal military operations.

(c) Stobie's map of Perthshire; Gordon's Itin., p. 42; Roy's Mil. Antiq., p. 128, and pl. xxxii.

(d) This is a small but strong fortification of an oblong form, about thirty yards long and twenty-five yards broad. It is strengthened by a double ditch and triple ramparts; and being placed on an elevated situation, it commands an extensive prospect. Maitland's Hist. Scot., v. i., p. 195; Roy's Milit. Ant., pl. xxxi.

Hierna at Strageth, from which it immediately crosses the river Earn (*e*). The position of Strageth is pronounced by military judgments to have been peculiarly well chosen, whether its site on the bank of the Earn or the facility of its defence arising from the contiguity of the river be considered.

After the passage of the Earn, the road turns to the right (*f*), and in an easterly direction passes on the north side of Inverpeffery, and proceeds nearly in a straight line across the moor of Gask, where it is now used as the common road (*g*); and continuing its course through the plantations of Gask, it

(*e*) Maitland says the road intersects the Roman camp at Strageth. *Hist. of Scot.*, v. i., p. 196. Roy carries it past the west side of the camp at the same place. *Milit. Antiq.*, p. 107. The reason of this apparent difference is that Maitland and Roy allude to different camps. There was a larger and a smaller Roman camp at Strageth, through the former of which the road passed, leaving the smaller camp upon the right hand, as stated by Roy. The large camp at this place was overlooked by Gordon and slightly noticed by Roy. *Gordon's Itiner.*, p. 42, pl. vii.; *Roy's Milit. Antiq.*, p. 128, and p. xxxii.; and see afterwards p. 136.

(*f*) From the great Roman road near the passage of the Earn, on the north side, a vicinal way diverged to the left, and went in a northerly direction through the country nearly seven miles to the Roman station at East Findoch on the river Almond. I was informed by the late inquisitive Colonel Shand, who had inspected that vicinity with the eye of a soldier, after mentioning several vicinal ways of the Romans in Strathearn, "that there is one way of this kind twelve feet wide, which I have traced, and which in some places is very distinct, from the confluence of the Powaffray-water with the river Earn near Strageth, where the great Roman road crosses the Earn, through the country northward to the plantations of Monzie, where there is the vestige of a strong post in the Roman style, from which post this vicinal way turns to the right; and I was told by some of the country people that it may still be seen in a few places running on past Connachan to the Roman camp at East Findoch. This camp contains, as usual, about ninety acres Scots measure, and is advantageously situated in the mouth of Glen-Almond." Colonel Shand's letter to me, dated the 22nd December, 1801. Stobie's map of Perthshire may be inspected with a view to that camp and way. In the same letter Colonel Shand mentioned to me another vicinal road "running in a straight line from the confluence of Farg-water with the Tay towards Dunning and the house of Duncrub." It remains almost perfect for more than a mile through the moorish ground called Muirmonth. It is sixteen feet wide, raised considerably above the adjacent ground, and has a ditch on either side of it. It is exactly the same in every respect as the other vicinal roads, except that it is not paved.

(*g*) The *Stat. Acco. of Trinity Gask*, v. xviii., p. 486, says: "That the Roman road or causeway passes along the highest ground in the parish. It is very compleat, and with little or no repair serves for a public road. The stones of which it is made are pretty large, and are laid in good order. It is commonly dry in the wettest season." The *Stat. Acco. of Gask*, v. i., p. 481, says: "The Roman causeway runs through the middle of this parish on the highest ground. It is twenty feet broad, and is composed of rough stones closely laid together. It is in entire preservation, as the proprietor of the adjacent grounds, though he enclosed the fields on each side with stone dykes, did not suffer a stone to be taken from the road. Along the causeway are stations capable of containing ten or twelve men. They are enclosed by ditches, which are yet very distinct, and seem to have been

passes a Roman camp on the right (*h*). At the distance of two miles farther on, where the plantations of Gask terminate, this great road passes another small post on the left (*i*). From this position the road proceeded forward in a north-east direction to the station of Orrea, which is situated on the west bank of the Tay, at the present confluence of the Almond with that noble river (*k*). The commodiousness of the site before a part of the encampment had been washed away by the floods of the Almond; the correspondence between the distance of the Itinerary and the real distance, and the passage of the Tay by the Roman road at this position, along a bridge which still may be traced by remains, to a landing place, whence the Roman road proceeds; all those circumstances concur to show that the station at the confluence of the Almond with the Tay was the Orrea of Richard (*l*).

“designed for the accommodation of the overseers of the work.” For the policy of such small posts, see King’s *Munimenta*, v. ii.

(*h*) Stobie’s map of Perthshire represents this camp in the same form, but of smaller dimensions than the small camp at Strageth. The minister of Gask says, “it seems to have been capable of containing five hundred men:” the ditches with the *Pretorium* are still distinct, though the ground is planted with firs, being enclosed in the plantations of Gask. Stat. Acco., v. i., p. 481. This camp is not noticed either by Maitland or by Roy. There is a paved way, twelve feet broad from the great road to this camp, says Colonel Shand in his letter to me of the 22d December, 1801.

(*i*) Stobie’s Map of Perthshire; Roy’s Mil. Antiq., p. 107: and Stat. Acco. of Gask, v. i., p. 481.; and of Trinity Gask, v. xviii., 486.

(*k*) The Almond at present washes the south side of the station, and has carried away a part of the works; but this was not the course of it in ancient times, it ran past Ruthven-castle, now Huntingtower, where there is still a rivulet called Old Almond, and it joined the Tay about half a mile southward of its present junction. Stat. Acco., v. xv., p. 528.

(*l*) Roy’s Mil. Antiq., 128. See a drawing of Orrea in Roy’s plate xii. The intelligent minister of Redgorton, the parish which claims this Roman station, remarks: “Another piece of antiquity is the continuation of the causeway, leading from the Roman camp of Ardoch, which crosses the Tay at its present conflux with the Almond. At this place there are the remains of a Roman station, regularly formed into a square, surrounded with a deep fosse, which has for some years been gradually washing away by the overflowing of the Almond. There have been dug up here several urns filled with human ashes, a Roman *lachrymatory*, and also a pig of lead, weighing about two stone, with Roman letters on it. The foundation of a wooden bridge which had been thrown over the Tay at this place still remains, and consists of large oak planks fastened together, coarsely jointed, and surrounded with clasps of iron. At the other end, beyond this bridge to the north-east, there are some remains of a causeway which extends almost as far as Blairgowrie.” Stat. Acco., v. xv., p. 527-8; Maitland’s Hist. of Scotland, v. i., p. 199; Cant’s *Threnodie*, p. 112. On the north bank of the river Almond, near its influx into the Tay, there were dug up some Roman cinereal urns of yellow clay, and some fragments of glass vessels of a blueish colour, which were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scot-

From the important station of Orrea the Roman road and Richard's Itinerary took different directions; and we may infer from this unnoticed circumstance that they belonged to different ages, or at least were composed with dissimilar views. Having crossed the Tay by means of the wooden bridge, the Roman road went up the east side of the river, and passed through the centre of the camp at Grassy-walls (*k*). From this position the remains of the road are distinct for a mile up to Gellyhead, on the west of which it passed, and went on by Innerbuist to Nether-Collin, where it again becomes apparent, and continues distinct to the eye for two miles and a half, passing on in its obvious course to Drichmuir and Byres (*l*). The road now went forward in a north-east direction, passing between Blairhead and Gilwell to Woodhead, and thence pushing on by Newbigging and Gallowhill on the right, it descends Leyston-moor, and passing that village it proceeds forward to the Roman camp at Coupar-Angus, which is about eleven and a half miles from Orrea. The camp at Coupar appears to have been an equilateral quadrangle of four hundred yards, fortified by two strong ramparts and large ditches, which still remain on the east and south sides, and a part on the north side, but the west side has been obliterated by the plough (*m*). From Coupar the Roman road took a north-east direction towards Reedie in the parish of Airly. On the south of this hamlet, the vestiges of the road again appear, and for more than half a mile the ancient road forms the modern way (*n*). The Roman road now points towards Kirriemuir, past which it appears to have gone in its course to the large Roman camp at Battle-dikes (*o*). Having traversed this camp, the Roman road continued its progress in an east-north-east direction for several miles along the valley on the south side of the river South-Esk, which it probably passed near the site of Black-mill, below Esk-mount. From

land in March 1781. *Acco. of the Society*, p. 46. Richard, indeed, places the *Orrea* on the northern bank of the Tay, in the country of the Vecturiones; but the facts which have just been stated would over-rule a greater authority than Richard's, with the classical aid of Ptolomy.

(*k*) Roy, p. 65, and pl. xii.

(*l*) Stobie's map of Perthshire.

(*m*) Maitland's *Hist.*, v. i., p. 199. The *Stat. Acco. of Coupar-Angus*, v, xvii., p. 11, says: "It is nearly a regular square of twenty-four acres." This camp seems not to have been noticed, either by Gordon or by Roy. There is, indeed, a little more than one mile south of this camp, on Camp-moor, another Roman camp, which Roy describes p. 67, and of which he gives a plan, pl. xiv.

(*n*) Maitland's *Hist. Scot.*, v. i., p. 200; Roy's *Mil. Antiq.*, p. 108.

(*o*) Maitland's *Hist. Scot.*, v. i., p. 200, says: "That John Webster, the farmer, who resided in and laboured this camp, turned up with the plough the foundation of this road, in divers parts, in its course through the camp which is now all converted into arable land."

this passage, it went across the moor of Brechin, where vestiges of it appear, pointing to Keithock (*q*); and at this place there are the remains of a Roman camp, which are now known by the modern name of *Wardikes* (*r*). Beyond this camp on the north this Roman road has been seldom or never seen even by inquisitive eyes. In the popular tradition this road is called the *Lang Causeway*, and is supposed in popular belief to have extended northward through Perth and Forfarshire, and even throughout Kincardine-shire to Stonehaven. Legend imagines this *Lang Causeway* to have been constructed by the magic powers of Michael Scot even in one night, and it is therefore often called *Michael Scot's Causeway*. The tradition, though not the legend, is supported by remains. About two miles north-east from the Roman station at Fordon, and between it and the well-known camp at Urie, there are the traces of an artificial road as it crosses a small hill; and it is popularly called the *Picts Road*, an intimation which carries back its origin and construction to ancient times (*s*).

There is indeed reason to believe that there are traces of roads which may have been made by Roman hands even farther north. In Aberdeen-shire, between the rivers Don and Urie, on the eastern side of Bennochie, there exists an ancient road which is known in the country by the appropriate name of the *Maiden Causeway* (*t*). It proceeds from Bennochie, whereon there was a hill-fort, more than the distance of a mile into the woods of Pitodrie, where it disappears from the most inquisitive sight; it is paved with stones, is about fourteen feet wide, and has every appearance of a vicinal way of the Romans (*u*).

Even still more northerly in the track of the TENTH ITER, as it courses between the two stations of *Varis* and *Tuessis*, from Forres to the ford of Cromdale on the Spey, there has been long known a road of very ancient construction;

(*q*) Maitland, who has the merit of having first traced this road, says, "that its vestiges point to Keithock."

(*r*) See a plan of the camp at Wardikes, in Roy's Milit. Antiq., pl. xiv.

(*s*) In the same manner Severus's wall, in the north of England, is called the *Picts* wall. The intimations about the traces of the road in the text I owe to the intelligent letter of the Reverend James Leslie, at Fordon, dated the 26th of March, 1799.

(*t*) Some of the Roman roads in the north of England are distinguished by the same name of *Maiden Causeway*.

(*u*) Such was the opinion of the late judicious Colonel Shand, who described this road to me in his letter of the 22d December 1801. This *Maiden-way* is on the west side of the *ninth Iter*, on its course from the Don to the springs of Ithan, the station of Rae-dikes. If this way were continued in its appropriate direction a mile beyond Pitodrie, it would join the tract of the Iter, near the river Urie.

leading along the course of *the Iter* for several miles through the hills; and pointing to Cromdale, where the Romans must have forded the Spey. It appears to have been judiciously laid out and substantially constructed; it is not now used, nor can the most intelligent persons of the country ascertain when or by whom it was made (*x*). The track of this very ancient way on the course of the tenth *Iter*, the mode of its construction, its unaccountable age and modern desuetude, all these coincidences make it probable that those singular remains were once a Roman road.

Various traces of very ancient roads are still discernible along the track of the tenth *Iter* between the distant station of *Tuessis* and *Tamea*, by Corgarf and through Braemar, as hath been already intimated. The tradition of the people in Strathdee and Braemar declares, indeed, that there are remains of Roman roads which traverse the country between the Don and the Dee. It is certain that there are obvious traces of ancient roads which cross the wild districts between Strathdon and Strathdee, though it is impossible to ascertain when, or by whom such ancient roads were constructed in such directions throughout such a country (*y*). Such are the various notices which have been

(*x*) The Reverend John Grant of Elgin informed me in his letters, dated the 24th of October and 6th of November, 1799, of the existence of such a road, from the information of Captain Grant, who was perfectly acquainted with that retired part of the country. I was thus induced to make farther inquiries. And Mr. James Grant of Grantown, the manager of Sir James Grant's extensive estates, informed me in his letter dated the 11th of March, 1800; "Last summer I observed two pieces of very ancient road, not now used; one of them is some distance north from Castle Grant; and the other further on, in a direction towards Forres; upon making inquiry of the people who live in that country, I was informed that still farther on there are two or three pieces of a similar road leading through the hills towards Forres." The late intelligent Robert Grant, the old laird of Elchies, said to me in his letter, dated the 16th of July, 1800; "There certainly is a very ancient road crossing the country in the direction you point out, (from Forres to the ford of Cromdale on the Spey); some part of it must have gone in the direction of the present military road which passes through Strathspey, and by the castles of Corgarf and Braemar to Glenshee." Such then are the informations of those very well-informed persons. The tradition of the country ascribes the construction of that very ancient road to the Comyns of the 13th and 14th centuries; but that powerful family were otherwise occupied during times when the making of roads was unthought of; the policy of those times would have rather obstructed the making of passages into the interior of an impervious region.

(*y*) The Reverend Robert MacGregor, the missionary minister, in Glenmuick, Tulloch, and Glengairn, says in his letter of the 6th of May 1801: "That a man eighty years old gave him a description of a *Roman* road which goes from the craigs of Ballater, near the influx of the Gairn into the Dee, across the country in a northern direction, towards Corgarf on the Don. This road first appears at a little distance north of the Dee, between Gairn-water on the west, and the burn of Altdowrie on the east, and the traces of it are distinctly seen at intervals,

diligently collected from the most intelligent persons in those wild districts with regard to those ancient roads which babbling tradition appropriates to Roman times. It is, however, certain from every inquiry that the Romans did not throughout Vespasiana make their roads with the massy materials which they usually employed in similar works of greater stability.

We have now investigated with some precision the *Iters* and the *Roads* which facilitated the communications of the Roman territories in North-Britain. We have thus naturally conducted to a consideration of the Roman *Stations* which secured the Romanized Britons and overawed the independent Caledonians without the Roman limits. As the Romans originally entered the Caledonian regions on the west, we ought to look for their earliest encampments along the track of their first invasions. The fact attests the truth of this intimation. It is along the course of the usual communications where we observe the most early of the Roman works. On the Roman road from Carlisle through Annandale we soon meet with the Roman station at Birrens, near Middleby, which Horsley supposed to be the *Blatum Bulgium* of Antonine's Itinerary (*y*). It is situated on a commodious flat upon the northern bank of the small river Mein, having on its east side a rivulet which here joins the Mein. It is of a rectangular form, and is surrounded by five earthen ramparts and four fosses, a part whereof have been carried away by the floods of the river that once formed its ornament and strength (*z*). As we might easily expect, many Roman antiquities have been successively discovered at this station where the

"throughout the country almost to Corgarf, a distance of about nine miles. The place where it "is most distinctly seen is at the well of Glaschoil, a few miles from Corgarf." He adds that Captain M'Donald of Gardensdale shewed him another ancient road higher up in the country which first appears near the chapel of Abergeldie, and proceeds northward along the hill Gea-laig towards Rinetton, by Sleadhach, towards Corgarf, the whole extent being about twelve miles. These roads, he remarks, go by the name of *Roman* in the language of those who know them. William Farquharson, the laird of Monaltrie, informed me in his letter of the 31st January, 1800 : "I have heard of a way near my house of Ballater called the *Roman* road; and James Catenach, "the schoolmaster of that district, tells me in his letter that there is a place near the burn of "Tullich or Altdowrie called the *Roman Causeway*." Mr. Farquharson supposes this to be the continuation of the same way called the Roman road near his house of Ballater. Both Mr. Farquharson and Mr. Catenach allude to the same road which was first mentioned above by Mr. MacGregor as going from the craigs of Ballater northward between Altdowrie and Gairnwater.

(*y*) Brit. Romana, p. 114-15. Roy says he has done so with good reason. Milit. Antiq., 118.

(*z*) See a plan and section of this station in Roy's Milit. Antiq., pl. xxiv.; and see Pennant's Tour, v. iii., p. 90; Maitland's Hist., v. i., p. 191; Gordon's Itin., p. 16, pl. i., and addit., p. 27.

Romans no doubt remained till their ultimate abdication (a). North-westward from Birrens nearly three miles the Romans placed two camps on the side of Burrenswark-hill, the summit whereof had been previously occupied by a British strength. This is obviously the *Trimontium* of the ninth Iter of Richard, as we have already seen (b). The antiquaries are not agreed by whom those Roman camps were placed on the commanding site of Burrenswark-hill, yet it is probable that the Roman genius was first attracted by the Selgovæ fort, and was afterwards induced to place successively two camps on the declivity of this hill by its commodious position. On the Torwood-moor, about four and a half miles north-west from Burrenswark-hill, on the left of the Roman road half a mile, there are mutilated remains of a large camp. The greatest part of one side, with its two gates, and a portion of each end remain entire. Such was its extent that it would have contained ten thousand men (c). As it was somewhat dissimilar in its structure from the Roman camps on Burrenswark-hill, it was probably formed by the Roman hands of a different age. In Upper Annandale, at *Tassiesholm*, there are the remains of a redoubt and a large entrenchment, which were probably constructed here by the Roman armies on their march for a temporary accommodation (d). In the parish of Moffat, near the Roman road, there are the remains of some large Roman camps, which can still be distinctly traced after so many years of waste (e). Besides those larger stations, the Romans established within Annandale sundry smaller posts, along the course of the Roman road (f). On the eminence of *Galla-berry* standing in the centre of the extensive holm between the Annan and the Dryfe, there is another small Roman post (g). On the Roman road below

(a) Gordon's Itin., p. 18; Horsley's Brit. Rom., 207, 341, pl. n° 7, xxxii., pl. n° 7, xxxiv.; Pennant, v. iii., p. 90-3, and v. ii., p. 406; Roy, p. 119; and see the Trans. of the Antiq. Soc. Scot., p. 55-166, for the several antiquities which were found here and presented to that Society by the late Dr. Clapperton and Mr. A. Copland of Collieston.

(b) Book i., ch. 2.

(c) Roy, p. 61 and pl. vii.

(d) Ib., p. 61, pl. viii. The minister of Kirkpatrick-Juxta mentions the post at *Tassiesholm*, and describes some antiquities which have been found in his vicinity. Stat. Acco., v. iv., p. 552.

(e) Ib., v. ii., p. 288.

(f) Beyond the Milk there are the remains of a Roman post which is called *Malls-Castle*. Roy, pl. xxv. North-westward from this post, on the south-west of Lockerby, there is a similar post near the great station on Torwood-moor towards the east. There is another Roman post on the western extremity of Torwood-moor near the Roman road. Half a mile further north there is a similar post. From the village of Berngall, on the east side of the Annan, there is a small Roman post on a height which stands opposite to a British fort on an adjacent eminence. Ib., v. ix., p. 425, which speaks of warlike weapons and ancient armour that have been frequently found here. See Roy, pl. xxv.

(g) Id.

Wamphray, there is a small Roman post at Girthhead (*h*). At Cartertown in the parish of Hutton there is a small Roman camp, which was probably placed here for the purpose of muffling and overawing several British forts that are perched on the surrounding heights; it may have also served as a post of communication between Annandale and Eskdale, where the Romans had several stations.

On the angle between the great branches of the Esk a little above their junction, the Romans had a station, the remains whereof are now called *Castle-over* or Overby, in contradistinction to the post of Netherby on the Lower Esk, whence a Roman road has been traced throughout Eskdale to Castleover. Such was the advantage of *Castleover* that it completely commanded Upper Eskdale. On this position there was previously a large British fort, which was surrounded by a number of smaller strengths, that were placed on the summits of the heights for several miles around (*i*). It is more than probable that *Castleover* was the *Corda* of Ptolomy, a town of the Selgovæ, which he places where this is found on the northern extremity of their territories. In lower Eskdale, three quarters of a mile eastward from Gilnocky, there are the remains of another Roman station, near which a variety of Roman coins and sculptured stones have been discovered by excavation (*k*). Still lower in Eskdale the Roman stations were the well known post at Netherby, and a smaller post at Liddel Moat, both which are on the English side of the dividing Esk.

In Nithsdale no considerable Roman stations have yet been discovered, except the camp on the declivity of *Wardlaw-hill*, the *Uxellum* of Ptolomy and Richard. This has been already noticed among the operations of Agricola, by whom it is supposed to have been constructed near the Selgovæ town of *Uxellum*. On the Roman road which went athwart Annandale and along the eastern part of Nithsdale into Strath-Clyde there were several small stations; particularly a post near Amisfield-house, and another in the remarkable pass lying northward of Durisdeer Church; both which still appear in their distinct

(*h*) Roy, p. 104. Upon the Roman Road along the east side of the Annan, in Upper Annandale, there are the remains of several small posts of the Roman armies, which had been here constructed on their successive marches. Stat. Acco., v. ii., p. 288.

(*i*) Stat. Acco., v. xii., p. 614; *Ib.*, xi., p. 528; and Crawford's map of Dumfriesshire. Both on the summit of a height, and on the lower ground below, to the southward of *Castle-Over*, there are the vestiges of entrenchments, one line running southward and the other east towards the bank of the Esk. Roy, p. 120. See a plan of *Castle-Over* in Roy, pl. xxvi.

(*k*) Stat. Acco., v. xiv., p. 421.

remains (*l*). At Kirkmichael, between Annandale and Nithsdale, there was a small Roman station, the site whereof now forms the minister's garden. A vicinal way led off to it from the Roman road as it passed through Nithsdale (*n*). Though from this great road a Roman way branched off which pushed up the vale of Scar river towards Ayrshire, yet the only Roman post which has been discovered on the western side of the Nith is the small station of *Tibber's Castle*, opposite to the point whence the Roman road turns northward up Carron-water towards Clydesdale (*o*).

The Roman stations which have hitherto been discovered in Galloway from the Nith westward to Whithorn, have already been described in giving an account of the operations in that extensive country of its first invader. We have found many footsteps of the Romans in Galloway, but scarcely any in Ayrshire; and these curious circumstances attest more satisfactorily than the brief narration of Tacitus, that Agricola entered Galloway from the south, and not from the north as antiquaries have supposed.

We are now to pass into Clydesdale, another great scene of Roman transactions. Here also shall we find almost all the stations lying along the track of the Roman road or in its immediate vicinity. On the sources of this great river we may see at Little Clyde, in the parish of Crawford, the remains of a Roman post placed upon the northern declivity of Erickstane-brae (*p*). This is obviously the long sought for Gadenica, the town of the *Damnii*. The minister of Crawford claims for his parish the honour of having three Roman posts within it (*q*); but he can only be allowed Gadenica, the other two strengths being merely the circular hill-forts of the British people. A few miles lower down we come to an undoubted remain of a Roman post, as its square form evinces, near the Roman road between Catchapel and Littlegill in the parish of Lammington (*r*). The minister indeed mentions a Roman post on Arbor-hill (*s*); but this also is only a British hill-fort, as its remains attest. About seven miles below, near the Roman road and between it and Culter-water opposite to Nisbet, there is an undoubted remain of Roman construction, square in its

(*l*) *Ib.*, v. i., p. 165; Roy, 105. To this station, whose remains are still distinct, Roy and Ainslie have mistakingly applied the name of *Tibber's Castle*, which is, in fact, the name of a very different station distant five miles southward on the west side of the Nith.

(*n*) *Stat. Acco.*, v. i., p. 64.

(*o*) See a plan of *Tibber's Castle* in Roy, pl. xlix., and Crawford's map of Dumfriesshire for its position.

(*p*) Roy, p. 104.

(*q*) *Stat. Acco.*, v. iv., p. 514.

(*r*) Roy, p. 104; and Ross's map of Lanarkshire.

(*s*) *Stat. Acco.*, v. vi., p. 557.

form, and capacious in its contents (*t*). From this station two miles and a half west-north-west beyond the Clyde, above the village of Symington, there are the distinct remains of two Roman camps (*u*). From the station on Culterwater about two miles northward there is the remain of another Roman camp, as its square form and its location near the Roman road attest; it stands between the road and the river where the Clyde makes a remarkable turn opposite to Biggar. From this station north-east a mile and a half there is another Roman post near Biggar on the west, which is now called *the Moat*; and this camp was obviously intended to command the communication between the Clyde and Tweeddale (*x*). Below Biggar nine miles there is a Roman station, which has acquired the appropriate name of *Castledykes*, through which passed the Roman road (*y*). Horsley says, indeed, that this station had a large fort with many buildings, which were even then to be seen, and where urns and coins have been discovered by excavation (*z*). In this vicinity, as all the coincidences evince, was situated the long-sought for *Coria*, the town of the *Damnii*, and of the conjectures of the antiquaries; as, indeed, we have perceived in tracing the ninth Iter of Richard, which calls for it as a commodious stage. From the station at Castledykes two miles there is a large Roman camp on the north side of the Mous river, between Cleghorn and Stobylee. This camp is nearly six hundred yards distant from the Roman road on the east; and from its vicinity to Castledykes we may suppose that it was not a permanent station (*a*). On the south side of the Mous there are the vestiges of another camp on Lanark-muir; but as there can be traced only a part of the entrenchments on one of the sides and a part of one of its ends, its original size cannot easily be ascertained (*b*). At Lanark, which is nearly three miles from Castledykes, and two miles from the track of the Roman road, Roy supposes that the Romans had a station, and the *Damnii* a town, the *Colania* of Ptolomy and Richard. But no remain has yet been discovered which would confer the honour of a station on Lanark, a shire-town; and the *Colania* of the *Damnii* stood undoubtedly on Little Clyde, as we have seen in

(*t*) Id., and Ross's map.

(*u*) See Ross's map for their positions.

(*x*) See Roy, and Ainslie's map.

(*y*) See a plan of *Castledykes* and of the adjacent country in Roy, pl. xxvii. Many remains, such as pottery, coins, bricks, and a bath, have here been discovered, which indicate this to have been a station of great note and long endurance. Stat. Acco., v. xviii., p. 180; v. xv., p. 10. Roy, p. 104.

(*z*) Brit. Rom., p. 367.

(*a*) Roy, p. 62 and pl. ix. He says its dimensions are 610 yards long and 430 broad, and that it was not a permanent camp.

(*b*) See Roy's pl. ix. and the Stat. Acco., v. xv., p. 10.

our progress (c). Proceeding down the vale of Clyde, from Castledykes fourteen miles we find another Roman station on the east bank of the river below the church of Dalziel. This station is distant more than a mile from the Roman road on the left which goes on to the Roman wall (d). Below this station nearly two miles there is a small Roman post on the banks of the river Calder, which seems to have been intended to protect the ford, as the road passed the Calder at this place (e). Below the post at Calder ten miles there is supposed to have been a station, whence a road pretty certainly diverged to Paisley (f). The road we have traced, but this doubtful station has been lost for ever. The fact is that the Roman wall came too near to the site of Glasgow to require a station, and being within the Roman province and near the Roman sentinels, the ford at Glasgow could be safely passed without a protecting post; nor has any Roman station yet been found, where none was requisite, between Glasgow and the wall.

But no one has ever denied to Paisley the honour of a Roman station at *Vanduaria*, a town of the Damnii. Sir R. Sibbald and Horsley speak of the visible remains of a Roman station at this busy place. The expansion of the town and the cultivation of the country have almost obliterated the Roman remains. The bowling-green, however, on the commanding height, is said by tradition to denote the *Prætorium* of the Roman fort. The British name of the Damnian town seems obviously to have been derived from the vicinity of the *White-Cart* to which the station extended; *Wen-dur* signifying in the British the *white water*; and this Celtic appellation was easily latinized by the Romans into *Vanduar-ia*; as *Esc* was converted into *Esica*, and *Alan* into *Alauna* (g). Beyond Paisley on the west no Roman station has yet been found, though some roads have been traced and coins and armour have been found, as we have seen. It was the opinion of the learned Mr. David Buchanan, says Sir R.

(c) See Roy, p. 122. where he says, without authority, "that the Castlehill is indisputably a Roman "fort; for here and in the adjacent fields coins have been found, particularly a medal of Faustina." But this castle was merely baronial, and coins might well be found where so many Romans dropt them. See Stat. Acco., v. xv., p. 12.

(d) See Ross's map of Lanarkshire.

(e) A little more than twenty years ago, said the minister of Dalziel in 1792, this fort was pretty entire, but cultivation has now greatly encroached upon it. Stat. Acco., v. iii., p. 458.

(f) But for this station and road Roy relies on the obscure intimation of Gordon the tourist, who was not much to be trusted. Milit. Antiq., 106.

(g) In the beginning of the last century there existed at Paisley the remains of a large Roman camp, with its *Prætorium*, on the rising ground called Oakshawhead, which overlooks the surrounding country and the town of Paisley. The *Prætorium* was not large, but was well fortified

Sibbald, that there was a Roman camp on the Clyde where New-Glasgow stands, and where appeared the vestiges of a tower ; but no such camp has yet appeared to more accurate eyes, and the tower to which he alludes was either the old castle of Newark, or the eastern castle of Greenock, that he idly mistook for a Roman post (*h*).

If we pass, however, from Biggar, through the natural opening of the country, into Tweeddale, we shall discover Roman stations. The principal post in this country was the Roman camp at Lyne church, about ten miles eastward from the Roman position at Biggar, the guard of the natural road into the interior country. This camp was placed upon a rising ground, on the eastern side of the river Lyne, in a kind of amphitheatre, which is surrounded by hills. It is of an oblong form, and was defended by three strong ramparts and two large fosses, having a regular entrance on each of its sides ; on the west it was further defended by a bank forty feet high, along which flowed the Lyne ; the same bank and the river continued round the south side, though at a greater distance, the trench of the camp being a hundred and fifty yards from the top of the bank, which was artfully scarped away to augment the strength of the defences (*i*). The minister of Lyne says, that the road leading to the camp visibly runs through the present glebe (*k*). Neither Roy nor Park speak of this road ; yet, Armstrong, the surveyor of Peeblesshire, mentions a redoubt and a *causeway* on the eastward of the station (*l*). Pennicuik was the first who published any notice of this station. In speaking of Lyne,

with three fosses and ramparts of earth, which were then so high that men on horseback could not see over them. The camp itself, says Mr. William Dunlop, who was the Principal of the College of Glasgow, and royal historiographer, “took in all the rising ground, and by the vestiges seems “to have reached to the Cart. Upon the north side the agger or rampart goeth along the foot of the “hill, and if it be allowed to go as far upon the other side, it hath inclosed all the ground “upon which the town of Paisley standeth, which may be reckoned about a mile in circuit.” The form of this camp appears to have been much the same with the Roman camp at Ardoch. In the vicinity of this station there are two small posts, somewhat larger than the *Pretorium* of the large camp, but of the same form, the one on the west upon the lands of Woodside, and the other on the south upon the lands of Castlehead, each about half a mile from the large station. The description of Renfrewshire, as quoted by Sir Robert Sibbald, *Roman Antiq.*, p. 36 ; and Crawford’s *Hist. of Renfrewshire*, p. 5, on the same point.

(*h*) *Rom. Antiq.*, 38.

(*i*) This description is chiefly given from an accurate survey of this station, which was made by Mr. Mungo Park, in October 1802. Both Gordon and Roy represent the parallel sides as of equal length, but the difference in Mr. Park’s measurement may be owing to the imperfect state of the remains. Roy’s measurement is 850 feet long and 770 feet broad, including the ramparts. The interior area, extending to between six and seven Scots acres, has been often ploughed, when coins are said to have been found. *Stat. Acco.*, v. xii., p. 9 and 564.

(*k*) *Id.*

(*l*) *Companion to the Map*, 64.

he says, “here is to be seen the remains of a large camp, near half a mile in “circuit, which is strongly fenced with dry and double ditches, and which “the people call to this day Randal’s walls (*m*).” From the central situation of this Roman camp, in the middle of Tweeddale, it must have commanded the whole country; and it is curious to remark that, even in the present times, the great roads leading from Strath-clyde on the west, from Selkirk and Roxburgh on the east, from the Lothians on the north, and from Dumfriesshire on the south-west, all meet at a central point three quarters of a mile east of Lyne (*n*). In Tweeddale, which had its communication with Clydesdale, and could thus command the interior, there have been discovered by active curiosity, some other Roman camps, but of less consequence than *Randal’s Walls*. From this station, distant nine miles in Linton parish, there is a Roman camp, at Upper Whitefield on the north; it is in the form of a parallelogram, and its dimensions and area, says Gordon, are much the same as the well-known camp at Ardoch (*o*). The minister of Manor claims the honour of a Roman camp for his parish, which he supposes to be pretty entire, and to exist near a tower upon an eminence commanding a most extensive view (*p*). Armstrong, who was also ambitious of Roman discoveries, could not find any Roman camp in Manor parish (*q*).

In the wild country of *Ettrick forest*, which long after Roman times was covered with wood, there has not yet been explored any Roman post. The Romans, however, seem to have delighted to hunt, in this well-stocked forest.

(*m*) Description of Tweeddale, 1715, p. 19: “It got this name says Armstrong, from a popular “tradition, that the famous Randolph, the Earl of Murray, had a house in the area.” Companion to the Map of Peebles, p. 65. Gordon first gave a plan of this camp. Itin. pl. lii. Roy gives a drawing of this camp. Milit. Antiq., pl. xxviii.

(*n*) There are the remains of several British forts on the heights around this Roman station, within the circuit of a few miles, particularly one on Hamildun-hill, on the north, one on east Happrew, on the south, one on Hound-hill, one on Caver-hill, and the vestiges of others on other heights.

(*o*) Itin. Septent., 114; Armstrong’s Comp. to the Map of Peebles, 59. Gordon, who eagerly connects this camp with the name of *Romanno* in the neighbourhood, says, this camp is only one mile north-west from that place; but in fact, it is at least three and a half statute miles northward of *Romanno*, where Armstrong the surveyor could find no vestige of any Roman works. Companion, 74.

(*p*) Some years ago a Roman urn and some ancient coins were here discovered by the plough. Stat. Acco., v. iii., p. 388. The tower which is alluded to above, is no doubt the lofty ruin on a steep knoll, called *Castle-hill*, on the west side of Manor-water, above Manor-town.

(*q*) He found, however, in this parish, what he might have seen every where, British hill-forts in several parts of Manor parish. Comp. to the Map, and his Map of Peeblesshire. Near Traquair, on the southern side of the Dale, an octangular vase of brass, which is doubtless of Roman workmanship,

In a moss near Selkirk there have been found the skulls of the urus, with a Roman spear, which seems to have been used in killing those powerful animals (*r*). Within the modern limits of Selkirkshire there was indeed a Roman post in Robertson parish for overawing the circumjacent forts of the British people in western Teviotdale.

The same policy dictated to the Roman officers the establishment of some posts in *Liddesdale*. On the farm of Flight, near the old castle of Clintwood, is a Roman fort, which is surrounded by two ramparts of earth. The remain is of a square form, extending a hundred and sixty-eight feet on every side. It was obviously placed here to oppose a British hill-fort, which still appears in its vicinity. In the south-west of Liddesdale there was placed on the commodious side of a hill another Roman post, which was surrounded by a rampart eighteen feet high. It was plainly opposed to the British fort on Carbyhill (*s*). These two Roman posts, the one on the east and the other on the west, probably commanded the narrow district of Liddesdale.

Teviotdale exhibits many more remains of Roman posts than the foregoing districts, as it was much more populous, and as it was intersected by the Roman road which came down from Northumberland by the name of the *Watling Street*, and passed upward through Lauderdale. At Bonjedworth, on the angle between the Jed and Teviot, there are some vestiges of a Roman station near the course of the Roman road (*a*). On the border of Maxton parish there are the conspicuous remains of a Roman camp (*b*). On the west of the Roman road, after it has passed the river Kail, there is also a Roman post (*c*). Between Bedrule and Newton, a mile eastward from Rule water, there is a Roman post of a square form, which is surrounded by a fosse and rampart. It overlooks a British fort which opposes it about half a mile on the west (*d*). In the parish of Cavers, amidst several British strengths, there is a Roman post which obstructed their ancient influence. Within the parish of Robertson, on the

was found, and presented by the Earl of Traquair to the Antiquary Society of Edinburgh. *Acco. of this Society*, p. 555.

(*r*) Those remains were presented to the Antiquary Society of Edinburgh. *Stat. Acco.*, v. ii., p. 448.

(*s*) *Stat. Acco.*, v. xvi., p. 83. On the farm of Shortbut-trees in this vicinity were dug out of a moss some copper and brass vessels of antique construction, which were given to the Duke of Buccleuch. *Ib.*, 80. From the many matters of Roman manufacture which have been dug from the bottom of mosses, we might infer that those mosses did not exist in Roman times.

(*a*) Roy, p. 102. Ainslie represents a Roman camp on the angle of the two great branches of the Jed on the south side of Teviotdale.

(*b*) *Stat. Acco.*, v. x., p. 294. (*c*) Ainslie's map of Scotland. (*d*) *Stat. Acco.*, v. xv., p. 563.

Borthwick water, there is a camp which the country people call *Africa*, and which was judiciously placed amid several forts of the Britons on the surrounding heights (*e*). At the Eldon hills in northern Teviotdale the Romans had a considerable station below, while there was a large fortress of the British people on the summit above (*f*). It has, indeed, been supposed that the Romans merely converted the British strengths into a stronger work (*g*). The Romans did certainly convert several British forts into more defensible posts, where the situations were advantageous; but their permanent stations were more commodiously placed than on *steepy crags*. Their station here appears to have been situated at the northern base of the hill near Melrose (*h*). Around the British strength on the Eldon hills, which seems to have been of commanding force, there appears to have been several British forts of smaller size. Some of these the Romans converted into more defensible posts. Such was their fort on Caldshiels hill, two miles west-south-west of the Eldon hills (*i*). The smaller strengths of Row-chester at Kippila-mains, and Black-chester, southward of Clarilaw, appear also to have been converted from British forts to Roman posts. Row-chester is two miles and Black-chester three and a half miles southward of Eldon hills (*k*).

(*e*) *Ib.*, v. xi., p. 545.

(*f*) Roy, pl. xxi., which gives a view of the surrounding country.

(*g*) Milne's Melrose, p. 45.

(*h*) *Ib.*, 44-5. There have been many Roman coins found here. *Id.* There are, indeed, some traces of entrenchments near the village of Eldon. Roy, 116. And there are some other further northward near Melrose. The Watling-Street went past this station in its course northward beyond the Tweed.

(*i*) This fort is nearly of a square form, 200 yards long and 180 yards broad, having the corners rounded off. The area, extending to more than seven acres, is surrounded by an earthen rampart and fosse, and another rampart and fosse encompass the hill about fifty feet below. The Romans added a square redoubt on the south side extending to about half an acre, which was defended by a rampart and fosse. Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey in February, 1803.

(*k*) The post of Row-chester, which stands on a gentle eminence, is in the form of a parallelogram, having the angles rounded. It was fortified by a strong rampart and large fosse, enclosing an area of two and a half acres. Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey. Row-chester is also the name of a Roman fort near Severus's wall; Roe-chester is the name of the Roman station in Reedsdale; and Ro-chester in Kent derives its name from a Roman fort. The *Row*, *Ro*, *Roe* are probably the English forms of the Scottish *Raw*, *Ra'*, *Rae*, as we see the word in *Rae-dikes*, the Roman camp at Urie, and also the Roman camp at Glenmeilin. The word is probably derived from the British *Rha* and Gaelic *Ra'*, signifying a fortified place, a fort. The Irish *Raths* have the same origin, the (*th*) being quiescent. Black-chester is situated on a gentle eminence northward of the Ale water. It is also a parallelogram, with the angles rounded. It was defended by a strong rampart and a double ditch. It was considerably larger than Row-chester at Kippilaw mains. Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey.

These three strengths were connected by a military road of a singular kind, which runs from the strength on Caldshiels hill south-south-east nearly three miles to the post of Row-chester, and from it south-east a mile and a half to the camp of Black-chester. This military road was mentioned by Milne in 1743, and by the minister of Bowden lately (*l*). It is described by Mr. Kinghorn, who surveyed it in 1803, as being in general about forty feet broad, but in some places fifty, where the unevenness of the ground required such a breadth. It was plainly formed by scooping the earth from the sides, an operation which left the middle high; there is a ditch on each side from twelve to twenty-eight feet wide, whence the earth was thrown up so as to form a mound on the outside of the excavation. No part of this road appears to have been paved with stones. It does not go straight forward, but in several places takes a bend (*m*). This remain is so different from all the Roman Roads in North-Britain, that it is not easy to suppose it to have been constructed by Roman hands. It may have been the work of the Romanized Britons during their struggles after the Roman abdication. When they reoccupied their strengths, on that sad occasion, they may have imitated the policy of the Romans in connecting their posts by a military way upon a plan that was adapted to their own purpose. Unlike the Roman roads this military work appears to have answered all the uses of a covered way. This singular work is in some respects similar to the *Catrail* which runs athwart the country in a similar direction, but considerably to the westward of this covered way. The *Catrail* in its perfect state must have resembled a lane with a high rampart of earth on either side; it was thus obviously intended as a work of defence, though it may have also answered the useful purpose of a *covered way*. The object of the military road before mentioned appears to have been to furnish a defensible passage between those neighbouring strengths. It was probably formed at an earlier period than the *Catrail*, when the Romanized Britons had been driven back from the country through which it passes. It is remarkable that though this military road leads directly up to the strength on Caldshiels hill and to the fort of Black-chester, yet it passes Row-chester at the distance of four hundred yards westward, sending off two branches, one to the south and the other to the north side of the fortress. This circumstance shows clearly that this work was intended as a covered way between those several strengths. From slight appearances this remarkable work is supposed to have crossed the Ale water

(*l*) Account of Melrose, p. 48; Stat. Account, v. xvi., p. 240.

(*m*) The minister of Bowden says that various warlike weapons have at different times been dug up in the vicinity of this work and in the adjacent mosses. Stat. Account, v. xvi., p. 240.

southward to a strength on Bewlie hill, and from thence south-eastward a mile and a half to the ancient fort above Rawflat on the height. From Caldshiels hill two miles northward there is the strength of Castlesteads on a gentle eminence at Kidside. From Castlesteads a similar covered way to that above described, if not the same, has been traced westward nearly a mile to the Netherbarnford on the Tweed, and it seems even to have here passed the river into the country beyond it, though the occupations of peace have obliterated what the results of war had constructed (*n*).

From the British fort on Eldon hills to the strength on Caldshiels hill westward two and a half miles, there are a fosse and rampart which appear to have been carried throughout the distance between those fortresses as a defensible boundary. The fosse was dug from twelve to fifteen feet broad, and nine or ten feet deep; the rampart was formed of the earth which was thrown up from the ditch upon the north side, to which the ground throughout the distance naturally slopes (*o*). This defensible boundary, like *Herriot's dike*, extending from Lauderdale to Berwick, is to be referred probably to the Romanized Britons at the epoch of the Roman abdication, and with other remains of a similar nature, somewhat illustrate the darkest period of the British annals.

With the *Watling Street*, we now pass from the interesting district of Teviotdale into the vale of the Leader, the Lauderdale of more recent times. We here may see the Roman post of *Chesterlee* three and one half miles up the dale, westward of the Leader half a mile. This strength forms a square of one hundred and sixty yards on either side, with the angles rounded off to suit the position. *Chesterlee* was defended by a double fosse and a strong rampart of earth which cultivation has levelled. A part of the area has been planted. Standing on an eminence, this Roman post overlooks several strengths of the Britons in the circumjacent country. From *Chesterlee* westward five hundred yards was placed the smaller station of *Ridgewalls*, which from its gentle eminence commanded several forts of the Britons, both on the north and on the south. The Roman post of *Ridgewalls* is of an oblong rectangular form, and was defended by three fosses and earthen ramparts. The interior area measures eighty-five yards long and thirty-seven yards broad (*p*). In Lauderdale, along the course of the *Watling Street* there were several British hill-forts, which were converted by Roman art into defensible posts. At Old Lauder was such a post, which was defended by a fosse and rampart. And from it led down a military road

(*n*) Milne's Melrose, 55-5; Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey.

(*o*) Milne's Melrose, 46; Kinghorn's MS. Survey, 1803.

(*p*) Both *Chesterlee* and *Ridgewalls* were surveyed by Mr. Kinghorn in November, 1803.

to the Watling Street at some distance eastward. Farther up the dale, two miles from Old Lauder, there was the British fort of *Black-Chester*, which was obviously converted by Roman policy into a defensible post; as it was advantageously situated on the Watling Street; and as it overlooked several strengths of the Britons in the circumjacent country (*p*). But the Roman station of greatest consequence in this district is the camp at *Channelkirk* in Upper Lauderdale. This station appears to have been of considerable extent, though cultivation has obscured its magnitude. The church, churchyard, and the minister's glebe, of *Channelkirk*, containing nearly five acres, are comprehended in the area of this singular camp (*r*).

If from Lauderdale we turn to the right into the *Merse*, we shall find the most considerable station of the Romans in this district at *Chester-knows*. It stands on the bank of the White Adder, eight miles west-north-west from Berwick, and five miles east from Dunse. It was of an oblong rectangular form; the length being from east to west along the river; and it was defended by a triple line of ramparts, which have all yielded to the repeated attacks of the husbandman (*s*). The only other Roman station which time and chance have yet discovered in Berwickshire is a small post on St. Abb's head, ten miles north-north-east from *Chester-knows*. While this post possesses the eastern extremity of the height, a British strength occupies the western at the distance of half a mile. Further westward three furlongs there was another British strength, which, with the former, were both commanded by the Roman post (*t*).

From St. Abb's head along the coast to Inveresk, no Roman camp has yet been discovered, whatever antiquaries may have supposed (*u*). The minister

(*q*) I owe those notices to Mr. Kinghorn's Survey in November, 1803.

(*r*) In the west side there was a gate, which was obviously covered by a traverse, and a remarkable redoubt projects from the south-west angle. Roy, p. 61, pl. vi.; and Mr. Kinghorn's MS. Survey in 1803.

(*s*) The ramparts remained pretty entire till 1765, when they were inspected by Dr. Anderson, the minister of the parish. Stat. Account, v. xiv., p. 32-3. At this station was found, by excavation, a Roman *moletrina* in 1796. *Ib.*, 45-50. From Chesterknows, at some distance northward, was discovered in 1788 a Roman sepulchre of considerable magnitude on Billiemire in the parish of Chirnside. *Id.*, 30-1.

(*t*) See Blackadder's map of Berwickshire. Ainslie has somewhat misplaced this Roman post, and he seems to have gone beyond his authorities in carrying up to it the Roman road, though the Romans must have had a way to their post.

(*u*) Maitland speaks of a tradition which placed a Roman camp at Dunbar, where no remains have been found; and the Statistical Account is silent, though it particularizes every ancient remain.

of Humble mentions, indeed, that a Roman *Castellum* is still to be seen on the lands of Whiteburgh. This fort, which occupies more than an acre of ground, stands on a lofty summit in the western parts of this parish. It is of a circular form, and is defended by three walls, which are at the distance of fifteen feet from each other, and which are built of large stones with cement at the foundation of each. He considers this circular hill-fort, thus surrounded by walls of stone, as a Roman castle, because there have been found in it a medal of Trajan, a fibula, a patera, and the horn of a mouse deer (*x*). But might not a British chief have carried all these into his stronghold as the spoils of war or the gifts of peace? This castle is not more than three and a half miles east-north-east from the Itinerary station of *Currie* on the Gore water, a town of the Gadeni.

Mid-Lothian much more abounds in Roman antiquities. The Roman officers seem to have had many villas along its salubrious shore. At Fisherrow, at Musselburgh, at Inveresk, many Roman remains have been found at various times; and these show that the Romans had a post at Fisher-row, and a post at Inveresk (*y*). At Sheriffhall, the Roman camp is of a square form, and is of a large size; and a hamlet near it bears the appropriate name of *Camp-end* (*z*). From Sheriffhall south-east, distant four and a half miles, there is a Roman camp of a smaller size, which stands on a commanding site upon the southern extremity of the hilly ridge that runs along the eastern side of Newbattle parish (*a*). This post is of a quadrangular form, comprehending in its area about three Scots acres, and having an opening to the south-east (*b*). From this com-

The tradition refers to a British strength on the summit of the *Dun* hill, two miles south from Dunbar, or perhaps to a similar strength of the Britons three miles south from Dunbar, which Forrest has denominated a Roman camp in his map of Haddingtonshire. Maitland also states that there is a Roman camp on *Camp hill* near Haddington on the north-east. Hist. Scot., i., p. 202. The Statistical Accounts are altogether silent. Maitland perhaps alluded to a large fort of the Britons, which as usual is called *Chesters*, near Haddington on the north. See Forrest's map, and Armstrong's map of the Lothians.

(*x*) Stat. Account, v. vi., 162.

(*y*) An altar dedicated *Appolini Grano* was dug up at Inveresk before the age of Camden. Brit., 1607, p. 13; Sib. Rom. Antiq., 33. Coins and medals have also been found here. A bath has been laid open to the eye of curiosity. Stat. Account, v. xvi., p. 4, 5. From Inveresk a causeway led southward to the Roman camp at Sheriffhall, three miles distant on the south. Id. Another Roman road traversed the coast to Cramond, a well known Roman port.

(*z*) See Armstrong's map of the Lothians for the camp at Sheriffhall, which exhibits it in a square form.

(*a*) Its site is 680 feet above the level of the sea, and overlooks the Lothians, the Forth, and the shore of Fife.

(*b*) Armstrong's map of the Lothians; Stat. Account, v. x., p. 213; and the Rev. John Clunie's MS. Description,

manding position three miles south there is the remain of a Roman station at *Currie*, on the Gore water. Every circumstance attests *Currie* to have been a Roman post. It is plainly the *Curia* of the fifth Iter of Richard; and of course the Gadeni town. The Watling Street, in its course northward, passed this position, as did the fifth Iter on its progress southward. The concurrence of the name, the distance of its position from Antonine's wall, the coincidence of the situation, all evince that this was the *Curia* of the Gadeni, however antiquaries have misplaced that British town (*c*). In the vicinity of *Currie* has been discovered a Roman altar of a quadrangular form, which was raised upon a strong foundation. There is another Roman altar of the same figure and dimensions in the burying ground at Borthwick church, near the same interesting place (*d*). In this vicinity, which abounds with antiquities, on the farm of *Catcune*, a mile below *Currie*, there is the remain of a British strength that is called the *Chesters*. In the middle of this fort there is an immense round whinstone, which the cultivators of the soil have not been yet able to dig up, from its sitfast hold; and from it, distant a hundred yards, there are several sepulchral tumuli. It is curious to remark that the prefix, in the name of *Cat-cune*, where those remains exist, signifies, in the British and Gaelic languages, a *battle*, which the tumuli also indicate to have been once fought at *Cat-cune* (*e*). It is probable that there was a Roman post on the North Esk, near Mavisbank, where the Watling Street enabled the Roman troops to press forward to

(*c*) On Richard's map *Curia* is placed as far southward as *Bremenium*, in opposition to his own text. Roy and Whitaker have confounded *Curia* with the *Coria* of the *Damii*.

(*d*) The Rev. John Clunie's MS. Account. He also states that in this vicinity, upon the lands of Middleton, there are five rows of terraces above one another, in the face of a sloping bank which overlooks a pleasant valley, and these are called *Chesters*, a name which always intimates some warlike works.

(*e*) The Rev. Mr. Clunie's MS. Account. He examined at my request all those remains with the tenant of the lands. On a plain half a mile east from *Currie* there are a number of sepulchral tumuli, which have disclosed earthen pots containing half-burnt human bones. Near the same tumuli have been dug up from the plain ground, only a foot or a foot and a half under the surface, earthen urns containing ashes, with half-burnt bones. From all circumstances it is reasonable to believe that the earthen pots which were found under the tumuli contained the remains of the Britons, while the urns that were ploughed up from the surface contained the ashes of the Romans. It is apparent from all those coincidences that the Roman legionaries and the Gadeni people had on this scene met in bloody conflict, the one to attack, and the other to defend the British town. In this neighbourhood were those altars erected, and three miles northward from *Currie* was placed the Roman camp in Newbottle parish. I owe my thanks to the Rev. Mr. Clunie of Borthwick for almost all those antiquities of this interesting spot on the Gore water.

Cramond, and the wall (*f*). At Ravelrig, eight miles south-south-west from Cramond, stood a Roman post, a little eastward from the hill, which was occupied on the summit by a British fort, whence the hill was named *Castle-bank* (*g*). But the most interesting station of the Romans in Mid-Lothian was *Cramond*, the *Caer-amon* of the Britons, the *Alaterva* of the Romans (*h*). At the mouth of the Almond, upon the eastern side, the Romans had their naval station from early times till their final departure from the shores of the Forth. Here have been discovered the mole, which they had founded on the rock, the Roman altars, their coins, and medals, and pottery, and lime-kiln, and an anchor, the evidence of the port, and a pavement, the proof of the town (*i*). Cramond, as we have seen, communicated by a road eastward with Inveresk, and westward to the wall.

West-Lothian has its full share of Roman antiquities. The Romans seem to have had a villa at Linlithgow, where the Gadeni had previously a town (*k*). Yet Camden and his followers cannot be allowed to place the *Lindum* of Ptolomy and Richard at *Lin-lith-gow*, which demonstration has fixed at

(*f*) Near Mavisbank many Roman antiquities have been found. Roy, 103; Stat. Account, v. x., p. 286.

(*g*) See Armstrong's map of the Lothians; and the Stat. Account, vol. v., p. 326. From *Castle-bank* eastward three and a half miles there is the remain of another Roman post on *Lady hill*. Id. In the south-west extremity of Mid-Lothian, not far from the town of Crosswoodburn, there is a Roman post in a pretty entire state. It stands on a most commanding situation upon the summit of an eminence called *Castlegreg*, near the passage of the ridge which separates Lothian from Clydesdale, and over which passes the present road to Lanark. In the environs of *Castlegreg* have been dug up several Roman coins that displayed the Roman eagle, though the inscriptions were defaced. Stat. Account, v. xviii., p. 196.

(*h*) The fort stood at the influx of the *Almond* river into the Forth, hence the Britons called the site *Caer-amon* or *fort on the Almond*, and this descriptive name has been abbreviated by pronunciation to *Cramon*, to which ignorance has added a (*d*), so as to form *Cramond*.

(*i*) Sibbald's Rom. Antiq., p. 33; Gordon's Itin., p. 116-17; Horsley's Brit. Rom., p. 204-5; Wood's Cramond, p. 11, 12. Among many coins that have been found at Cramond, there was discovered here a medal of Diocletian, who died in 316 A.D., having on the reverse a genius, with the appropriate inscription GENIO POPULI ROMANI. This medal alone evinces, as Horsley indeed remarks, how late the Romans retained this naval station.

(*k*) Sir R. Sibbald is positive upon this point. Hist. of Linlithgowshire, p. 15. But he does not say that any remains of a station have been here found. A discovery was, however, made in 1781 which supports the probability of there having been a Roman villa on this elegant site, which was afterwards occupied by a royal palace. In the Burrow moor was turned up by the plough a Roman urn which contained many Roman coins of Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Faustina. Three hundred of these coins were presented to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh by Robert Clerk, the respectable provost of Linlithgow. Antiq. Transac., p. 60.

Ardoch (*l*). There is much more reason to believe, as Bede indeed has intimated, that the Romans placed several posts, as exploratory forts, along the bank of the Forth from Cramond to Caer-riden (*m*). Near Queensferry, the castle of Abercorn, and Springfield, those posts are supposed, by various antiquaries, to have stood as stronger or weaker intimations struck different minds (*n*). It is, however, certain that the Romans during many ages were busily employed along this track, and must have dropped many relics which mark their footsteps, illustrate their policy, and exhibit their arts. But there has never been any doubt of there having been a Roman station at Caer-riden; as the name imports, and as the termination of the wall evinces (*o*). The Romans found a shelter for their vessels, while they carried on their intercourse at Blackness, distant from Caer-riden two miles eastward on the shore of the Forth (*p*).

The wall of Antonine appears to have been strengthened and defended, as we have seen, by nineteen forts, judiciously placed within two miles of each other, exclusive of the stations at Caer-riden and Kirkpatrick (*q*). At Dun-glas they doubtless had a fort, as well as a harbour for their ships in the Clyde (*r*). But as their shipping must have been embarrassed, and their *prætentura* enfeebled by the shoal at Dumbuck, the principal harbour, as well as the commodious mart of the Romans, must have been at Dunbarton, the *Theodosia* of the lower empire (*s*). Such, then, were the Roman stations in *Valentia*.

During those times the Romans possessed many posts in *Vespasiana*, which we are now to survey. The remarkable peninsula of Fife was first invaded by them, under Agricola, in 83 A.D., when its inhabitants, the Horestii, were

(*l*) The antiquaries were deluded into that conceit merely by the likeness of the prefix *Lin* in both the names, as they did not advert to the distance and the location.

(*m*) Smith's Bede, p. 50; Sibbald's Hist. Linlithgow, p. 20; Stat. Account, v. i., p. 238; Id., v. xx., p. 399; Roy, p. 136.

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) Sibbald's Hist. Linlithgow, p. 19. Gordon shows how many Roman antiquities have been found at Caer-riden. Itin. Septent., p. 61, pl. li. Since the ages of Sibbald and Gordon other remains have been found where many once existed. In 1741, says the minister of Caer-riden, there were found here by excavation axes, pots, and vases, which, as they were evidently Roman, were sent to the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. Stat. Account, v. i., p. 100.

(*p*) Roy, p. 164.

(*q*) *Ib.*, p. 157-64, pl. xxxv.

(*r*) Id.

(*s*) Roy places Theodosia at Dunbarton on his *Mappa Romana*; and Richard meant to place it at the same commodious position, yet carried it to the issue of Loch-Lomond. Neither Gordon nor Horsley found any remains at Dunbarton, yet Dr. Irvine, as we are assured by Sir R. Sibbald, found, about the year 1686, the remains of a Roman fort at Dunbarton, the *Alchuid* of the Britons.

subdued. Even at that early epoch, the Roman navy which surveyed the whole Forth, may have found a harbour at Bruntisland, where nature had placed a commodious port. On the eastern base of Dunairn hill, a mile from the port, the Romans probably placed a camp in early times (*t*). On the western summit of this height the Horestii had a fort, which was thus strong from its position, and was made more defensible by art (*u*). This Roman camp remained very distinct to the days of Sibbald, who often mentions it, and speaks of the *pretorium* as a square of a hundred paces diameter, and as called by the country people the *Tournament*, where many Roman medals have been found (*x*). On the left of this naval station near Carnock, on the south the Romans had in those times a camp, the remains whereof may still be traced, though cultivation has done much to obliterate them. The existence of this camp will always be attested by the name of its site (*y*). At Loch-Ore, ten miles from the frith, there was a Roman camp, which antiquaries suppose, with great reason, to have been the same camp where the gallant Horestii attacked the ninth legion of Agricola (*z*). This camp, which, we have seen, was pitched among the strongest forts

(*t*) It is popularly called *Agricola's camp*, but this tradition is not older probably than the writings of Sir R. Sibbald.

(*u*) The area on the summit was surrounded by a rampart of stones, and lower down in the face of the hill another wall encompassed the whole. Sibbald's *Roman Camps*, p. 5-15; *Stat. Account*, v. ii., p. 429. On the north there was another fort on the summit of *Bonie hill*. In this vicinity, on the north-west, there are several sepulchral tumuli wherein have been found urns containing ashes, and stone chests comprehending human bones. Sibbald's *Rom. Camps*, p. 9, 11, 18. The minister of Bruntisland also mentions several barrows on the heights of Orrock and Babie, half a mile northward from Dunairn hill, wherein human bones have been discovered by excavation. *Stat. Account*, v. ii., p. 429.

(*x*) Sibbald's *Roman Forts*, p. 11-15. He also says that Roman coins and sculptured stones have been discovered at Orrock. *Ib.*, 9. A coin of Antoninus Pius has been found near Bruntisland. *Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edinburgh*, p. 70.

(*y*) It is called *Camps*, and two adjoining hamlets are named *East Camp* and *West Camp*. Ainslie's map; *Stat. Account*, v. xi., p. 497. In the vicinity of this camp the Horestii appear to have had a fortress on *Carneil hill*, as, indeed, the British prefix *Caer*, a fort, seems to intimate. *Id.* There are several sepulchral tumuli on *Carneil hill* which have disclosed human remains, and which attest that some conflict had happened here. *Id.* Copper coins have also been found here. *Id.* On *Craigluscar hill*, north a mile and a half, the British people had another fort. *Id.*; *Ib.*, v. xiii., p. 453. From the Roman camp at Carnock, north-west three miles, the Horestii had another fortress on *Saline hill*, and below one of a similar form. *Ib.*, v. x., p. 312.

(*z*) Of the existence of a Roman camp at Loch-Ore, on the north-west side, there cannot be a doubt. The proprietor of Loch-Ore, having cut drains under the camp, found several Roman antiquities. On *Binartie hill*, which stretches from east to west three miles, the Horestii had a great strength, which was fortified by double ramparts and ditches. Sibbald's *Rom. Antiq.*, p. 37. He confounds this with the Roman camp. *Id.* From *Binartie* a mile and a half commences the

of the Horestii appears to have been afterwards converted into a permanent station, as its remains show it to have been secured by three ramparts, with their accompanying fosses (*a*). The Romans had a small post upon the May water at *Ardargie*, at the defile of the Ochil hills, which served as a central communication between their stations on the Forth and Strathearn, the great scene of the Roman operations. They had also a post at Hallyards, in the parish of Tulliebole (*b*). If we might give implicit credit to Sir R. Sibbald, we ought to suppose with him that the Romans had a road through every vale, and a camp on every height within his native shire (*c*). That they had traversed and subdued this great peninsula between the Forth and Tay, where they long remained, is certain (*d*). The coins of such a succession of Emperors, which have been every where found in this interesting ground, attest the fact with full conviction (*e*).

Not only in Fife, which formed a considerable part of Vespasiana, but every where beyond the wall of Antonine, the brave descendants of the Caledonian people, who had dared to act offensively against Agricola, were restrained under Lollius Urbicus, by the same means which had subdued and civilized the Caledonian clans within Valentia. Itineraries, with their accompanying posts, were carried throughout the ample range of the Vespasiana; a road, as we know from remains, and as we have seen from examination, penetrated the greatest part of its long extent, from the wall to the Varar; and fortresses, we shall immediately find, were erected near the commanding passes from the Highlands to the low country. By a judicious arrangement the Roman officers seem to have carried into effect two great objects: 1st, In order to command the low country which lies between the long range of the Grampian hills and the eastern sea, they established corresponding posts at convenient distances; 2ndly, With design to protect the low-lands along the coast of the eastern sea from the incursions of the unsubdued Caledonians of the interior Highlands, they settled, in every opening pass of the Grampian

range of Cleish hills, upon four different summits, on each whereof the Horestii had a fastness which had been constructed with great labour. They have been mistaken for Roman works, which are quite different in their location and construction. In the low grounds northward from this hill, there were discovered in 1791, a number of sepulchral urns containing ashes, human bones, with charcoal; these were doubtless Roman, as they were not covered with tumuli, and were of better workmanship than those of the Britons. Stat. Account, v. iii., p. 561.

(*a*) Gordon's Itin., p. 36; Stat. Acco., v. vii., p. 315.

(*b*) Stat. Account, v. xviii., p. 470.

(*c*) See his Rom. Enquiries; his Roman Forts and Colonies; and his Hist. of Fife, throughout.

(*d*) Id. See the Statis. Accounts of Fife.

(*e*) Sibbald's Rom. Antiq., p. 51; Hist. Fife, p. 31; Acco. of the Antiq. Soc. of Edin., p. 41, 42, 74, and part ii., p. 63, 70.

hills, a suitable fortress. All those judicious arrangements of hostile policy may still be traced by the obvious remains both of the stations and forts, and a liberal curiosity may be gratified by a brief review of those military dispositions for enforcing the obedience of the gallant people who then inhabited a difficult country.

That Camelon, which was situated about five furlongs without the gate where the Roman road issued from the wall, was a Roman town, is agreed by all the antiquaries (*f*). Its vestiges were apparent to the inquisitive eyes of Gordon and of Horsley (*g*), though its object seems not to be so apparent, if it were not designed for the useful purposes of treaty and of traffic, the *Kiakta* of those times (*h*). Only one Roman road, as we have seen, conducted the Roman armies from the wall to the Varar, though vicinal ways connected their outposts with their stations. From Camelon, northward ten miles, there is reason to believe that the Romans had a station at Stirling (*i*). Along the same road, at the distance of twelve miles north-north-west from Camelon, was the Alauna of Ptolomy and of Richard, which was situated on the kindred Allan, about a mile above the confluence of this river with the cognate Forth. The Alauna commanded the lower parts of Strath-allan, with the whole country on both the banks of the Forth and her associate Teith, for a considerable distance; having communications with Camelon behind, Lindum before, and with subsidiary posts on those rivers above. The next station, along Strath-allan and the course of the northern road, was Ardoch, at the distance of about nine miles northwest from the Alauna, on the east side of Knaig water. Here was the celebrated scene of many Roman operations, from the great epoch of the Caledonian conflict with Agricola till the final abdication of the Roman

(*f*) There is a plan of this town in Roy's Milit. Antiq., pl. xxix.

(*g*) Itin. Septen., p. 23: and Brit. Rom., p. 172. Yet Horsley mistakingly placed Camelon immediately within the wall. See his map of the course of this fence from frith to frith.

(*h*) Sir R. Sibbald informs us that, "within a century of years hence [1707], an anchor was .. digged out of the ground near Camelon; and the surface of the ground between it and the water .. of Carron, shews that the sea in ancient times flowed up to it, so it seemeth to have been a post. "There are yet traced the vestiges of regular streets, and there are vaults under them, and a military "way passeth from it south to Carnwath, and Roman coins have been found in it." Rom. Antiq., p. 34; and Roy intimates that an anchor had been found, and that some traces of the Roman post are still visible. Rom. Antiq., 153.

(*i*) Sir R. Sibbald says, "upon a rock below the castle [of Stirling] this inscription was graven "which was sent to me thus: IN EXCV. AGIT. LEG. II., and seemeth to have been the chief "quarter of the second legion; this being the main pass to the north countries, was guarded by it." Rom. Antiq., p. 35. It was obviously the ford on the Forth at this passage which the Roman post was here placed to protect.

power. The several works which have been successively constructed at Ardoch by different commanders, with various views, are proofs of its advantageous position (*k*). Strath-allan, wherein it is placed, is the natural passage from the Forth northward into the heart of Perthshire and into the interior of Caledonia. And this station, with its collateral outposts, commanded the whole extent of this interesting district between the frith and Strathearn.

Next to Ardoch in this chain of camps, at Strageth, about the distance of six miles north-east on the south side of the river Earn, was the Hierna of Richard. This station was advantageously placed on an eminence, and commanded the middle part of Strathearn, lying between the Ochil hills on the south and the river Almond on the north (*l*). On the moor of Gask, upon the communication between the stations of Hierna and Orrea, there are, as we have already seen, two Roman posts which were probably designed to protect the

(*k*) At Ardoch there are the distinct remains of three Roman camps of very different sizes, which appear to have been constructed at different periods. The largest was formed by Agricola in his famous campaign of the year 84, and was of course the first. The second in size is on the west side of the former, and was undoubtedly formed by a subsequent commander, who included within his entrenchments a part of Agricola's camp. The third and smallest camp was constructed on the south side of the largest one, a part of which it comprehends. This last camp is surrounded by a much stronger entrenchment than the other two. See the dimensions of those several camps described in Roy's *Milit. Antiq.*, p. 62 and pl. x. Besides these three contiguous camps, there is also on the south side of the last of them, opposite to the bridge over Knaig water, a very strong fort surrounded by five or six fosses and ramparts. Its area is about 500 feet long and 430 broad, being nearly of a square form. See a plan of this impregnable fort in Roy's *Military Antiq.*, pl. xxx.; see Gordon's *Itin.*, p. 41, pl. vi.; and Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*, p. 44 and pl. xlv. Gordon and Horsley only mention this fort, and they seem to have overlooked the three camps on the north of it, which, with other small military posts in the contiguous grounds, are equally important. For some other particulars of an interesting nature, see Sir R. Sibbald's *Rom. Antiq.*, p. 37; his *Roman Colonies beyond the Forth*, p. 10; and the *Stat. Account*, v. viii., p. 495.

(*l*) On an eminence at Strageth, upon the south bank of the river Earn, there was till recent times a pretty large Roman camp, the ramparts whereof have been completely levelled by the plough. When Maitland examined it about the year 1749, there was enough of the rampart remaining to shew that the camp had been of large dimensions, containing more than thirty Scots acres, according to the opinion of the farmer who rented the ground. *Mait. Hist. of Scot.*, v. i., p. 196. The remains of this camp were also noticed by Roy, *Milit. Antiq.*, p. 128. On the east side of this camp there was a Roman fort of less size, but of greater strength, surrounded by three rows of ditches and ramparts, which enclosed a rectangular area of about four hundred and fifty feet long and four hundred feet broad. See a plan of this fort in Roy's *Milit. Antiq.*, pl. xxxii.; and Gordon's *Itin.*, p. 42, pl. vii. Gordon seems not to have been aware that there had been a large camp on this site, of which the fort, described and represented by him and by Roy, was merely an adjunct in the same manner as the fort of Ardoch forms only an inconsiderable part of the Roman fortifications at that famous station.

Roman road from the incursions of the tribes on either side of this communication. But Orrea, lying east-north-east about fourteen and a half miles from Hierna, as it was the most central station, was also the most important (*m*). Situated as we have observed at the confluence of the Almond with the Tay, Orrea commanded the eastern part of Strathearn, the banks of the Tay and the country between this river and the Sidlaw hills (*n*). The Roman Orrea, like the modern Perth, was the central position whence the Roman road departed and to which it returned through the interior highlands, as we learn from the ninth and tenth *Itinera* of Richard.

Thus much with regard to the principal stations which commanded the central country between the Forth and Tay. It is now proper to advert, secondly, to that policy of the Romans by which they guarded the passes through the Grampian range within the extent of Perthshire to the districts below.

The first Roman strength on the south-west is the camp that was strongly placed on a tongue of land which is formed by the junction of the rivers Strath-gartney and Strath-ire, the two sources of the river Teith (*o*). The remains of this camp may still be seen near Bochastle, about fifteen miles west-south-west from the station of Ardoch. The judicious position of the camp at Bochastle is very apparent, as it guarded at once two important passes into the west country, the one leading up the valley of Strath-ire into Breadalbane, and thence into Argyle; the other leading along the north side of Loch-Vennacher, Loch-Achray, and Loch-Katrine, through Strath-gartney into Dunbartonshire. Northward from Bochastle, the next passage from the Western Highlands through the Grampian range into Perthshire directs its course along the north side of Loch-Earn into Strathearn. This defile was guarded by the double camp at Dalginross, the Victoria of Richard, near the confluence of the Ruchel

(*m*) See a plan of Orrea in Roy's Military Antiq., pl. xii.

(*n*) On the east bank of the Tay above Orrea there was a large Roman camp at Grassywalls, through which ran the Roman road. *Ib.* p. 65, pl. xii. As this camp was unnecessary as a permanent station, it was probably thrown up to facilitate the march of some Roman army towards the north, though not the army of Agricola, who never crossed the Tay assuredly, as General Roy and others mistakingly suppose.

(*o*) This camp is distinctly laid down on Stobie's map of Perthshire as a rectangular oblong, with an entry in the centre of each of its sides. It is somewhat longer than the Roman fort which is opposite to the bridge of Ardoch, and nearly double the size of the largest camp at Gask. On the top of the Dun of Bochastle, a little more than half a mile west from the Roman camp, there is a British fortress of an oval form: and about two miles east from it, on the farm of Achenlaich, there is a still larger British fortification of a circular form upon an eminence. See Stobie's map of Perthshire; and the Stat. Account of Callander, v. xi., p. 607.

with the Earn (*p*). This station is more than thirteen miles north-east from the camp at Bochartle, and about eight miles north-east from the station at Ardoch (*q*). The camps at Victoria not only guarded the passage along Loch-Earn, but also commanded the western districts of Strathearn. From Victoria, about ten and a half miles north-east, and from Hierna, about six and a half miles north, there was a Roman camp at East-Findoch on the south side of the river Almond. This important station guarded the only practicable passage through the mountains northward in the extent of thirty miles, from east to west (*r*). Strathearn, which anciently had a greater extent than is now allowed it, appears to have been the peculiar object of the Roman care. On the eastern side of this great Strath, between it and the Forth, there are the remains of Roman posts which were obviously placed here to overlook the passes of the Ochil hills, some of them as early, perhaps, as the winter of A.D. 83-4, while Agricola lay in Fife. At Ardargie, where there seems to have been a conflict, there was placed a Roman camp, with the apparent purpose of guarding the

(*p*) See this camp in Roy's *Milit. Antiq.*, p. 63, pl. xi., which he erroneously calls the camp of the ninth legion. The plans of the camps of Dalginross, in Gordon's *Itin.*, pl. v., and in Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*, p. 44, are not quite correct. Horsley mistakingly calls the camps at Dalginross, the Innerpeffery camp; but it is the station of Hierna, and not Victoria, which is near Innerpeffery. The station of Victoria was probably connected with the post at Ardoch, and perhaps with that at Strageth, by means of a vicinal way; for there is still to be traced the remains of such a way, leading from the gates of Victoria, a short distance in a southerly direction, pointing to the pass that leads to Ardoch. See Horsley's *Plan*, p. 44. and Roy, pl. xi. A few miles north-east from the station at Dalginross, there are the remains of two Roman posts of observation; one of them is situated so as to have a view of the station at Dalginross, and the other commands a more distant view of the station at Ardoch. *Stat. Account*, v. viii., p. 575.

(*q*) See Stobie's map of Perthshire.

(*r*) This camp is placed on a high ground, which is defended by waters on two sides, and by a moss with a steep bank on the other two sides. It is about one hundred and eighty paces long and eighty broad; and it is surrounded by a strong earthen wall, a part whereof still remains, and is near twelve feet thick. The trenches are still entire, and are in some places six feet deep. A vicinal way diverged from the great Roman road at its passage of the river Earn near the station of Hierna, and led across the country to this station at East Findoch. Near this remarkable camp there are many ruins, barrows, and cairns, some of which were found, when opened, to have been the graves of those warriors who had defended their country against its invaders. About a mile and a quarter northward from the Roman camp at Findoch, on the summit of Dunmore hill, there is a strong British fort, which had the complete command of the passage through those almost impervious hills; and about the same distance east-north-east from the same camp there are the remains of two other British forts on the hill above Lethendy. Stobie's map of Perthshire, and the *Stat. Account* of Monzie, v. xv., p. 256-7. It thus appears that both the Caledonian Britons and the invading Romans had guarded this important pass from Strathearn through the hills towards the north.

passage through those hills by the valley of May water (*s*); and the Roman policy placed another post at Gleneagles, which secured the passage of the same hills through Glendevon. From the station at East Findoch the Romans appear to have penetrated by the important pass which it commanded into the central highlands, and at the distance of about sixteen miles in a direct line north-west they judiciously fixed a post at Fortingal, with the obvious design to guard the narrow but useful passage from the middle highlands westward through Glenlyon to Argyle (*t*). From the camp of Findoch, about fifteen miles north-east, and from Orrea eight and a half miles north, the Romans placed a station at Inchtuthel upon an eminence on the north bank of the Tay (*u*). This advantageous position had been the previous site of a British

(*s*) The remains of this camp are still extant, and have always been called by the tradition of the country, the *Roman Camp*. It is situated upon an eminence on the east side of May water, and is of a square figure, each side of which is about ninety yards long. On one side it is defended by a deep hollow, through which a brook runs, and on the other three sides by trenches which are ten yards wide at the top, fourteen feet deep on the side next the camp, and ten feet deep on the outside. Stat. Account of Scotland, v. iii., p. 309 : and Stobie's Map of Perthshire. About a mile north-east from this Roman post, there is the remain of a British hill-fort of a circular form on the summit of an eminence called the Castle-law.

(*t*) This camp is situated on the north side of the river Lyon, at the eastern entrance of Glen-Lyon. The area contains about eighty acres. In many places the rampart is broken down and the ditch filled up for the purpose of cultivation; the prætorium still remains complete. In digging for antiquities in it there were found three urns and a copper vessel, with a beak, handle, and three feet. Stat. Account of Scot., v. ii., p. 456; Roy's Milit. Antiq., v. ii., pl. xix.; Stobie's Map of Perthshire; Pennant's Tour, v. ii., p. 25. As Pennant calls it a *Castellum*, I suspect he has considered the *Prætorium* as the only work. Roman coins have been found in different places of the adjacent country. Stat. Account of Scot., v. ii., p. 456. In digging the foundation of a tower near Taymouth, about three miles east of this camp, there were found fourteen silver *denarii*, but none of them of a later date than the age of Marcus Aurelius. Pennant, v. ii., p. 25.

(*u*) The site of this station is a height on the north side of the river Tay, in the parish of Caputh, the top of which forms a flat of about one hundred and sixty acres, raised about sixty feet above the surrounding plain, and of an equal height and regularly steep on every side. On this elevated plain there is the remain of a Roman camp of a square form, about five hundred yards each way. At some distance from this camp on the east side there is a redoubt on the edge of the height. On the western extremity of this height, which runs into a point, there is a strong entrenched post fortified by five ramparts and as many fosses running across the point. At some distance eastward, between this entrenched post and the camp, a rampart runs across the height from side to side. This level summit was fortified by the British people, and they had a town here before the Romans took possession of it. The dry stone rampart which surrounded the margin of the height and formed the defence of the British strength remains in several places perfectly distinct. Pennant's Tour, v. ii., p. 67; Roy's Milit. Antiq., v. i., p. 75. and pl. xviii. *Munimenta Antiqua*, v. i., p. 42-3; Stat. Account of Scot., v. ix., p. 504-5. Inchtuthel, the pre-

fortress. This station, in conjunction with another Roman work about four miles eastward upon the Haugh of Hallhole on the western side of the river Isla, completely commanded the whole of Stormont and every road which could lead the Caledonians down from Athol and Glen-Shee into the better countries below (*x*). The several stations which, as we learn from the tenth Iter of Richard, were placed at Varis, at Tuessis, at Tamea, on the waters of the Dee above and in Glen-Shee on the Isla, were all obviously intended to overawe the Caledonian people of the mountainous districts which lie on the upper streams of the Spey and the Dee. Thus much, then, with regard to the Roman posts which were thus intended to command the passes of the Grampian mountains through the whole extent of Perthshire, and to secure the country below from the Forth to the Tay.

The low countries of Angus and Mearns were secured, as we shall immediately find, by Roman posts of a different location. From Inchtuthel about seven miles east at Coupar-Angus, on the east side of the Isla, and on the course of the Roman road, there was a Roman camp of a square form, containing within its ramparts four and twenty acres (*y*). This camp commanded the passage down Strathmore, between the Sidlaw hills on the south-east and the Isla on the north-west. In conjunction with the camp on the Haugh of Hallhole on the west of the Isla, the camp of Coupar guarded the passages leading down Strathardle and Glen-Shee. From Coupar about eighteen miles

sent name of this place is derived from the Scoto-Irish *Inishtuathal*, signifying the *North island*. This appellation was doubtless given by the Scoto-Irish people in more modern times to the islet on the *north* side of the river Tay, at the base of the height on which those ancient works are situated.

(*x*) From this camp a large wall of earth, called the *Cleaving dike*, twenty-four feet thick, with a ditch on each side sixty feet distant from the wall, runs out in a straight line west-north-west nearly two miles and a half, and it is said to have joined the ancient course of the Tay. See Stobie's map of Perthshire, and the Stat. Account of Caputh, v. ix., p. 506. If this last circumstance be true, this rampart and those trenches must have formed a very large defensible enclosure in the form of a delta six or seven miles in circumference, having the river Isla on the east and south-east, the Tay on the south and west, and the *Cleaving dike* connecting both these rivers on the north.

(*y*) Stat. Account, v. xvii., p. 10. The camp at Coupar-Angus is represented by Maitland, Hist. of Scot., p. 199, "as appearing to have been an equilateral quadrangle of four hundred yards, "fortified with two strong ramparts and large ditches, which are still to be seen on the eastern and "southern sides." Little more than a mile south from Coupar-Angus there are on Camp-moor the remains of another Roman camp, of which Roy gives a description and a plan. Milit. Antiq., p. 67 and pl. xiv.

north-east stood the Roman Camp of Battledikes, as remains evince (*z*). This great camp was obviously placed here to guard the passages from the highlands through Glen Esk, and Glen-Prosen, and at the same time to command the whole interior of the Lowlands beneath the base of the Grampian mountains. From the camp at Battledikes about eleven and a half miles north-east there was a Roman camp, the remains of which may still be traced near the mansion-house of Keithock, and is now known by the name of Wardikes (*a*). This camp was established near the foot of the hills, whereon had been previously placed the Caledonian fortresses, which are known by the British name of *Caterthun*. This camp was here fixed as a guard on the passage from the highlands through the Glens of North-Esk and of the West-water, and it commanded a considerable sweep of the low country lying between the mountains and the coast. In the interior of Forfarshire there was a Roman camp which is now called Hardfaulds, situated ten miles north from the frith of Tay, fourteen miles south-south-west from the camp of Wardikes at Keithock, and eight miles south-south-east from the camp of Battledikes; with which last, it was connected by a vicinal road that still remains (*b*). The camp at Harefaulds was judiciously placed for commanding a large extent of Angus southward to the Tay, eastward to the sea, and northward it joined its overpowering influence with that of Battledikes. The country below the Sidlaw hills on the north side

(*z*) The mean length of this camp is 2970 feet, and the mean breadth 1850. Roy's Milit. Antiq., p. 66 and pl. xiii.; and see a description and a plan of this camp, with the vicinal road leading from it to the camp of Harefaulds, by the Rev. Dr. Jamieson. Biblioth. Topog. Brit., No. xxxvi.

(*a*) The Roman camp near Keithock, which was formerly named War-dikes, and is now called Black-dikes, lying on the road to Gannachy bridge, two miles and two-thirds north from Brechin, has been elaborately described to me by the intelligent Colonel Imrie. He states it "to be a *rectangular parallelogram* whose sides are 395 yards by 292 yards, comprehending 25 "English acres. Upon the north-west and south-west sides the vallum can be fully traced, "except the spot that is marked as ploughed. Upon the north-east side a new boundary fence "between two adjoining proprietors runs in the direction of the old wall, and has nearly destroyed "every vestige of it. The south-east side has been for many years a part of cultivated fields, yet "the old dike is perfectly remembered, and a person residing near the spot says that he assisted "in ploughing it up; but as two of its sides are determined and the entire angle is found by "measurement to be a right angle, the camp has been ascertained to be of the figure and dimensions "above-mentioned." There is an imperfect sketch of this camp in Roy's Milit. Antiq., pl. xiv. In the Statistical Account, v. xxi., p. 123, this *rectangular parallelogram* of twenty-five acres is called a *Danish* camp!

(*b*) See a description and a plan of this camp and vicinal road by the Rev. Dr. Jamieson. Biblioth. Topog. Brit., No. xxxvi.; and see Roy's Milit. Antiq., p. 67 and pl. xix. The site of this camp is eight miles south-south-east from the camp of Battle-dikes, and about ten miles north from the Tay.

of the Estuary of Tay, was guarded by a Roman camp near Invergowrie, which had a communication on the north-east with the camp of Harefaulds (c). The Mearns was equally well protected as Angus. North-east from Wardikes about twelve miles there was placed a Roman station at Fordun, which was of greater extent than its remains seem to evince (d). It was commodiously placed on the rise of the valley that is known by the appropriate name of *the How* of the Mearns, which it protected with the country southward to North-Esk, and eastward to the sea. From Fordun north-east eleven miles, and from the passage of the Dee at Maryculter south six miles, was placed the great camp called Raedikes upon the estate of Ury (e). This station which has been idly attributed to Agricola, but may pretty certainly be assigned to L. Urbicus, commanded the narrow country between the north-east end of the Grampian hills and the sea, as well as the angle of land lying between the sea and the Dee. From Fordun, about four and a half miles west-north-west, there was a Roman post at Clattering-bridge which is now known by the name of the Green

(c) The remains of this camp are about two miles west from Dundee, and half a mile north from Invergowrie, on the Tay. Maitland says, it is about two hundred yards square, fortified with a high rampart and a spacious ditch. Hist. of Scotland, v. i., p. 215; and see also the Stat. Account of Liff and Benzie, v. xiii., p. 115. The site of this camp still bears the name of *Cater-Mellie*; no doubt, from the British *Cader*, a fortress, a stronghold. This camp must also have answered the purpose of keeping up a communication with the Roman shipping in the Tay.

(d) Near to the mansion-house of Fordun, and about a mile south-south-east of the church of Fordun, there was an extensive Roman camp, the ramparts and ditches of which remained pretty complete till about fifty years ago. Since that time a great part of them have been levelled, and the ground brought into cultivation. Parts, however, of two of them still remain: these vestiges run at right angles to one another, and seem to have composed the west and north sides of the camp. The Luther-water, which is here only a rivulet, ran formerly through the west side of this camp, and on the east side of it there are several springs. This strength is called by the people of the country the *West Camp*. At a little distance eastward, there is a very complete Roman fort, which is supposed to have been the *Prætorium* of the West Camp. It is of an oblong rectangular form, surrounded by a ditch and rampart. The ditch is eighteen feet wide, and is even now six feet deep, but it was formerly deeper, as the old people who reside near it assert. The area within is, from east to west, about 83 yards long, and about 38 yards broad, and contains about 3154 square yards. Very near the south-west corner is the gate of the width of 22 feet. About half a mile north of this camp, upon Drumsleid hill, there are the remains of a large British fortification, which is sometimes called the Scottish camp, by the people of the country. These notices are stated from very minute descriptions and mensurations, by the Rev. James Leslie of Fordun, and the Rev. Mr. Hutton of Edzel, which were made in 1799.

(e) See an Account and a Plan of this Roman camp, from an actual survey by George Brown, land-surveyor, in the Bibl. Topograph. Brit., No. 36; Gough's Camden, v. iii., p. 416., pl. xxviii.; Roy's Milit. Antiq., pl. 1. And see a Plan of this remarkable ground in the Transactions of the Antiq. Soc. of Scotland, v. i., p. 565.

castle. It was advantageously placed here for the obvious purpose of guarding the well-known passage through the Grampian mountains by the Cairn-o'mount, into the valley of the Mearns (*f*). At a distance of four miles south-south-west from the Green castle, and "about three quarters of a mile besouth of "Fettercairn," Maitland mistakingly supposed that there had been "a beautiful Roman fort" (*g*). But he merely mistook a British strength for a Roman post, as a minute survey in 1798 clearly evinced (*h*).

The whole coast of Caledonia from the Deva to the Varar, comprehending the territories of the Taixali and the Vacomagi, were secured by the commanding station at Glenmailen (*a*) with its subsidiary posts, by the intermediate station of Tuessis on the Spey (*b*), and by the impregnable fort at Ptoroton (*bb*). Such then is the review which it was proposed to make of the hostile arrangements that the Romans established for commanding the passes of the mountains, and securing the tranquility of the low countries; and they show distinctly how well they knew both the outline and interior of Caledonia, and

(*f*) I caused this remarkable post to be surveyed in May, 1798. It stands on a precipitous bank on the north-east of the Clattering-burn; the area of the fort within the ramparts measures 157 feet 9 inches at the north-east end, and at the south-west 82 feet 6 inches; the length is 262 feet 6 inches. The ditch is 37 feet 6 inches broad at the bottom. The rampart, which is wholly of earth, is in height from the bottom of the ditch 51 feet 9 inches.

(*g*) Hist. Scot., v. i., p. 200.

(*h*) At my request this fort at Balbegno was accurately examined in May, 1798, by James Strachan, who, inspecting it with unprejudiced eyes, found it to be a *vitrified* fort of British construction. He says, "It is situated about seven hundred yards west of Balmain, and near a mile south-west from "Fettercairn. It is of an oval form, and is surrounded by two ramparts. The outer rampart "is built with dry stones, without any lime or mortar, and without the least mark of any tool, "and under the foundation are found ashes of burnt wood. The space betwixt the outer and "inner rampart measures 93 feet 9 inches. The inner wall is 30 feet thick, and has *all undergone "the operation of vitrification*. The area within this is 140 feet long, 67 feet 6 inches broad at the "east end, and 52 feet 6 inches broad at the west end. The elevation on the north side is about "40 feet, and full 60 feet on the south side, where it is all wet mossy ground." He calls it the *Green Cairn* at Balbegno. Such is the description of James Strachan, the scientific gardener of my late worthy friend, Lord Adam Gordon, to whose zealous kindness I owe much information. It is mentioned in the Stat. Account of Fettercairn, vol. v., p. 334. The minister says, "It is on the "estate of Balbegno, and that tradition calls it *Finella's Castle*, and the people believe it to have "been her residence. After the murder of King Kenneth his attendants set fire to the building, and "reduced it to ashes." Such is the legend!

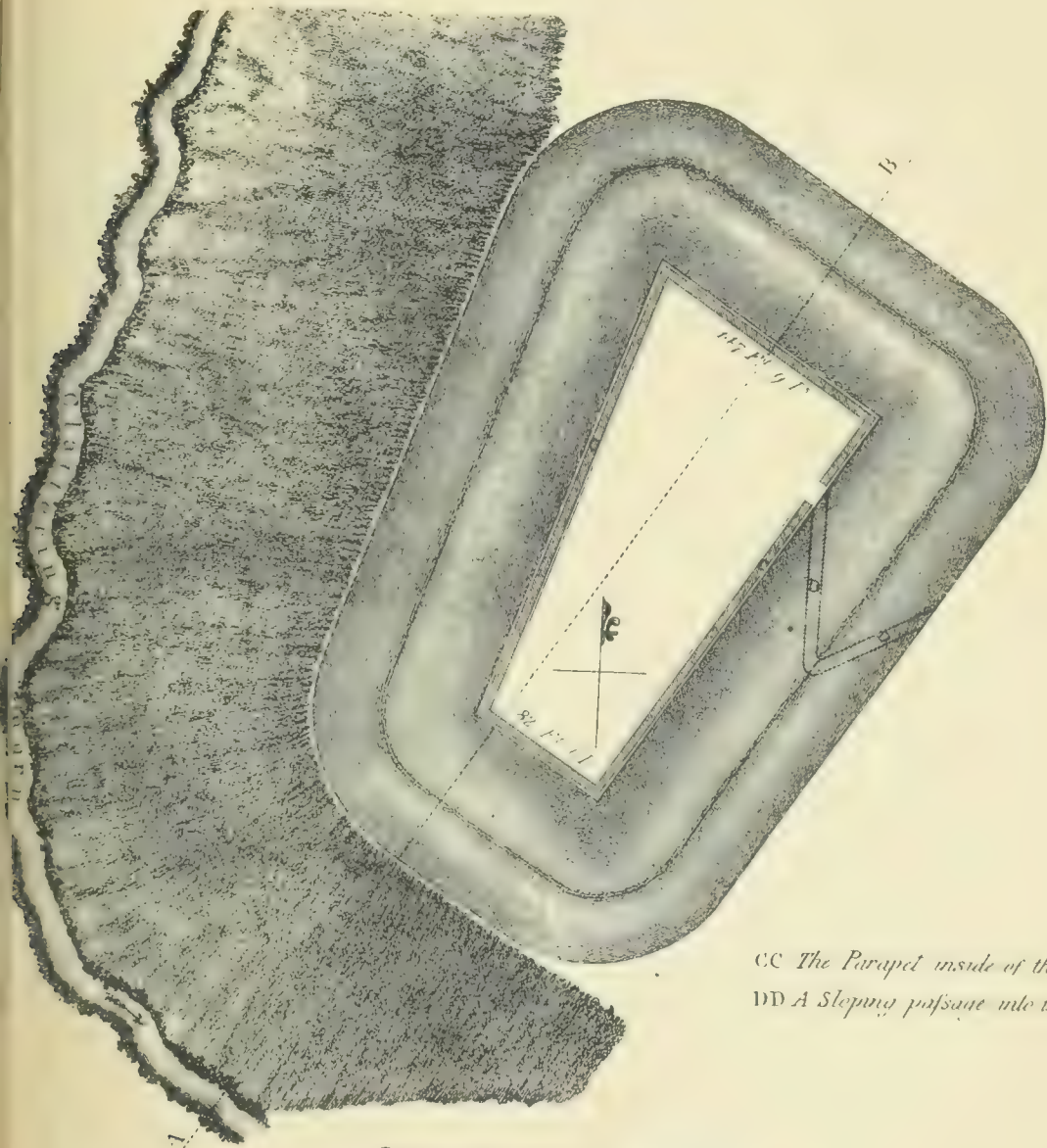
(*a*) See before, and a plan of the camp, and grounds about Glenmailen, in Roy, pl. li.

(*b*) See before, p. 129, and the description of the station of Tuessis.

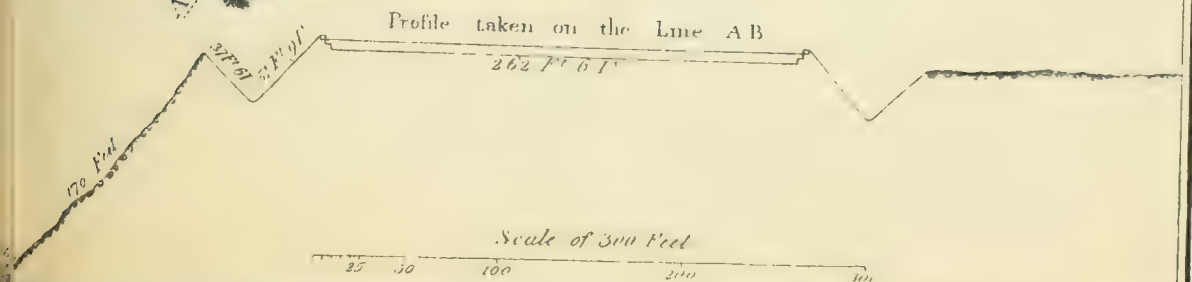
(*bb*) See a survey of Ptoroton, or the Burgh-head of Moray, in Roy, pl. xxxiii. and xxxiv; and see a description of it from a more recent survey, before, p. 130.

PLAN & SECTION of the Roman Fort near Clatterburg, Virg in Tennessee Shire

Scale 1/4 in = 100 Feet



CC The Parapet inside of the Rampart
DD A Sloping passage into the Fort



with what skill they employed that knowledge for effecting their military objects (c). Whether those roads and stations were all constructed in the same age and by the same hands may well admit of an historical doubt.

It has been the common error of modern antiquaries to attribute every Roman remain in North-Britain to Agricola. It is not possible, indeed, either from classic information or from recent discoveries, to distinguish the several works of Agricola from those of Urbicus or of Severus, though the chronology of every road and station may be pretty certainly fixed by circumstantial proofs. There is no evidence that Agricola left any garrisons on the north of the

(c) Besides the Iters and the roads that traversed the province of Vespasiana and the stations which we have seen were established by the Roman policy for the command and protection of that province, we also find from the discovery of coins, arms, and other remains, that the Romans, while they were in possession of this province, not only explored the shores of the Varar a considerable distance beyond Ptoroton, but also penetrated the inmost recesses of Caledonia. At Inshoch, which is situated on the south coast of the Varar or Moray-Frith, about fifteen miles west-south-west from Ptoroton, and three miles east from Nairn, there were found in a moss several remains of Roman arms, two heads of the Roman Hasta, two heads of the Roman horseman's spear, as described by Josephus, lib. iii., c. 3; and a round piece of thin metal, hollow on the under side, all of ancient Roman brass. These were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by the Reverend John Grant, in January, 1783. Account of this Society. Part. ii., p. 70, 135. Roman coins have been found at several places along the south coast of the same Frith, particularly at Nairn, which is about eighteen miles west-south-west from Ptoroton. Near to Ardersier, which is situated on the southern shore of the Varar, twenty-four miles west-south-west from Ptoroton, there were dug up more than twenty-five years ago a very curious Roman sword and the head of a spear. Roy's Milit. Antiq., v. i., p. 88. On the east side of the river Ness, five or six hundred yards below its efflux from Loch-Ness, there are the remains of a military station, which exhibits in its mode of fortification the evidence of its Roman construction. It is of a square form, fifty-three paces long, and fifty paces broad. It is situated on a peninsula, having two of its sides protected by the river Ness and by a loch through which it runs; the other two sides are defended by a rampart and ditch fourteen feet wide. It is judiciously placed so as to command the only ford of the river Ness, which equally bounded the country of the Vacomagi and the Roman province of Vespasiana. This passage is to the present day called *Bana*, *Bona*, or Boness. See Survey of Moray, p. 53; Roy's Roman map of North-Britain, in Milit. Antiq., pl. i.; and Ainslie's map of Scotland. The similarity of the name and the correspondence of the position render it probable that this was the site of the *Banatia* of Ptolomy and Richard, a town of the Vacomagi, which Richard places in his map upon the south-east side of the chain of waters that intersect the country from Fort-William to Inverness, of which the Ness river and lake form large portions. The Roman name of *Bonatia* was no doubt formed by giving a Latin termination to the British *Bon-nes*, which denotes its situation at the lower end of Loch-Ness. The advantageous site of this Roman post recommended it in an after age for the position of a more modern fortification, which was doubtless constructed for the similar purpose of guarding the same passage. This work is said to be also of a square form, twenty-four paces on each side.

friths; it is certain that Urbicus left Antoninus's wall guarded by the legions, and the province of Vespasiana covered with stations; and it is equally certain, from the informations of Dio and Herodian, that Severus garrisoned, within the country of the Caledonians, forts which remained to his son at the epoch of his demise. So much mistake has hitherto existed among antiquarians as to the proper age and appropriate author of those several roads and stations, that every attempt to fix their chronology becomes of great importance to the progress of truth.

The Itinerary of Richard, which, as we have seen, was drawn up before the middle of the second century, must be the principal document for the ascertainment of certainty: and every station which is called for, by its useful notices, must necessarily have existed during the administration of Urbicus, while the Roman territories in Caledonia were carried to their greatest extent, and the Roman glory to its highest pitch. The stations Alauna on the Allan; of Lindum, at Ardoch; of Victoria, at Dalginross; of Hierna, at Strageth; of Orrea, on the Tay; of Devana, on the Dee; of Ituna, on the Ithan; of Tuessis, on the Spey; of Ptoroton, on the Varar; are all recognised by the ninth Iter of Richard; and existed, consequently, during the able administration of Urbicus (*d*): and as Agricola never attempted to penetrate to the northward of the Tay, it is equally certain that this great officer does not merit the praise of conceiving the policy, or of erecting those commanding stations beyond the Friths (*e*). These observations equally apply to Inchtuthel, which is called for by the tenth Iter of Richard, if it formed the station *in medio*.

and built of rather modern masonry. Survey of Moray, p. 53. At Fort-Augustus, which stands at the south-west end of Loch-Ness, was discovered, in April, 1767, by some labourers in digging a trench, an earthen urn of a blue colour, with three hundred pieces of coin, which were of a mixed metal. They appeared to the officer who gave this account to be all of the Emperor Dioclesian. Scots Mag., 1767, p. 326. In the highland country of Badenoch, in the interior of Caledonia, there is the appearance of a Roman camp upon a moor between the bridge of Spey and Pitmain: near this a Roman tripod was found, which was concealed in a rock, and an urn full of burnt ashes was dug up in clearing some ground adjacent. Stat. Acco. of Kingussie, v. iii., p. 43. In the highlands of Perthshire, between the rivers Tay and Tummel, a Roman medal of Trajan was found in the parish of Logierait. *Ib.*, vol. v., p. 85; and see the map of Scotland for the situation of those different places.

(*d*) Most of those stations are also mentioned by Ptolemy, who compiled his geography before the middle of the second century.

(*e*) We have already seen that the camps of Grassy-walls, Battledikes, Wardikes at Keithock, Harefaulds, Raedikes on Ury, and that near Invergowrie, which have been ascribed to Agricola by Roy and others, were not in existence at the time of making the ninth Iter in the second century.

As the great northern road of the Romans, which we have lately traced from the wall of Antonine, through the province of Vespasiana to the post at Keithock in Forfarshire, must have necessarily been formed during the existence of that province, every station which was placed upon this road must have been co-existent with the road and the province; it is thus more than probable that the stations of Wardikes at Keithock, of Battledikes, of Coupar-Angus, of Grassy-walls, the small post at Gask, the small post called Kemps-castle, were all constructed by the masterly policy of Urbicus. The station of East-Findoch also owed its origin to the same officer, as it was usefully connected with the post at Hierna by means of a commodious vicinal way, which diverged from the Roman road at its passage over the Earn. The judgment which placed the station at Findoch, for commanding the only practicable passage from the central highlands into Strathearn, equally evinces that it owed its origin to the genius of Urbicus. From the post of Findoch a detachment of Roman troops might have easily penetrated into the central highlands upon the Tay; and having surveyed this interior country with their judicious eyes, they would see the utility of establishing a post at Fortingal, which would at once guard the passage eastward from Argyle through Glen-Lyon, and the passage southward from the wild countries of Rannoch and of Athol. These views could have only been perceived while the Roman garrisons guarded Vespasiana. A similar policy formed the camp at Bochartle during the same age. This station answered the double purpose of guarding the only two passes which led from the west Highlands into Monteith and Strathallan, and even into the low country on the Forth. In the establishment of both these posts at Fortingal and Bochartle, we see the predominating policy of guarding the passes which led into the interior of Vespasiana (*f*).

It was the wise dictates of the same policy that established the well-known camp at Harefaulds, connected as it was by a vicinal way with the station at Battledikes, on the great Roman road northward; and commanding as it did the centre of Angus, we may equally presume that it was constructed by the masterly hand of Urbicus. The similarity of the structure, and the size of the camp, which is called the Rae-dikes at Ury, to the camp of the Rae-dikes at Glenmailin, which we now know is the Ituna of Richard's ninth Iter; and its

(*f*) The reasoning in the text is confirmed by the discovery of coins: "In digging the foundation of "a tower, about three miles east of the camp at Fortingal, there were found fourteen *denarii*, but none "of them of a later date than those of Marcus Aurelius." Pennant's Tour, v. ii., p. 25. The Stat. Acco. of Fortingal, v. ii., p. 456, speaks less distinctly of Roman coins having been found in different places of the adjacent country.

likeness to the camps at Battle-dikes, at Grassy-walls, and at Ardoch, may induce the inquisitive reader to conclude that the camp at Ury was, in the same manner, formed by the policy of Urbicus (*g*). At Fordun, in the Mearns, there are the remains of a station, as we have seen, which was placed here by the necessity of a post for commanding the country; and we may infer, from the judiciousness of its position in the centre of the Mearns, that the original station was fixed at Fordun during the existence of Vespasiana, and the command of Urbicus. It was probably the dictates of the same necessity, during the same period, which established the strong outpost at Clattering-bridge, near the foot of the Cairn-o-mount, for checking the incursions of the mountaineers above into the lowlands of the Mearns below.

Of the camp at Invergowrie, it is more easy to determine its policy, which was intended to protect the northern bank of the Tay, than to fix its chronology, that probability places under the able command of Urbicus. The post of Ardargie, which stood on an eminence above the river May, was obviously designed to command the pass from Fife into Strathearn, through the Ochil-hills, by the valley of the May-water; as it thus formed one of the massy links of the chain of stations which were placed by the policy of Urbicus for guarding the defiles into Strathearn, we may pretty certainly presume that the post of Ardargie was also established with so many other Roman positions while the Roman power was at its height in Britain, while Vespasiana continued to occupy and command so large a portion of Caledonia. When the extent and nature of Vespasiana, with the positions of those several stations, are considered, the necessity which demanded their establishment, and the utility that localized each of them, will become apparent to the most inattentive eye. When the Romans evacuated Vespasiana, the stations which formed its strength and its security would be naturally relinquished. When Severus, however, carried an army into that region forty years afterwards, we may easily suppose that he reoccupied and refortified such of those posts as promoted his vengeful designs.

The able transactions of Lollius Urbicus were at length to close with the beneficent policy which had given him the command of Britain. On the 7th of March, 161, died Antoninus Pius, who was immediately succeeded in the empire by Marcus Aurelius (*h*). About that time, probably, Lollius

(*g*) See Roy's plates, and his accounts of those camps. Colonel Shand, in his letter to me concerning the *Norman-dikes* at Peter-Culter, says "the profile and all the other dimensions of the ditch and "ramparts appear to be *exactly* as they are at Glenmailen, at *Raedikes of Ury*, at Battle-dikes, at "Grassy-walls, and at other places in Strathmore."

(*h*) Tillemont's Hist., tom. ii., p. 323.

Urbicus ceased to be the Proprætor of Britain. The tranquility of the tribes, which afforded no events for history to notice, is the best proof of his talents, both for peace and war, and of the wise measures that the Romans adopted for effecting their ambitious purposes.

The demise of one emperor, the succession of another, and the absence of a governor who knew how to conciliate and to rule; all those events gave rise to some disturbance among the tribes. But Calphurnius Agricola being sent to Britain as the successor of Lollius Urbicus, had the ability or the address to enforce submission and to restore quiet (*i*). During the twelve years which succeeded the year 165 no occurrences arose for the notice of history. Amidst this tranquility, which shows distinctly the power of the governors and the weakness of the governed, the Romans evacuated the whole country on the north of the wall, except perhaps Camelon on the east, and Theodosia on the west. The united force of the Caledonian tribes could not perhaps have removed the Roman troops from the Burgh-head, or from the numerous forts which enforced their obedience. The Romans relinquished the country, which experience had taught them to regard neither as useful nor agreeable. The advice of Augustus to set bounds to the empire, the reflections of Trajan as to the inutility of distant territories (*k*), and the pressures of Aurelian, who was preparing for a war with the Germans, were the combined motives which directed the evacuation of the country beyond the wall in the memorable year 170, A.D. (*l*).

(*i*) Horsley's Rom., p. 52; Tillemont's Hist., tom. ii., p. 346.

(*k*) In giving a general description of the Roman empire under Trajan, Appian observes in his Pref., p. 6, "that the emperor possessed more than one half of Britain, neglecting the rest as useless, and "deriving no profit from what he possessed."

(*l*) Richard, p. 52; Tillemont's Hist. Des Emp., tom. ii., p. 361.

CHAP. V.

Of the Campaign of Severus.

WHEN the Romans abdicated the government of the greater part of North-Britain by evacuating the posts on the north of the wall of Antonine, the tribes who ranged along the eastern coast from the Forth to the Varar resumed their independence. Yet such is the effect of subjugation, that the Caledonian clans long remained tranquil. During the misrule of Commodus, some of those tribes are said to have passed the wall in A.D. 183, and to have pillaged the country within that strong boundary of the empire. But Ulpus Marcellus being sent against them easily restored tranquility, though he was ill requited by his unfeeling master. It was more difficult to prevent the mutiny of the Roman army under the unpopular command of Perennis. It was harder still to check the emulations of ambition that led to those contests for the empire between Severus, Niger, and Albinus, which, after a bloody struggle, left Severus sole master of the Roman world. Britain adhered to Albinus; yet, amidst so much civil contention on the neighbouring continent, this island remained for some years in a state of quiet.

Whether it were the defeat and death of Albinus at the battle of Lyons, in 197 A.D., or the division of Britain which had hitherto formed one province, into two governments, or the distraction of the rulers amidst so much contention for power; it is certain that the Caledonians invaded the Roman territory at the conclusion of the second century. Virius Lupus, the governor, brought them to wish for peace; and while Severus was still occupied in the east with domestic insurrection or foreign war, his Lieutenant in Britain entered into a treaty with the Mæatæ and Caledonians during the year 200 (*a*). But

(*a*) Barbeyrac Sup. Acco. Corps Diplom., part ii., p. 33, who quotes a fragment of Dion Cassius. Antiquaries have differed in their opinions whether the Mæatæ dwelt within or without the wall of Antonine: but it is to be observed, 1st, that if they had lived within the wall, the Mæatæ would have been Roman citizens; 2ndly, if they had been Roman citizens, the emperor's lieutenant would not have entered into a *treaty* with them; 3rdly, if the Mæatæ had been Roman provincials living *within* the wall, the Caledonians would not have assisted them against the Romans; and the Mæatæ were therefore a Caledonian tribe who lived *without the wall* in the low country, in contradistinction to the proper Caledonians who dwelt at a greater distance in the northern coverts of the heights.

this treaty, which seems to have been dictated by the necessities of both parties, endured only till hostilities could be renewed with more hope of success. Of this event and the renewal of warfare in 207, Severus rejoiced to hear; because he wished to carry his family from Rome and to employ his troops. The emperor with his usual promptitude, hastened to Britain in the year 208. The hostile tribes hearing of his arrival sent deputies to sue for peace; but Severus, who was fond of war and looked for military glory, would not listen to their proposals, and he prepared for vigorous hostilities against the objects of his vengeance.

The classic authors who have treated of the campaign of Severus, mistakenly suppose that the victorious ruler of the Roman world came into Britain without any previous knowledge of its domestic affairs or its geographical state. They wrote like annalists who knew nothing of the connection of the British story, either of what had certainly passed before or what was likely to follow after the emperor's exertions. They did not know that the coast of Britain had been explored by the Roman fleet under Agricola; that he had traversed the territories of the Ottadini, Gadeni, Selgovæ, Novantes, and Damnii, who, as they resided within the Friths, submitted wholly to his power; neither did the classic writers advert to the fact that Lollius Urbicus had built the wall of Antonine seventy years before, and had carried roads and established stations from the wall to the Varar, both which remained during thirty years the envied memorials of his skill and the certain monuments of the Roman authority. They probably intended to raise the fame of Severus by supposing him ignorant of what undoubtedly he must have known both as a soldier and a statesman (*b*).

(*b*) Dio and Herodian, who have written expressly of the campaign of Severus, speak constantly of *one wall*, without recollecting that two walls had in fact been built. It has been even doubted in modern times whether Severus did erect a wall, though Spartian had positively said that he did perform such a work, which was consistent with his genius and worthy of his power. That he built a wall is certain; that he built it nearly on the site of Adrian's prior wall on the north is equally certain, as we know from ancient authorities, positive remains, and expressive tradition. See the map in Warburton's *Vallum Romanum*; and in Horsley's *Brit. Romana*; Tillemont's *Hist.*, tom. iii., p. 462-64, who, in discussing this question, quotes affirmatively Eutropius, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and the Chronicle of Eusebius. The Britons of the middle ages called the wall *Gual-Sever* and *Mur-Sever*, as we learn from Camden, and from H. Llwyd *Commentariolum*, edit. 1731, p. 612. From the informations of Dio and Herodian, it appears more than probable—1st, that one wall only, the wall of Antonine, existed at the epoch of Severus's invasion, as the northern limit of the empire; 2ndly, that the wall of Adrian, as it was no longer necessary nor useful, had been long neglected; and as it had been formed from the matter which had been thrown from its ditch, it had become

In the beginning of the year 209, Severus, after all those preparations, marched from the scene of his labours into the Caledonian regions. In the civilized country which lay between the walls and which was already opened by roads and secured by stations, he must have met with every facility that his judgment could direct and his power command. He had his choice of two ways for the easy march of his troops, the western and the eastern; the western was the most commodious, but, considering the greatness of the army which Severus led into the Caledonian territories, we may easily suppose that he would divide his army into two columns; which would take their separate routes, each by one of those roads, for the convenience of subsistence and with the policy of overawing the intermediate tribes. Along both those principal roads there were commodious posts which greatly facilitated the march of the Roman troops through a settled country of more than eighty miles (c).

Being thus arrived at the wall of Antonine, Severus marched from this *Præ-tentura* into the country of the *Mæatæ*, and even penetrated into the territories of the Caledonians without meeting with much resistance. The classic authors magnify the difficulties of his march without recollecting that Agricola had penetrated into the same country before him; that Lollius Urbicus had formed roads and constructed stations which pointed out his objects and promoted his operations. The emperor is said, however, to have felled woods, drained marshes, made ways, built bridges—unnecessary works seemingly, which fatigued his troops, inured to hard labour as they were, and ruined his army, hardly as it must have been. Dion assures us that Severus lost fifty thousand men during this laborious campaign. If he marched such an army into the recesses of Caledonia without a fleet to furnish them with supplies,

completely ruinous by neglect and time; 3rdly, Severus knew its ruinous state from inspection, and foreseeing that a similar strength would protect his retreat in case of accidents, he determined to build a stronger wall on the same site in the autumn of 208, *before* he marched into the north; 4thly, both Dio and Herodian inform us that the unworthy son of Severus relinquished to the Caledonians the forts which Severus had built in their country; 5thly, it is certain that Severus knew—he had built forts among the Caledonian tribes—that the wall of Antonine was in every respect more commodious as the limit of the empire in that quarter than a wall from the Tyne to the Solway. From those facts and circumstances we may therefore infer that Severus as an officer and a statesman would have acted against his own conviction, and inconsistently with common sense, if he had erected such a wall as the *Mur-Sever* after his return from a campaign, which gave him a right to assume the title of *Britannicus*. See those reasonings completely supported by an inscription and a chronicle which are quoted by Horsley in his *Brit. Romana*, p. 63, and which attest that the wall of Severus was built *before* he entered Caledonia.

(c) Roy's *Milit. Antiq.*, ch. ii.

he might have lost a greater number without feeling the stroke of an enemy. Yet such was his obstinacy of perseverance, that he penetrated so far into the north as to be enabled to take notice of the length of the days and the shortness of the nights, which were both so different from those of Rome (*d*). Unable to resist his arms, the tribes sought for peace from his clemency. They surrendered some of their arms, and relinquished to him part of their country (*e*). After this success, which was thought at Rome to merit the title of *Imperator*, he returned within the Roman territories. But he did not long survive this honour or that success. Whether the Caledonian tribes had yet learned to consider a treaty as sacred, or had advanced far enough in civilization to know how to derive an advantage from the distraction of courts is uncertain, but they had scarcely made their peace with Severus when they renewed hostilities. Irritated by the odious attempt of his son Caracalla on his life, impatient from declining health at an advanced age, he issued orders to renew the war, and to spare neither age nor sex. But Caracalla, who was entrusted with conducting the hostilities, rather busied himself in gaining over the army to act against his brother and his father, than in executing the vengeful orders of the dying emperor. Severus expired at York, on the 4th

(*d*) This observation of Dion is strengthened by an intimation of Richard, who has placed the *Arae Finium Imperii Romani* on the promontory separating the Cromarty and Moray Friths, the former the Loxa, and the latter the Varar of that learned Monk. Yet Roy has mistakingly placed the *Arae Finium Imperii Romani* on the more northern point of Tarbet-ness. Ainslie has copied the misconception of Roy, and the late survey of Murray has adopted the mistakes of both with regard to the true site of the *Arae Finium Imperii Romani*. There are remains on the more southern promontory which fortify the position of Richard. The Stat. Account of Cromarty, v. xii., p. 259, says that “about three miles south of this place there is a very distinct appearance of a camp in the figure of an oblong square, supposed to have been a Danish camp. At one corner of it there is the appearance of a number of graves, which make it probable that many must have fallen in some attack upon it.” These graves may denote the site of the Roman cemetery. Mr. Robert Smith, the intelligent minister, adds that “about a mile from the encampment there is a very large collection of round stones, and hard by it a smaller one. Some of the stones are of a great size, which must have cost great labour in gathering it.” There have also been some stone coffins found near these cairns, from which circumstance we may suppose these are sepulchral tumuli. The cairns on Tarbetness, which misled those who placed the *Arae Finium Imperii Romani* on that promontory were found, when examined by my intelligent friend, the Rev. William Leslie of Lan-bridge, to be merely the beacons which the fishermen of the adjacent coast had erected for directing their devious course through a troublous sea.

(*e*) Barbeyrac Supl. Corp. Dipl., Part ii., p. 35. There has been found at the well-known Roman station at Cramond, on the Forth, a silver medal of *Severus*, having on the face the head of the emperor, with the legend *SEVERUS PIUS AVG.*, on the reverse *FUNDATOR PACIS*. Horsley's Brit. Rom., p. 62; and Wood's Hist. of Cramond, p. 5. This important medal is a strong confirmation of the general representations of history on that memorable occasion.

of February 211, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and in the third year of his administration in Britain (*f*).

Severus has been less fortunate than Agricola in his biographer. The emperor's transactions in Britain are less distinctly known than even those of Urbicus, either from the intimations of history, or from the inscriptions of monuments; and it is very difficult to ascertain the dates of events that are themselves indistinctly known. The great work of Severus was the wall which he constructed from the Tyne to the Solway, *before*, as we have seen, rather than *after*, he entered Caledonia. He repaired the roads and refortified the stations which his predecessors had left him, rather than formed new ones, which would have required consideration to contrive and time to execute. In general, it may be observed that those roads and camps which cannot be clearly assigned to Urbicus and Agricola may be attributed to Severus. It is certain, however, that Roman remains which have been recently discovered in Caledonia confirm classic authorities with regard to this memorable campaign of the emperor Severus (*g*).

(*f*) Tillemont's Hist., tom. iii., p. 82. The last intimation shows, in opposition to Horsley, that Severus arrived in Britain during the year 208, and not in 206, as in Brit. Rom., p. 56-7, and hit Chron. Tables, sub. an. 206.

(*g*) A Roman causeway has been discovered running in a direction from south-east to north-west along the bottom of Flanders-Moss, which covers an extent of several miles on the north side of the river Forth, about nine miles west from the station of Alauna on the great Roman road northward. In the same moss there were found several years ago a number of logs of wood squared, and lying across each other in the form of a raft, and the marks of the axe were visible on them. In the banks of Goody-water, which runs along the north-east side of this moss, several oak trees of a very large size appear projecting about twenty feet below the surface; and where this water joins the Forth, one of these trees, the trunk of which is near six feet diameter, appears at the same depth below the surface projecting nearly twenty feet. Stat. Account, v. xx., p. 91. In the moss of Logan, which lies in the parish of Kippen, on the south side of the river Forth, opposite to Flanders-Moss, a road has been discovered about twelve feet wide, and formed by trees or logs of wood laid across each other. Ib., v. xviii., p. 322. In the moss of Kincardine, which occupies an extent of several miles on the north side of the river Forth, about midway between Flanders-Moss and the station of Alauna on the great Roman road northward, there has been discovered a Roman way twelve feet broad, and regularly formed by trees or logs of wood laid across each other. Id. Recent improvements have discovered that the clay surface upon which this moss is incumbent is everywhere thickly covered with trees, chiefly oak and birch, and many of them of a great size. They are found lying in all directions beside their roots, which still continue firm in the ground in their natural position, and they exhibit evident marks of having been cut with an axe or some similar instrument. Ib., v. xxi., p. 154. And see Stobie's map of Perthshire for the situation of those mosses. Modern science has even discovered that the vast mosses in this vicinity owe their gradual formation to the direction of Severus for cutting down the woods

Whether the son of Severus ever fought with the heroes of Ossian on the river Carron admits of a similar doubt. It is demonstrable, however, that the language of the Caledonian bard was not spoken within the Caledonian regions for three centuries after the campaign of Severus had closed with fruitless efforts, though with arrogated honours. But heroic poetry requires not authentic history to support its elegant narratives, nor to justify its ingenious fictions. The language of Ossian became the vernacular dialect of North-Britain at a subsequent period, and the bard may have praised the valour or deplored the misfortunes of his countrymen in Gaelic verses, which, as they delighted a rude people, were transmitted by tradition to their children, and the young repeated in pleasing episodes what were thus delivered to them by the old as the oral communications of their remote ancestors.

in order that he might see the devoted objects of his warfare. *Encyclopedia Brit.*, v. xii., p. 387-9; add to those intimations of Roman footsteps and Roman arts, that in May, 1768, there was dug up from the bottom of Kincardine moss a large round vessel of thin brass, twenty-five inches in diameter, and sixteen inches in height, the mouth sixteen inches and a half in diameter. which is supposed to have been a Roman camp kettle. It was found lying upon a stratum of clay beneath the moss, which is generally from seven to twelve feet deep. It was presented to the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, by John Ramsay, the laird of Auchertyre, in April, 1782. Account of the *Antiq. Soc. of Scot.*, p. 94.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Treaty which Caracalla made with the Caledonians; of the Picts; of the Scots; of the Abdication of the Roman Government.

THE demise of Severus, on the 4th of February 211, had scarcely delivered the empire to the government of his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, when the eldest concluded a peace with the Caledonians. Caracalla relinquished by this treaty the territories which they had recently surrendered to his father, and abandoned the forts which he had ambitiously erected in their fastnesses (*a*). The very terms of the pacification suppose that the wall of Antonine, as it had long been the northern limit of the empire in Britain, was to continue to be the boundary of separation between the Roman provincials and the Caledonian tribes. The medals which have been found near the northern limit (*b*), and the stations which were garrisoned far beyond the southern walls, establish that important fact in opposition to petty difficulties (*c*). The rival emperors hastened to Rome, the great scene of their ambition, taking hostages from the Caledonian tribes for their faithful adherence to the late treaty, which ensured, indeed, uninterrupted peace for many years (*d*).

Such was the wise policy of the treaty with Caracalla, which resulted from an attention to the interest of both parties, and such was the threatening aspect of the northern wall, that the Caledonian tribes remained quiet for almost a

(*a*) Barbeyrac's Corps Dipl., Part ii., p. 33, who quotes Xiphilin for the fact. Herodian also gives the same account of this remarkable treaty in b. iii., ch. 14.

(*b*) The coins of Antoninus Caracalla, and of the emperor Dioclesian, who ceased to reign in 304, have been discovered at Cramond, where so many relics have been found. They prove that this commodious port on the Forth had continued a Roman harbour till the Roman departure from Britain. See Wood's Hist. Cramond Par., p. 4, 5; and Gordon's Itin. Sept., p. 118.

(*c*) Horsley's Brit. Rom., 65; Whit. Manch., 8vo. edit., v. ii., p. 262-65.

(*d*) Herodian, lib. iii., ch. 14; Barbeyrac Sup. Corps Dipl., Part ii., p. 33.

century, if we may judge from the continued silence of the classic authors and from the effects resulting from those salutary measures. As they had not much communication with the Roman provinces of the south, the Caledonian people seem not to have interested themselves in the affairs of the Romanized Britons within the Roman limits. As they had no knowledge of the ambitious scenes which were successively acted on the theatre of Rome, the Caledonian clans appear to have been little affected by the elevation of Cæsar or the fall of tyrants, by the usurpation of Carausius, by the assassination of the usurper, or by the recovery of Britain as a province of the empire. After the resignation of the imperial power by Diocletian and Maximian in 305, Britain became an inconsiderable portion of the western empire under the mild government of the virtuous Constance.

Meantime the five tribes of provincial Britons who lived within the northern wall were too inconsiderable to be much interested in the revolutions of the Roman world, but they were not perhaps too poor to be the objects of envy to less opulent clans, who sometimes plundered what they wanted industry to acquire and civilization to enjoy. To this cause it was probably owing, that Constance found it necessary to come into Britain during the year 306, to repel the Caledonians *and other Picts* (*m*). This is the first time that the *Picts* appear in history. The Caledonian people had often been mentioned before by classic authors under other names. The *Caledonians* were on this occasion called *Picts*, owing to their peculiar seclusion from the Roman provincials on the south of the walls, and they were often mentioned during the decline of the Roman empire, by orators, historians, and poets, by that significant appella-

(*m*) *Caledones aliique Picti* are the significant expressions of Eumenius the orator, who in a panegyric during the year 297, and again in 308, was the first who mentioned the *Picti* as a people. As the learned professor of Autun knew the meaning of his own language, we are bound to regard the *Caledonians* and *Picts* as the *same people* at the end of the third century. Towards the conclusion of the fourth century Ammianus Marcellinus also spoke of the *Caledonians* and *Picts* as the *same people*. "Eo tempore," says he, lib. xxvii., ch. vii., "*Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalledones et Vecturiones.*" On this occasion poetry has also added her agreeable blandishments to the narratives of veracious history in showing that the classic authors supposed, perhaps mistakingly, the custom among the Caledonians of painting themselves to be the reason which induced those writers to speak of the Caledonian tribes by the appropriate name of *Picti*. And Claudian, about the year 400, *De bello Gettico*, alluded to them in the following lines:

"——— ferroque notatos

"Perlegit exanimos Picto moriente figuras;"

and in his panegyric on Theodosius's victories, the poet again speaks thus of the Picts:

"Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos

"Edomuit —————."

tion. The name of *Picts* has continued to the present day the theme of antiquarian disputes and the designation of national history. That the *Picts* were Caledonians, we thus have seen in the mention of classic authors during three centuries; that the Caledonians were the North-Britons who fought Agricola at the foot of the Grampian, we know from the nature of the events, and the attestation of Tacitus; that the Northern Britons of the first century were the descendants of the Celtic Aborigines, who were the same people as the southern Britons during the earliest times, has been satisfactorily proved as a moral certainty.

The inroads of the Caledonians and other Picts were soon repelled by the Roman legionaries under Constantius, who did not long survive his easy but decisive success, for he died at York on the 25th of July, 306 (*n*). The subsequent silence of history with regard to the future conduct of the Caledonians and other Picts, is the best evidence of the efficiency of his campaign. Almost forty years elapsed before the Caledonians and other Picts again infested the territories of the provincial Britons, though civil wars had meanwhile raged; though the metropolis of the empire had been carried to Constantinople; though foreign and domestic hostilities had ensued upon the death of the great Constantine. In 343 Constance is said, on dubious authority indeed, to have come into Britain, and by a short campaign to have repelled a feeble inroad of the Picts (*o*). A silence of seventeen years again informs us, with instructive evidence, that the provincials remained unmolested, and that the Picts were long quiet.

While Constance, the emperor, was fully occupied with the Persians in the east, and Julian, the Cæsar, was equally employed with the Germans on the frontiers of Gaul, the peace was broken in Britain by the inroads of the Scots and the Picts. The frontiers were wasted, the provincials were harassed, and they dreaded future mischiefs from a recollection of the past. Occupied with the immediate defence of the Rhine and meditating ambitious projects, Julian sent Lupicinus, a capable officer, with sufficient troops to repel the savage incursions of the Scots and Picts (*p*). But his attention appears to have been too much occupied with the commencement of the civil war between Constance and Julian to allow him to effectuate the object of his mission at that troublous moment.

(*n*) Tillemont Hist. des Emp., tom. vi., p. 91.

(*o*) Tillemont's Hist. des Emp., tom. iv., p. 336; and Horsley's Brit. Rom., p. 72, who mistakingly supposes that the Scots acted on that occasion in concert with the Picts.

(*p*) Ammian. Marcel., lib. xx., ch. iv; Tillemont Hist., v. iv., p. 447.

The year 360 is the epoch of the first appearance of the Scottish people in the pages of the Roman annals. Ammianus, who mentions them, at present joins the Scots with the Picts as if they had formed one army, though they had no connection whatever by lineage, or in neighbourhood, or in interests. The historian himself, indeed, speaks of the Scots, in the year 367, as an erratic people who spread much waste by their predatory excursions (*q*). These descriptions do not apply with any truth to a tribe who resided in Britain; and, indeed, the contemporary authors of that age speak of the Scots as a transmarine people who invaded the Roman provincials from the sea, and who came from Ireland, which was their native isle (*r*). The Scots were unknown as a people during the first and second centuries, if we may regard as satisfactory evidence the uniform silence of the classic authors of Rome and Greece during those learned ages. The *Scoticae gentes*, the Scottish people, were first mentioned by Porphyry, who flourished at the end of the third century; yet were not the Scots mentioned by Eumenius, the orator, though he was the first to notice the *Picts* of North-Britain, and to distinguish the *Hiberni* of Ireland.

(*q*) Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur. Lib. xxvii., chap. vii.

(*r*) In the successive panegyrics of Claudian, we may see the historical intimations of the courtly poet:

“——— Scottom que vago mucrone Secutus

“Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

“ — — — — —

“Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

“ — — — — —

“——— totam cum Scottus Iernen

“Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

If the context of Claudian be considered, it is impossible not to perceive that he regarded *Ireland* as the country of the Scots at the commencement of the fifth age. A century and a half afterwards Gildas also mentioned Ireland as the proper country of the Scots, a sentiment which Bede delighted to repeat. Add to these proofs what appeared to Camden to be historical demonstrations of the following points: 1st. That ancient Scotland was an island; 2dly. That ancient Scotland and Britain were different countries; 3dly. That ancient Scotland and Ireland were *not* different countries. Camdeni Epistole, 1694, p. 70, and App. N. ii. Now, these points being true, it follows that the Scots of Ammianus Marcellinus and of Claudian were not then settled in Britain, but came from Ireland when they invaded the Roman territories during the period from the year 360 to 446. Those proofs seem not to have been attended to by Gibbon, when he so *absolutely* decided, that as early as the reign of Constantine, the northern region was divided between the two great tribes of the *Scots* and *Picts*. Hist. of the Decline and Fall, 8vo edit. 4th vol., 291-95. Orosius, who lived during the 5th century, says expressly: “Hibernia insula inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita;—et à Scotorum gentibus colitur.” Ed. 1536, p. 20-1. These intimations of a contemporary author seem to be decisive.

The accession of Valentinian to the empire in 364 A.D., is the epoch of a fresh attack on the Roman provincials in Britain by the Picts, who were in that age divided into two tribes, by the name of Dicaledones and Vecturiones; of the Attacots, a warlike clan who occupied the shores of Dunbarton and Cowal; and of the Scots, who, as we have just seen, were an erratic tribe from the shores of Ireland, and who wasted the coasts of South-Britain by their successive incursions (*s*). The attack of 364 A.D., seems to have been more general and destructive than any former incursion by the same people. After the appointment and the recall of Severus and of Jovien as commanders of the Roman troops in the British island, Theodosius, who had gained the greatest reputation as an officer, was sent to Britain in 367, to restore tranquillity to a very disturbed people. He is said to have found the Picts and Scots in the act of plundering Augusta, the London of modern times. But this improbability was reserved for the ignorance or the inattention of modern writers to assert (*t*). The prudence and valour of Theodosius, however, restored in the two campaigns of 368 and 369, the tranquillity of Britain, by suppressing domestic insurrection and by repelling foreign invasion; by his prudence he restored the cities, strengthened the fortifications, and repaired the wall of Antonine; and by his policy he added to the four provinces which already existed in Britain, the country lying between the southern and northern wall as a fifth province, by the name of *Valentia*, which Valentinian thus denominated in honour of Valens, whom he had early associated with him in the empire (*u*). Poetry and panegyric equally bestowed their blandishments on the successful enterprises of Theodosius; but the result of his measures has conferred in every subsequent age more honourable fame; the thirty years

(*s*) Am. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. ch. vii. The Attacotti, as we know from Richard, inhabited the whole country lying between Loch Lomond on the east and Loch Fyne on the west, during the second century. Dwelling thus along the northern shore of the Clyde, they had only to cross the Frith in order to attack the Roman provincials who inhabited Renfrew and Ayr.

(*t*) Ammianus Marcellinus, who gives a particular account of the expedition of Theodosius, lib. xxvii., chap. vii., says nothing of that improbability. Gibbon, who gives some countenance to what was too absurd for positive assertion, states minutely the causes which had diffused through this island a spirit of discontent and revolt. The oppression of the good and the impunity of the wicked equally contributed, says he, to subvert the weak and distracted government of Britain. Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Emp., 4th vol., 8vo edit., p. 296-7. Thus, domestic revolt and foreign invasion both concurred to ruin the provincials, and to call for the protection of such an officer as Theodosius, whose talents were equally fitted for the legislation of peace as for the struggles of war.

(*u*) Ammian. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii., ch. vii.

quiet of Britain which ensued bears the most indubitable testimony to the vigour of his arms and the efficacy of his wisdom.

Yet, amidst an age when the Roman empire was attacked without by the surrounding tribes, and enfeebled within by domestic parties, the Scots from Ireland and the Picts from Caledonia renewed their depredations on the British provincials during the year 398. Stilicho, who supported a falling empire by the strength of his talents, sent such effectual aid as enabled the governors to repel the invaders, to repair the northern wall, and to restore general quiet (*x*). The grateful poetry of Claudian has preserved the great actions of Stilicho, which the historical coldness of Zosimus had consigned to oblivion.

The decline of the Roman empire brought with it every sort of disorder, in addition to its weakness. The revolt of the troops in Britain transferred, in 407, the government to Gratian; and after his death, to Constantine, who carried the army that had conferred on him the purple to Gaul in order to maintain, however unsuccessfully, their own choice. The disgrace and death of Stilicho, in 408, augmented all those evils. While the empire was oppressed by the invasions of barbarians from every nation and of every name, the British provincials, who continued to be harrassed by the Scots from the west, and by the Picts from the north, assumed a sort of independence, which was founded in the necessity of self-defence. Honorius, feeling his inability to defend this distant province amid so many attacks, directed the British cities to rule and defend themselves (*y*).

But their inexperience soon occasioned them to feel their own weakness; and in 422 A.D., though the walls were then garrisoned by Roman troops, the provincials again applied for additional protection against the desultory attacks of predatory people, who could be more easily repelled than tranquillized. A legion is said to have been sent, who chastised the invaders, and, for the last time, repaired the fortifications that had long overawed the Pictish tribes (*z*). From this epoch the pro-

(*x*) The verses of Claudian have been already quoted. From them we may learn with a little extension of his sense, that Stilicho had assisted the British provincials who were attacked by the Scots *that had armed all Ireland against them*. Of the Scots, Tillemont remarks, “that they still, without doubt, dwelt in Ireland. Of the Picts, that critical historian observes that they were “the ancient inhabitants of North-Britain; but, as they had been repressed by Stilicho, they were “no longer formidable to the British provincials.” The Saxons, also, who in that age began to infest the shores of Britain, as they had been lately chastised by Theodosius, were repelled by Stilicho. Tillemont *Hist. des Emp.* 4 tom., p. 503.

(*y*) Zosimus, lib. vi. ch. v.; Barbeyrac *Supl. Corps Dipl.*, Part ii., p. 72.

(*z*) Barbeyrac *Supl. Corps Dipl.*, Part ii., p. 77; and Pagi, sub an 422.

vincials enjoyed twenty years repose. The year 446, when Ætius was consul for the third time, is the memorable epoch when the British provincials acknowledged themselves to be Roman citizens, by their supplication to that able supporter of a degenerate state for fresh assistance; but he was unable to gratify their desire of help owing to the pressures of the barbarians upon Gaul. The provincials were again told, in a more desponding tone, that they must rely on their own efforts for their future government and effectual defence. The abdication which Honorius seemed willing to make in A.D. 409, Ætius thus more completely effected in A.D. 446 (*a*).

(*a*) Some contrariety of opinions has arisen between ignorance and refinement, with regard to the true epoch of the cessation of the Roman government in the British island. The recall of the Roman legions, at particular periods of the fifth century, is supposed by some to give a limit to the continuance of the Roman power. But the march of the legions from one province to another of a most extensive empire did not alter the nature of the government any more than the change of quarters of a British regiment from one American province to another operates as a relinquishment of British jurisdiction over provinces which were thus meant only to be relieved or supported. The mere march of a legion, or a regiment, could produce no change in the jurisdiction, without the signification of the will of the government. The historian of the decline and fall of the Roman empire seems to be the first who, from the intimation of Zosimus, and a passage of Procopius, settled the independence of the British cities as early as the year 409. *Hist. Svo. ed. vol. v., p. 364.* But his facts may be admitted without acknowledging his inferences. Honorius by his letter directing the cities to defend and govern themselves, did no more in 409 than George II. did in 1756, when he urged his American provinces to exert their own powers in their own defence. The conduct of the Britons from 409 to 446, confirms this reasoning. The "independent Britons raised 12,000 men for the service of the emperor Anthemius in Gaul." *Hist. of the Decl. and Fall, 5th vol., p. 364.* "The independent Britons implored and acknowledged the salutary aid of Stilicho." *Ib. vol. vi., p. 91.* These facts prove, with sufficient conviction, notwithstanding the blandishments of historical eloquence, that the *independent* Britons still thought themselves the *dependent* citizens of the Roman empire, who were bound to give assistance, and were entitled to receive protection. Forty years afterwards the Roman provincials applied to Ætius for similar help, without receiving the same aid, because other concerns were more urgent. The account of this transaction, which has been transmitted by Gildas, is so circumstantial, that we cannot altogether disbelieve him without doing violence to our historical faith. If what Gildas asserts be true, that the Britons applied to Ætius, during his third consulate for military protection, this fact would prove that they still considered themselves, and were plainly regarded by others, as Roman provincials. The curious notices of Gildas, who died in 570, is confirmed—1st. By the *Notitia*, which shows that Roman troops remained in the garrisons of the northern fence till towards the middle of the fifth century: *Whit, Hist. of Manch., Svo. edit., vol. ii., p. 261-69: 2dly.* By the long continuance of Roman stations within the province of Valentia: *Wood's Hist. of Cranford, p. 1-12: 3dly.* By the finding in England of the coins of Arcadius, Honorius, and Valentinian, the third. *Horsley's Brit. Rom., p. 75.* Richard concurs with Gildas in these important notices, *p. 55.*

The time was at length arrived when the Roman empire, which was now pressed on all sides by irresistible hordes, was to shrink back from the boundaries that in her ages of ambition she had fixed at too great a distance for her own security or repose. As the Romans receded, their numerous invaders advanced. New states were successively formed; and Europe may be said to have assumed, during the fifth century, new appearances that are still to be discerned; and to have adopted various institutions which continue to impart their influences to the present times, after the revolutions of many centuries.

BOOK II.

THE PICTISH PERIOD. 446 A.D. to 843.

CHAP. I.

Of the Picts; their Lineage; their Civil History, and Language; with a Review of the Pictish Question.

THE *Pictish Period*, extending from the abdication of the Romans in A.D. 446 to the overthrow of the Pictish government in 843 A.D., will be found from its notices to comprehend interesting events. At the epoch of Agricola's invasion, the ample extent of North-Britain was inhabited, as we have seen, by one-and-twenty Gaelic clans, who were connected by such slight ties as scarcely to enjoy a social state. At the period of the Roman abdication there remained in North-Britain only one race of men, the genuine descendants of those Caledonian clans; the sixteen tribes who ranged unsubdued beyond the wall of Antonine, under the appropriate denomination of *the Picts*; the five southern tribes of kindred people who, as they remained under the Roman jurisdiction, seem to have been considerably civilized by the adoption of Roman arts: but the *Angles* had not yet arrived within the *Ottadinian* territories on the Tweed; and the *Scots* still continued in Ireland, their original country. The sixteen tribes of proper Picts acquired from their independence higher importance when they were no longer overawed by the Roman power, and they will be immediately found to have been the dominating nation throughout four centuries of the North-British annals. The five Romanized tribes of *Valentia*, who had long enjoyed the instructive privilege of Roman citizenship, will soon appear to have assumed the character of an independent people, who established for themselves their own government. Two new races of men are long arrived within the Caledonian regions, who not only saddened the enjoyments, but at length eclipsed the glories of the Caledonian Nations. The *Angles* early settled on the Tweed and erewhile obliged the *Ottadins* to relinquish for ever, as we shall see, their beloved domains. At the end of half a century, the *Scots* of Ireland colonized Argyle, and spreading themselves over the circumjacent districts

superseded the Pictish government as we shall perceive, after the bloody struggles of three hundred and forty years. It must be the business of this *Pictish Period* of the North-British annals to trace the singular history of all those people; the *Caledonian Picts*, the *Romanized Britons*, the *Angles* of Lothian, the *Scots* of Argyle, throughout the various events of their obscure warfare, and the successive turns of their revolutionary changes.

The lineage of the Pictish people has been disputed, though without any valid reason, as if there could be a doubt whether they were of a Celtic or of a Gothic origin. But their genealogy may be clearly traced through three consecutive changes—from the Gauls to the Britons; from the Britons to the Caledonians; and from the Caledonians to the Picts—thus changing their names but not their nature (*a*). During many an age before our common era, Gaul was the splendid scene wherein the Celts displayed, before the intelligent eyes of the Roman people, the peculiarities of their religion, the originality of their customs, and the singularity of their manners. The Gaelic Celts who emigrated to Britain brought with them into this island all those distinguishing features, with their original language (*b*). One of the most striking points of comparison between Gaul and Britain, was the geographical divisions of the country and the civil institutions of the people. Gaul appears to have been in every age cantoned among many clans, who were each independent of the whole. South-Britain was in the same manner divided among many tribes. North-Britain, at the memorable invasion of Agricola, was cantoned among one-and-twenty clans, who seldom united in any common measure, as they were involved in eternal warfare. In Gaul, in South and in North-Britain, we

(*a*) Bede, who was contemporary with the Pictish government, speaks doubtfully of the Picts as the second people who came into this island from Scythia—first to Ireland, and thence to North Britain. But though Bede states all this rather as what he had heard than as what he knew, his authority has deluded many writers who did not inquire whether what he had said modestly could possibly be true. Bede. l. i., cap. 1. We now know from more accurate examination that the Picts were certainly Caledonians; that the Caledonians were Britons; and that the Britons were Gauls. It is the topography of North Britain during the second and first centuries, as it contains a thousand facts, which solves all these doubts, and settles all controversy about the lineage of the Picts. See before, b. i., ch. 1, 2.

(*b*) J. Caesar and Tacitus are already quoted; Schoepflin *Vieillesse Celtique*, p. 97-115; Burton's *Antoninus*, p. 170; *Monde Primitif*, t. 5; *Prelim. Discourse*; and the *Univer. Hist.*, v. xviii., with the map annexed; Camden's *Brit. of the first inhabitants*. A comparison of the names of places in Gaul and in Britain would add the demonstration of facts to the decision of authorities. Buchanan actually made such a comparison. *Man's ed.*, p. 52-4; and he undertook to demonstrate the sameness of speech, and thence an affinity between the Gauls and the Britons from the names of their towns, rivers and countries.

may perceive a strong principle of division, the peculiar characteristic of the Celts, producing the direful effects of perpetual enmity during domestic peace, and constant weakness amidst foreign war. This common principle of the Celtic people which prevented the association of large communities, and obstructed the establishment of a vigorous government, has continued to vex and enfeeble their descendants in Gaul and in Britain, even down to our own times.

There was another principle which was peculiar to those Celtic people, and which has involved their affairs both within Gaul and throughout Britain in lasting darkness. They made it a constant rule never to commit anything to writing, according to a settled maxim, that it was more glorious to perform great actions than to write in good language (*c*). The observance of that rule, whether it proceeded from military ardour or from superstitious observances, has covered the antiquities of their British descendants with undiminished mists.

We have, however, seen distinctly during the first and second centuries North-Britain inhabited by one-and-twenty distinct tribes (*d*). The most powerful of those clans, the *Caledonians*, seem early to have given a general denomination to the whole. In the succinct biography of Tacitus those tribes who opposed Agricola are either denominated *Britanni* or *Horestii* or *Caledonii*, whose country was analogically denominated by him *Caledonia*. The origin of all those Roman names are to be found, as we have seen, in the language of the British people themselves; and the celebrated appellation *Caledonia* was merely Romanized from the *Celyddon* of the Britons, that owed its origin to the woods which spread in ancient times over the interior and western parts of the country lying beyond the Forth and Clyde, and which were mentioned emphatically before the age of Tacitus by Pliny as the *Caledonian forest* (*e*).

(*c*) *Cæsar's Com.*, l. vi.; *Univer. Hist.*, v. xviii., p. 539.

(*d*) *Before*, book i., ch. ii.

(*e*) Book i., ch. xvi. The distant source of all those distinctive appellations may be traced back to the appropriate qualities of the things signified. The most common and early distinctions of regions being the *open plains* and the *woodlands* or forests, those obvious qualities gave rise to the two leading appellations of *Gâl* and of *Celt*: the first denoting the open country, and the second the *covert*. Of the same import with *Gâl* and its derivatives are *Gual*, *Peithu*, *Gwynedd*, *Gwent*, and *Sylfaen*, signifying *open* or *clear regions*. With *Celt* may be classed *Celyddon*, *Gwyddel*, and *Ysgodd*, importing the *coverts*. See Owen's *Diet.* in vo. *Gâl*, *Celt*, *Celydon*, *Peithi*, etc. As the interior and mountainous districts of North Britain were in early ages covered with an extensive forest, the British people who colonized that part of our island gave it the descriptive appellation of *Celyddon*, signifying in their language the *coverts*. The inhabitants of the forest were, according to the idiom of their speech, called *Celyddon*, *Celuddon*, &c.; and the British terms *Celyddon* and *Celyddeni* were merely

As other ancient people both of Asia and of Britain had been marked by very different appellations, while they appeared under various aspects to inquisitive geographers and to subsequent writers, the Caledonians were also known by very different names during successive periods of their annals. Under the reign of Severus, the Caledonian tribes were noticed by classic writers under the names of *Mæatæ* and of *Caledonians*, as we learn from Dio and Herodian; but they intimate at the same time that other tribes also lived in that age within the Caledonian territories (*f*). The Caledonian people were called by Ammianus Marcellinus, Di-Caledones and Vecturiones, with an eye to their appropriate site or to the face of the country, when they invaded the Roman province in 368 A.D. (*g*). The Caledonians in the meanwhile acquired, towards the conclusion of the third century, from an obvious cause, the comprehensive appellation of *Picti*, which, before the end of the fourth century, superseded every other name. It was undoubtedly the orator Eumenius who, in his panegyric on Constantius during the year 297, first called the people of Caledonia *Picti*; and who certainly speaks of the Caledonians and *other Picts* as the same people. The classic writers of that age seem, indeed,

latinized by the Romans *Caledonia* and *Caledonii*. As the division of the country was much the largest to which the term *Celygdon* was properly applicable, this name, in its latinized form of *Caledonia*, was usually extended by the Latin writers to the whole peninsula of North Britain which lay northward of the Forth.

(*f*) Dio, book lxxvi.; Herodian, book iii. The Picts were unknown to Dio and Herodian, who lived in the third century. As the *Mæatæ* lived immediately beyond the wall of Antonine, and were known to the Roman officers from their frequent invasions of the Romanized Britons within Valentia, we may easily suppose that they obtained their Roman-British name from that striking circumstance; and they were thus called *Meiadi*, which signified in the British speech the people who take the field or go out to war. See Owen's Dict. in vo. *Meiwl*, signifying in the British *those going out to war, those taking the field*; and so *Meia* signifies to take the field or to go out to war.

(*g*) As the *De* of the British speech signified merely a separation or a parting, so the De-Caledones meant only the separated Caledonians who lived without the Roman provinces in the western and northern part of Caledonia, and who were thus distinguished from the Vecturiones that dwelt along the eastern coast from the Forth to the Varar. As this open country obtained from the British provincials the descriptive appellation of *Peithur*, so the inhabitants of it were consequently termed *Peithi*, *Peithurgr*, *Peithurgron*, all which terms denoted the people of the *open country*. The only difference between the British words *Peithi* and *Peithurgron* is that the former is a more general, and the latter a more special term, the same in import as the *English* and *Englishmen*. The British words *Peithi* and *Peithurgron* would naturally be latinized by the Romans into *Picti* and *Pecturones*, or rather *Vecturones*; for the (th) of the British are represented by the (ct) in the Latin in such words as have an analogy, and (p) in the British also changes to (f), for which the Romans used (v), as Varar for Farar, and Varis for Faris.

to regard the *Picti* as merely another name for *Caledones* (*h*). This position is fairly acknowledged by an enquirer who had examined the point, and found it clearly proved, by classic authors, that the *Picti* and *Caledones* were the same people (*i*).

(*h*) See this point ably discussed in Innes's Critical Essay, v. i., p. 42-57.

(*i*) Enquiry into the Ancient History of Scotland, 1789, v. i., part iii., ch. i. "Caledones *aliique Picti*" are the significant expressions of Eumenius the orator, who knew the meaning of his own terms. There is a third system maintained by the ingenious editor of the Scottish Songs, 1794. Hist. Essay, p. 12. This system consists in supposing that a great part of North-Britain was, even before the invasion of Britain by the Romans, inhabited by a people called *Picts*, *Piks*, or *Pechts*, who are by some thought to have come from Scandinavia, and to have driven out the ancient inhabitants; but let them come from where they would, he adds, they were still a Celtic colony, and spoke a dialect at least of the language of the original inhabitants. This was the system of Buchanan. For these assumptions, however, that a people called *Picts*, *Piks*, or *Pechts* inhabited any part of North Britain, even before the invasion of Britain by the Romans 55 years A.C., I have found in the course of my researches neither fact nor authority nor intimation; neither did Ptolomy, nor Richard, nor Camden, nor Selden, nor Innes, find any evidence for such a position as that the *Picts* were known by that name three centuries and a half before Eumenius pronounced in 297 A.D. his panegyric on Constantius. On the contrary, there is proof that the *Picts*, who were then first called by that name, were merely Caledonians. Eumenius, who first spoke of the *Picts*, again mentions them in 308 as Caledonians. He adds: "*Non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum.*" Ammianus Marcellinus, who died about the year 390, speaks still more distinctly on this head, l. xxvii., § viii.: "*Illud tamen sufficere dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi Di-caledones et Vecturiones.*" And Innes, who wrote critically on this subject, concludes in v. i., p. 48: "from all this it seems clearly to follow that the people who began first in the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century to be called *Picts* by the Roman writers were not new inhabitants in the island, but the same ancient inhabitants of those northern provinces so well known in the former ages by the name of Caledonians." The history of the fable which traces the origin of the *Picts* to a Scandinavian rather than a Celtic source is very short. Tacitus talked about the origins of the Caledonians and Germans like a man who was not very skilful in such investigations, and who preferred declamation to inquiry. Cassiodorus, the secretary of a Gothic court, who undertook to write a history of the Goths, was the first theorist that endeavoured, with preposterous industry, to derive every people from Scandinavia, which at all times was still more cold and barren and less populous than it is at present. His example was followed by the puerile writers of the middle ages. The learning and industry of the last two centuries have failed egregiously in establishing the position of Cassiodorus, unless, indeed, we admit confidence for investigation, assertion for facts, and dogmatism for reasoning. The original colonists were demonstrably Gaelic Britons. Their descendants must be allowed to remain in the country of their fathers, unless it can be proved by evidence, which inquiry has not yet found, that they were dispossessed by invading adventurers of a different race; and history, geography, and philology, all concur to attest, in opposition to conjecture, that the probability of the before mentioned deduction is carried up to certainty by the fact. There is a succinct history of the *Picts*, by Henry Maule, which was printed at Edinburgh in 1706, and which concurs in all those points with the foregoing intimations without the same proofs. Camden,

The change, then, did not so much happen in the nature of the ancient tribes as in the form of their name; and it is moreover apparent from the silence of history that no people of a different lineage had yet settled within the Caledonian regions (*k*). As the Greeks had been in successive ages called Pelasgians, Hellenes, and Achæians; as the Latins had acquired various appellations with their several fortunes; as the Goths had been denominated, from several changes in their situation, Getes, Gaudæ, Daces, Tyragetes; as the Saxons, who were unknown to Tacitus by this celebrated name, had been in the same manner called by the very dissimilar names of Cimbri, Chauci, Suevi: so the northern Britons were denominated, from their significant language, by foreign writers, the Caledonians, and the Maataë, the Di-caledones, and Vecturiones; and finally *the Picts*, a name which has puzzled all the antiquaries. These distinguished descendants of the Caledonians acquired their appropriate name during the Roman period from their relative situation and local qualities, as compared with the Romanized Britons, who lived in the province of Valentia within the Roman wall. The Picts dwelt without the province, and roamed free from the Roman authority, and separated from the Romanized tribes within, who often felt their vigorous incursions, and frequently required the protection of the Roman government. In the British speech the Picts were, from those distinctive qualities, called *Peithi*, which was naturally latinized by Roman writers into *Picti*, when they came, during the third century, to be the objects of Roman observation, by assimilating the British term to their own familiar word *Picti*, which was descriptive of the custom of painting the body that the Romans saw among the Northern Britons (*l*).

however, was the first great authority who gave it as his opinion that the Picts were the genuine descendants of the ancient Britons; and Selden, after discussing what former writers had said on the origin of the Picts, advises the reader “rather to adhere to the learned Camden, who “makes the Picts very genuine Britons, distinguished only by an accidental name.” Polyolbion, p. 128. Camden and Selden both mean *Cambro-Britons*.

(*k*) Every research, by whomsoever conducted, has egregiously failed in bringing any evidence to prove that a Gothic people settled in North-Britain *before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons*, during the fifth century of our common era. The topography of North-Britain demonstrates that a Gothic people did not settle in North-Britain before the settlement of the Saxon. See before, b. i., ch. i. ii. Learning and diligence cannot establish falsehood in opposition to truth.

(*l*) *Peithi* signifies in the British speech, *those that are out or exposed*, the *people of the open country*, the *people of the waste or desert*, also *those who scout, who lay waste*. Owen's Dict. In such Roman and British words as have an analogy, the (th) of the British are expressed by the (ct) of the Roman, as we have observed; thus the Welsh *Peithin*, a weaver's sley, is the Latin *Pecten*; and the *Effaith* of the Welsh is the *Effectus* of the Latin. It may be moreover observed: 1. The name

During the second century Caledonia was inhabited by sixteen tribes, as we have seen, the genuine descendants of the aboriginal colonists. The eventful effluxion of three ages may have produced undoubtedly some changes, both in the position and the power of tribes, who were restless from their habits and inimical from their manners. As a Celtic people, they inherited from their remote ancestors, a strong principle of disunion. At the disastrous epoch of Agricola's invasion, they associated, indeed, together under Galgac, their *Pen-dragon*, as the British word implies. During successive eras of hostile irruptions,

of *Picti* first appeared in Roman writers, when the Romans had long relinquished their province of Vespasiana, the appropriate country of the Picts. 2. The *Peithi* and *Peith-wyr* are the usual terms for the Pictish people in the oldest Welsh poets. 3. On the confines of Wales, those Britons who throw off their allegiance to their native princes and set up a *regulus* of their own, or adhered to the Saxons, were called *Peithi* or *Picti*. Thus a Welsh poet of the seventh century, celebrating "mic (myg) Dinbich," "the renown of Denbigh," says, "addowyn gaer ysydd ar "gias *Phiehti*;" a fair town stands on the confines of the Picti. 4. In fact, the Welsh, to distinguish the northern from the southern Picts, called the Caledonian Picts by the appellation of *Gwyddyl Pichti* or *Gwyddyl Fichti*, the (p) of the British being frequently changed to (f). The Picts, like other ancient people, have received in the progress of their affairs and during their change of circumstances, other names. The ancient Welsh apply the term *Brython* and *Brythonig* to the Picts. Owen's Diet., in vo. Brython. And the ancient Welsh, by applying the terms *Brython* and *Brythonig* to the Picts, show that they considered them as Britons; from this application of *Brython* to the Picts, we may infer that the earliest of the classic writers, in calling the Picts by the name of Britons merely adopted the British appellation. We may here discover, perhaps, the real origin of the term *Britons*, as applied to the most ancient colonists of our island, and not from the name of the country, as often is supposed. The Irish at a much later period applied to the Picts the name of *Cruithneach*, which O'Brien mistakingly supposes to be a corruption of *Brithneach*, from *Brit*, variegated, painted. But the fact is, that the old Irish name for the country of the Picts is *Cruithin-Tuath*, and of the Pictish people *Cruithnich*, according to O'Brien and Shaw; now, *Cruithin-Tuath* literally means *North-Britain*, as the Irish adjunct *Tuath* signifies *north*, and *Cruithnich* or *Cruithneach* denotes the *Britons* or British people, being regularly formed from *Cruithin*, in the same manner as *Erimach*, Irishmen, is formed from *Erin*, Ireland, and *Albanach*, Scotsmen, from *Alban*, the British name of Scotland. The Irish terms, *Cruithin* and *Cruithnich* were borrowed from the British *Brythin* and *Brythingg*, the Irish substituting, according to their idiom, the initial *C* for the *B* of the British. In many words of the same meaning in these two kindred dialects, where the British has *P* or *B*, the Irish has *C*, as the following examples show :—

BRITISH.		IRISH.		ENGLISH.
<i>Pen</i> ,	—	<i>Cean</i> ,	—	a head.
<i>Pren</i> ,	—	<i>Cran</i> ,	—	a tree.
<i>Pryn</i> ,	—	<i>Crean</i> ,	—	a buying, purchasing.
<i>Pluv</i> ,	—	<i>Clumh</i> ,	—	down feathers.
<i>Pasg</i> ,	—	<i>Caisg</i> ,	—	Easter.
<i>Bras</i> ,	—	<i>Craos</i> ,	—	fat, gluttony.

they were probably influenced by similar motives to renew their associations, and to choose a pendragon whose authority was dictated by the occasion, and whose power was supported by the necessity. The Pictish ruler, at the epoch of the Roman abdication, was Drust, the son of Erp, who had long directed the Pictish expeditions against the Roman provincials, and who, from his frequent enterprizes, acquired, in the poetic language of the Irish annalists, the characteristic name of *Drust of the hundred battles*.

To the energetic principle of necessary union, we may trace up the obscure origin of their princes, whose jurisdiction must have been extremely limited, and whose office in that age was scarcely transmissible. Bede, amidst some fable, has transmitted a curious notice with regard to the succession of the Pictish kings, which intimates that when any doubt arose the succession went rather to the *female* than to the male line (*m*). The fact, however, is, that the uncle was generally preferred to the son because he was usually more fit for the government of such a people in such an age. The irregularity of their successions attests the instability of their power. The authentic chronicles of the Picts at once confirm the fact, and show the names and series of the Pictish kings, with the extent of the reigns of each, from the epoch of the Roman abdication to the sad era of the Pictish overthrow (*n*); and I have thrown all those notices into the comprehensive form of

(*m*) Hist., lib. i., cap. i.

(*n*) Innes merits lasting commendation for being the first to discover, and to publish in his *Critical Essay*, the *CHRONICA DE ORIGINE ANTIQVORVM PICTORVM*, from a MS. in the Colbertine library, which MS. had once belonged to Lord Burghley, and had in that period been seen by Camden. App., N. ii. The authenticity of this Chronicle has not been questioned even by scepticism. It may be supported indeed by collateral circumstances. Bede, Nennius, Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, and other English writers recite facts which confirm the authenticity of the Chronicle, and also support the succession of the kings. Innes, vol. i., p. 111–122, 137–9. For, as the facts coincide with the Chronicle, the coincidence demonstrates the truth. In giving the following Chronological Catalogue of the Pictish kings, I have adhered as near as might be to the series of the sovereigns, the spelling of the names, and the extent of their reigns, which appear in the Chronicle. There is nothing more authentic or satisfactory in the early annals of any country.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PICTISH KINGS.

Their Series.	Their Names and Filiation.	Their Accessions.	Their Reigns.	Their Deaths.
1	DRUST, the son of Erp.			in 451 A.D.
2	TALORE, the son of Aniel.	in 451 A.D.	Dur ^g 4 yrs.	455
3	NECTON MORBET, the son of Erp.	455	25	480
4	DREST GURTHINMOCH.	480	30	510
5	GALANAU ETELICH.	510	12	522
6	DADREST.	522	1	523
7	DREST, the son of Girom.	523	1	524
	DREST, the son of Wdrest, with the former.	524	5	529
	DREST, the son of Girom, alone.	529	5	534
8	GARTNACH, the son of Girom.	534	7	541
9	GEALTRAM, the son of Girom.	541	1	542
10	TALORG, the son of Muircholaich.	542	11	553
11	DREST, the son of Munait.	553	1	554
12	GALAM, with Aleph.	554	1	555
	GALAM, with Bridei.	555	1	556
13	BRIDEI, the son of Mailcon.	556	30	586
14	GARTNAICH, the son of Domelch.	586	11	597
15	NECTU, the nephew of Verb.	597	20	617
16	CINEOCH, the son of Luthrin.	617	19	636
17	GARNARD, the son of Wid.	636	4	640
18	BRIDEI, the son of Wid.	640	5	645
19	TALORE, their brother.	645	12	657
20	TALLORCAN, the son of Enfret.	657	4	661
21	GARTNAIT, the son of Donnel.	661	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	667
22	DREST, his brother.	667	7	674
23	BRIDEI, the son of Bili.	674	21	695
24	TARAN, the son of Entfidich.	695	4	699
25	BRIDEI, the son of Dereli.	699	11	710
26	NECHTON, the son of Dereli.	710	15	725
27	DREST, and Elpin.	725	5	730
28	UNGUS, the son of Urguis.	730	31	761
29	BRIDEI, the son of Urguis.	761	2	763
30	CINOD, the son of Wredech.	763	12	775
31	ELPIN, the son of Bredei.	775	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	779
32	DREST, the son of Talorgan.	779	5	784
33	TALORGAN, the son of Ungus. <i>Brother</i>	784	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	786
34	CANAUL, the son of Tarla.	786	5	791
35	COSTANTIN, the son of Urguis.	791	30	821
36	UNGUS (Hungus), the son of Urguis.	821	12	833
37	DREST, the son of Constantine, and Talorgan, } the son of Wthoil.	833	3	836
38	UTEN, the son of Ungus.	836	3	839
39	WRAD, the son of Bargoit.	839	3	842
40	BRED.	842	1	843 (o)

(o) This *Chronological Table* is amply supported in Innes's Critical Essay, v. i., from p. 111 to 117. In the *Chronicon of Dunblain* there is a genealogical series of the Pictish kings. Innes's MS. Collections; and see the *Enquiry*, 1789, v. i., p. 295, for a series of the Pictish kings.

The names of those kings are undoubtedly Cambro-British, yet is it not easy to regain their true appellations, which have been perverted by ignorance (*p*). But it is vain to assign qualities to those kings any farther than events ascertain facts, which will be hereafter stated in their narrative order. The historians who adorn them with virtues or disfigure them with vices, without documents to justify imputations, only show their own propensities, and delude the reader.

(*p*) The names of the Pictish kings have not any meaning in the Teutonic, and they are therefore Celtic. They are not Irish, and consequently they are British, as the following notes will show. In No 21, we may see in the British form *Dyrenwal*, which, in the Irish or Scoto-Irish pronunciation, would be Donnel. In No 30, *Cineod* is merely the Kemeth of the Irish. (1.) Drust or Drest is probably the British name *Trwest*, which signifies *Din*. (2.) Talore, Talorg, Talorgen, Talorgan. Talarw in the British signified harsh-fronted; Talorg, dark-fronted; Talorgan, splendid-fronted. *Anail* signified *openness*. (3, 26.) Nechton was probably the Nwython of the British, signifying a person full of energy; there have been men among the British who were called *Nwython*. (6.) Dadrest was perhaps the *Gadrust* of the British, signifying the beginning of tumult, the *g* in composition or connection was dropped. (7.) Giron was probably the *Giron* of the British, which is often used as an epithet that conveys the idea of stooping. (8.) Gartnach, Gartnach, Gartnait. Gwrchnwyd meant one of an ardent temper; Gwrchnaid signified an ardent leap: Gwrthnaid meant an opposing leap. (9.) Galltrain in the British signified any one who prowled about. (13.) Bridei, Brid. *Bradw* in the British meant *treacherous*; *Brad*, *treachery*. *Mailcom* or *Maelgwn* was a common British name, which implied the origin of good. (16.) Cineoch or Cynog in the British meant a forward person. (17.) *Gwrnerth* in the British signified masculine strength. (21.) The *Dyrenwal* of the British, which is pronounced by the Scottish and Irish *Donnel*, meant what was of the weaned couch. (22.) *Drest* is perhaps the British *Trwest*, who is spoken of in the old writings as a warrior that had the terrific name of *Trwest ail Taran*, that is, *the tumult, the son of thunder*. (23.) *Bradw*, which is pronounced *Bride* or *Bradw*, means in the British treacherous. *Beli*, his father, is a common name in the same tongue, signifying *Bellie* *son*, warlike. (27.) Elpin is the British Elfin, which means the same as the English *Elf*. There were among the British Reguli of Stratheluyd two named Elpin. (28.) Wrguist or Urguist is perhaps the Gorchest of the British, the *g* being dropped in construction signifying the great achievement. Gwyr, in composition *Wyr*, is the same in British as *Fear*, in the Irish, a man; so Wrguist in the British is the same as Fergus in the Irish. (31.) *Wroil* is probably the British *Gwriael*, which is a common name. (34.) Canaul is perhaps the Cynwyl of the British, a proper name of men, signifying conspicuous. *Torlw* signifies oath breaking in the British; *Twrlla* means a heap. (35.) Costantin, Constantin. The name of Constantin appears among the British Reguli of Stratheluyd, as we see in Langhorn's Catalogue. (37.) Wthoil is the same as the common name Ithel, signifying in the British, knit-brow. (38.) Uven seems to be the well-known name of *Owein*, signifying apt to serve or to minister; and appearing under this form in the Welsh MS. Chronicle of the Saxons in the British Museum. One of the British Reguli of Stratheluyd was named Uen, or Hoen. (39.) Wrad is no doubt the *Gwriael* of the British, the *G* being dropt in connection; and there was a chief who was so called in the battle of Cattraeth. Bargoit or Bargod is also a name mentioned in the Triads. (40.) Brid or Brad signifies in the British, treachery; hence, *Bradeg*, treacherous, the appropriate appellation of several ancient personages.

Those Pictish kings successively governed uncivilized clans during the rudest ages. In the third century the Picts were sufficiently barbarous, if we may believe the uniform representations of classic authors. As the Greeks had improved themselves from the vicinity of the orientals, and the Romans had derived refinement from an imitation of the Greeks, the Picts, we may easily suppose, gained some improvement from their intercourse, whether civil or hostile, with the Romanized Britons or the Roman armies. The introduction of christianity among the Picts in subsequent times, by inculcating new lessons, impressed more gentle maxims; and by teaching dissimilar habits, established among a rude people more humane practices; yet, while Europe was over-run by barbarism, it is not to be reasonably expected that North-Britain would escape the contagion of illiterate ages, and much less would acquire the accomplishments of knowledge or the softness of civilization.

The appropriate country of the Picts, like more celebrated regions, appears to have acquired different names in successive periods. The mountainous part of it was denominated by the first colonists in their native speech, *Alban*, the *superior height*. This appropriate name, which was originally applied to the hilly region that forms the west of Perth and the north-west of Argyle, was in after times extended to the whole country. In the first century the British term *Celyddon*, which literally signifies *the coverts*, was applied by the Roman authors to the whole country on the north of the friths, though the same name was confined by the Roman geographers to the interior highlands lying northward of Alban. Both of these well-known appellations were afterwards applied more laxly to North-Britain. The Pictish Chronicle, from the Pictish people, calls their country by the analogous word *Pictavia* (*q*). The annals of Ulster generally speak of this country by the name of *Fortruin*, with a slight deviation from *Fothir*, the name of the Pictish capital (*r*). Saxo, the Danish

(*q*) Innes's Crit. Essay, App. No. iii.; Enquiry, 1789, v. i., App. No. xi. In the tract *De Situ Albanie* of Giraldus Cambrensis, ib. No. i.; and see Langhorn's *Antiquitates Albionenses*, who adopts the same name of *Pictavia*.

(*r*) Chron., No. iii., in Innes's Appendix. This name is merely the British Faethir [Faeth-thir] in Irish, Fothir signifying *rich land*, and this is the characteristic of the plains about Forteviot. To the previous name of *Fothir* the Scoto-Irish put the adjunct *tabhait*, hence the names of Fothir, Fothir-tabhait, which is now abbreviated Forteviot. Chron. No. iii. in Innes's App.; Diplom. Scotiæ. This ancient capital of the Pictish kings was occasionally the residence of the Scottish sovereigns as late as the reign of Malcolm IV., who dated one of his charters from Fether-tevoit. Anders. Dipl., pl. xxv. Forteviot is situated in Strathearn, about half a mile south from the river Earn, on the east side of May-water. It is apparent that Fortruin, in the annals of Ulster, has no connection with Forthrif on the Forth, as Fortruin applies merely to the seat of the

historian speaks of the conquests of Regnar in Scotia, *Petia*, and the Hebudes (*s*). The context plainly points to *Petia* as the name of *Pictland*. Now, the *Petia* of Saxo approaches the nearest to the British term *Peith* or *Peithw*, which the British people applied to the open country lying along the east coast on the northward of the Forth.

The history of the Picts is only accompanied by such glimpses of the moon as show it to be little more than a tissue of domestic strife and foreign war; of violent successions in the series of their kings, and some changes of religion. Drust, the son of Erp, who is chronicled as the fortunate leader of a hundred battles, had the honour to contribute his efforts to produce the abdication of the Roman government, if we may credit Gildas's declamations and the Irish annalists (*t*). More than a century elapsed, and a dozen successions ensued, without any interesting event to recount. The Saxons, who invaded the Ottadinian district on the Tweed, are said to have made a treaty with the Picts. The Scoto-Irish colonists settled on their western territories in 503 A.D. Ida, who founded the Northumbrian monarchy in 547 A.D., appears to have been diverted by other objects from making the Picts feel the vigour of his genius. In A.D. 556, succeeded to the unsteady government of the Picts Bridei, whose fame reached even to the east (*u*). In the subsequent year he defeated the Scoto-Irish, and slew Gauran their king, if we may credit the Ulster annals. But the great glory of the reign of Bridei was his conversion to christianity by the worthy Columba in 565 (*x*). From this epoch the Picts may be considered as Christians, a circumstance which seems not to have much changed their principles or much altered their customs.

A petty warfare of many ages succeeded the demise of Bridei in A.D. 586, owing to the defect of the government and the accustomed habits of a rude people. Bridei was contemporary with the Northumbrian Oswy, who made him feel the weight of his character, if not acknowledge the superiority of his power (*y*).

Pictish government in Strathearn. Yet has Mr. D. Macpherson fallen with others into this error, for he says that *Fortren* in the Ulster Annals seems an error for *Fortner*. Illustrations of Scot. Hist. in vo. Fortren.

(*s*) Lib. ix.

(*t*) See, however, Bede, l. i., cap. xii.

(*u*) The accession of Bridei is recorded by the contemporary Count Marcellin in his Chronicle. Ed. Simondus. p. 78; Ind. V. P. C. Basil V. C. xvi. which date corresponds with A.D. 556. See the foregoing Chronological enumeration of the Pictish kings.

(*x*) Bede, l. iii., cap. 4.

(*y*) See the doubtful intimations of Bede upon this point, l. ii., cap. v.

There was a domestic conflict at Lindores in 621, under Cineoch, the son of Luthrin (z). In 663 ensued the unimportant battle of Ludho-feirn among the Picts (a). Drest, who reigned from 667 A.D. to 674, was expelled from his kingdom (b). Far different was the battle of Dun-Nechtan in 685, when the Pictish Bridei, the son of Bili, defeated and slew the Northumbrian Egfrid (c). The Saxon king appears to have attacked the Picts without provocation and against advice. In pursuit of this object, whether of possession or of plunder, he proceeded from Lothian, the *Bernicia* of that age, across the Forth into Strathearn. He thus plunged into the defiles of Pictavia. The torch lighted his march to the Tay. He burnt on his flaming route Tula-Aman and Dun-Ola, before the Picts could meet him in conflict. His imprudence pushed him on to his fate; and he crossed the Tay into Angus while the Picts were collecting around him. Yet he pressed forward to Dun-Nechtan, the hill-fort of Nechtan, the Dunnichen of the present times (d); and near the neighbouring lake, which was long known by the analogous name of Nechtan's mere. Egfrid and his army fell before the valorous Bridei and his exasperated Picts (e). This event, as it enfeebled the Northumbrian power, proved as fatal to the Saxon policy as it was felicitous to the Pictish independence (f). Yet the Northumbrians under Berht, their powerful leader, tried their strength against the Picts in 699, when they were defeated by Bridei, the son of Dereli, who had just assumed the Pictish sceptre (g). The Saxons, under Beorthfryth, avenged those repulses by defeating the Picts in Mananfield, and killing Bredei their king in 710 A.D. (h).

(z) An. Ulster.

(a) Id.

(b) The Ulster annals place this event in 671; but these annals are sometimes one or two or three years behind the true dates.

(c) Bede's Hist., l. iv. xxvi., p. 248, 12; Saxon Chron. Gibson, p. 45.

(d) In a charter of William the Lion to the monks of Arbroath, this place is actually called Dun-Nechtan. At this seat there was anciently a Pictish hill-fort, which was named from one of the Pictish kings, Din-Nectan, signifying in the Pictish speech the fortress of Nectan, the Duin-Nectan of the Irish annalists. The remains of this ancient fort may still be seen on the southern side of the hill of Dunnichen. Stat. Account, v. i., p. 419.

(e) For the site of this important field, see book ii., ch. iii.

(f) Bede, l. iv., cap. 26; Sax. Chron., 45. Trumwine, the bishop of the Picts, retired on that occasion from Abercorn, "in vicinia freti quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disternat," says Bede. This shows distinctly the contiguous limits of the two people in that early age.

(g) Bede, l. v., cap. 24; Sax. Chron., 49.

(h) Ulster Annals; the Saxon Chron. under the year 710 states this battle to have been fought between Hufe and Cere on the Northumbrian Tyne. Sax. Chron., 50; and Gibson's Map, for the site of this eventful conflict.

Between those conterminous people ensued more pacific scenes. The learned Ceolfrid instructed Nechtan, the Pictish sovereign, concerning the epoch of Easter and the nature of the tonsure in 715 (*i*). Ciniad gave an asylum within his kingdom, in 774, to Alcred the Northumbrian king, when he was expelled by the anarchy which at length became predominant in Northumberland (*k*).

Meantime, after various contests for power, which were attended with great violences, a civil war began among the Picts about the year 724 (*l*). In 727 A.D. was fought the battle of Moncrib, in Strathearn, which ended as favourably for Ungus as it proved fatal to the friends of Elpin. A more bloody battle was soon after fought at Duncrei, when Elpin was again obliged to flee from the fury of Ungus. In 728 followed the battle of Moncur, in the Carse of Gowrie, between Nechtan and Ungus, wherein Nechtan was defeated and many of his friends were slain. In the same bloody year was fought between Drust and Ungus the battle of Drumderg, an extensive ridge on the western side of the river Isla, where Drust, the associate with Elpin in the Pictish government, was slain. This domestic warfare still continued with greater bloodshed. In 730, Brudes, the son of Ungus, defeated Talorgan, the son of Congus (*m*). In 730, the fugitive Elpin sunk before the superiority of Ungus, and met his fate at Pit-Elpie, within the parish of Liff, which is at no great distance from the scene of Elpin's flight in 727. The Scottish fablers have confounded the death of the Pictish Elpin at Pit-Elpie in 730 with the fall

(*i*) Bede, l. v., cap. xxi.; yet we must infer from the context that the Pictish Nechtan did not understand the language of the Saxon Ceolfrid.

(*k*) R. Hoveden; S. of Durham; Ciniad is mentioned in the Welsh MS. Chron. of the Saxons in the Brit. Museum, by the name of Cemoyd, the king of the Picts, as having died in A.D. 774. *Bu varw Cemoyd brenin y Phictiaid.*

(*l*) From the Annals of Ulster, we learn that in 712 Ciniad, the son of Derili, and brother of Nechtan, the reigning king, and also the son of Mathgenan, were assassinated. In the same year Talorg, the son of Drostan, was imprisoned by his brother Nechtan. In 718, Drostan, the father, was assassinated. In 724 the son of Drust was imprisoned. In 725, Nechtan, who reigned from 710 to 725, was dethroned by Drust. From this time Drust and Elpin reigned conjointly till they both fell before the superior power of Ungus in 728 and 730 A.D.

(*m*) From the Annals of Ulster it appears that in 733, Talorgan, the son of Congus, was overcome in a family feud by his brother, and being delivered into the hands of the Picts, was by them drowned. About the same time Talorgan the son of Drostan was taken prisoner near the castle of Olio, and afterwards fled to Ireland from the power of Ungus. The same Annals state that in 738 Talorgan, the son of Drostan, the chief of Athol, was drowned by Ungus, a mode of punishment which seems to have been common among the Picts.

of the Scottish Alpin at Laicht-Alpin in 836 A.D. (*n*). Ungus, who is honoured by the Irish annalists with the title of Great, and who appears by the same annals not to have been very scrupulous in pursuit of his greatness, now reigned triumphant over all his opponents. He carried savage hostilities into the rugged country of the Scoto-Irish in 736. It appears, however, that soon after Muredach the Scottish king invaded the Pictish territories in his turn, when he was defeated by Talorgan, the brother of Ungus, in a bloody conflict, wherein many chieftains were slain (*o*). Ungus again worsted the Scoto-Irish in 740; and he seems to have repulsed the Northumbrians during the same year, when he was attacked by Eadbert (*q*). In 750 he overpowered the Britons of the Cumbrian Kingdom, in the well-fought battle of Cath-O; in which his brother Talorgan, however, was slain (*b*). After so many conflicts the great Ungus died in 761 A.D. by a quiet expiration (*r*). He appears from his history to have been the ablest and the most powerful of all the Pictish kings. Among the Picts, who were seldom at rest, another battle was fought in 767 A.D. between their ruler Ciniod and Aodh-fin, the Scottish king. Ciniod only survived his doubtful victory till 775. Canaul, the son of Tarla, was in 791 vanquished by Constantin, who succeeded him in the unstable throne of the Picts (*s*).

While the Pictish people were thus afflicted with civil war, they were exposed to the destructive incursions of their enterprising neighbours on the north-east. The anarchical governments of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, during the middle ages, produced the pirate kings of the northern seas. The *Vikings*, if we except the fictitious kings of the Greeks, are unexampled in the annals of the world. The Goths, the Vandals, the Huns, are recorded as the scourges of the human race by land. The pirate kings were long the scourges of the

(*n*) See ch. iii. of this book.

(*o*) Annals of Ulster.

(*p*) Smith's Bede, 222; and Savile's Chronologia.

(*q*) Ulster Annals. The Welsh Chronicles mention this battle in 750, by the name of Maesydaoc, Magedawe, Metgadawe. Chron. of the princes in the Welsh Archæolog., v. ii., p. 391; Chron. of the Saxons and Caradoc, Ib. 472-3.

(*r*) Smith's Bede, p. 224, which speaks without qualification of his tyranny and his crimes. The short chronicle which is annexed to Bede's Ecclesiastical History, states: "A. D. 761, Oengus Pictorum rex obiit, qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruento tyrannus perduxit "carnifex." Id.

(*s*) For all those conflicts see the Ulster Annals, as they have been published by Johnston and by the author of the Enquiry, 1789. It is to be remembered, however, that the dates in the extracts from these annals in the British Museum, are generally one year behind the date, which is stated by Usher from the original Annals of Ulster, and also behind the Annals of Tigernach.

shipmen who sailed from every nation on the European seas. Till the eighth century, however, the Vikingr confined their odious piracies to the Baltic. They now pursued their destructive courses on every sea and on every shore in Europe. They first appeared distinctly on the east coast of England during 787 A.D. (a). They were felt on the Caledonian shores some years afterwards. They made the Hebrides deplore their barbarities throughout the ninth century, while they burnt the religious houses which the pious hands of the Columbans had built. In 839 the Vikingr landed among the Picts. Uen, their king, hastened to defend his people. A bloody conflict ensued; and the gallant Uen fell in defending his country against those ferocious invaders. With him also fell his only brother *Bran*, and many of the Pictish chiefs (b). Distracted by domestic strife and enfeebled thus by wasteful invasion, the Picts were little able to resist the arms or to defeat the policy of Kenneth, the son of Alpin, when he acquired their distracted government in 843 A.D. If it were asked why the name of *Scotland* was not applied to the Caledonian regions for several years after that memorable epoch, the answer must be that the *Picts* remained in possession of them as the predominating people (c).

The Picts, who had the honour to be celebrated by classic authors and remembered for ages after their fall, have been so much misrepresented or neglected by modern writers, that it must gratify a reasonable curiosity to inquire a little more minutely about their language and religion, concerning their customs and antiquities (d).

(a) The energetic writer of the late *History of the Saxons*, vol. ii., gives the best account of the *Vikingr* which I have any where met with. The historians of the three northern kingdoms, as they want chronology, want every thing which is valuable in history. Till the ninth and tenth centuries those historians contain nothing but gross fictions, ridiculous stories, and absurd pretensions. From Andreas we learn that *Vijkingur* signifies *Latro*, from *Vijg*, vir militaris; or from *Vijg* navis; and from the *Lexicon, vocum antiquarum* Arij Polyhistoris, that *Sakougr* signifies *Rex classis* in mare, nunc admiral. And see *Ihre*, in vo. *konung*, rex, *sio-konung* signifies *Dux piratarum*.

(b) For those dates see the Ulster annals, and the Pictish chronicle.

(c) Camdeni *Epistolæ*, p. 362.

(d) It is unnecessary to argue the question with Innes, whether the Picts, after their conquest, were destroyed or preserved. He observes that Kenneth, the son of Alpin, after he had acquired their government in 843 A.D., was called *rex Pictorum*, and not *rex Pittariorum*. The Saxon Chronicle, p. 83, and Ethelward, fol. 485, speak of Halfdene, the Dane, as wasting the country lying between the Picts and Strathclyde Britons in 875 A.D. Asser, a still earlier author, mentions the *Picts* on the same occasion. The continuator of Nennius and the Ulster annals speak of the *Picts*. That the proper Picts still existed in the tenth century we may infer from the intimations of Ethelred, fol. 483, and from Ingulfus, p. 37, ed. 1684. Before the twelfth century

In tracing the origin of a language it is only necessary to ascertain the descent of the people. When it is once settled that the Picts were merely the Cambro-Britons who appeared at various periods under a new and lasting name, the inquiry with regard to the Pictish language must soon terminate in the conclusion that the speech of the Britons and the Picts was the same. As the language is the true genealogy of nations, so the genuine history of nations is the most certain means of tracing the analogy of languages (*c*). But this inquiry is not to be now made. The history and the lineage of the Picts have been very fully investigated; and we have clearly seen that the northern parts of our island were settled, as well as the southern, by the same British tribes who imposed their significant names on the promontories, harbours, and hills, and on the rivers, rivulets, and waters, whose appropriate appellations

the Picts seem to have been so completely merged with the Scots, their conquerors, as no longer to be distinguishable as a people. Their ancient name was now transferred to the Galloway Scots. Radulph, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to Pope Calixtus, in 1124, applied the name of Picts to the men of Galloway. Richard Prior of Hexham, a contemporary with David I., speaks of *the Picts* as composing a part of the Scottish army at the battle of the Standard in 1138 A.D.; "*Picti que vulgo Galweyenses dicuntur*," says he. X Script. Col. 316, n. 34. Huntington soon after considered *the Picts* as a lost people. The proper Picts were the descendants of the Cambro-Britons of old; but the *Galweyenses* were the descendants of the Scoto-Irish settlers of the ninth century. It is indeed true that the proper Picts who had long lived beyond the Friths were called the *Cruithnich* by the Scoto-Irish, and so were the Galloway-Irish called the *Cruithnich* before their migration. The Strathclyde-Britons, who were confounded with the Galloway men, were of the same lineage as the proper Picts; yet, as they remained within the Roman limits, they were not denominated Picts. The name of the Picts has, however, been applied popularly to various objects. The wall of Severus is known in the tradition of the country as the *Picts-wall*. The vast fosse which runs athwart the country from Galashiels to Liddesdale, is called traditionally the *Picts-work-ditch*, as well as the *Catrail*. An ancient way in the Mearns, is called by the country people the *Picts-road*. Several round forts in Liddesdale are still called the *Picts-works*. Stat. Acco. v. xvi., p. 84. A hill, where there is the remain of a British fort, in Curwald parish, is called the *Picts-hill*. Armstrong's Map of the Lothians. In Buchan there are a number of *hiding holes*, which are called the *Picts-houses*. Several circular buildings of stone in Caithness and in Orkney, are called the *Picts-houses*; and the frith, which separates Caithness and Orkney, was of old called "*fretum Picticum*," though now the Pentland Firth. Gordon's *Scotia Antiqua*, in Blaeu's Atlas. In a charter of Alexander II. to the monks of Kinloss of the lands of Burgie, the "*runæ Pictorum*," or water-course of the Picts, is called for as a boundary.

(*c*) "I am not very willing," saith one of the wisest of men, "that any language should be totally extinguished. The similitude and derivation of languages afford the most indubitable proof of the transduction of nations and the genealogy of mankind. They add often physical certainty to historical evidence, and often supply the only evidence of ancient migrations, and of the revolutions of ages which left no written monuments behind them." Johnson's letter to Drummond, in Boswell's life of Johnson, v. i., 488. The President des Brosses, and indeed our own Camden, concur with Johnson in his judicious observations.

are all significant in the British language, as we may learn from the Welsh dictionaries. We have perceived that the Picts of the third century were merely the descendants of the Britons during the first, though the Picts appeared to Roman eyes under new aspects, and to the Roman understanding in more formidable shapes (*f*). We have already seen that the names of the Pictish kings are significant neither in the Teutonic nor Irish, but only in the British speech; and we shall find that Aber-nethy, the metropolis of the Pictish kingdom, also derived from the British language its appropriate appellation, which it retained till the recent period of the Pictish government (*g*).

The most ancient repertory of the Pictish language is the topography of North-Britain (*b*). In it may even now be traced the copious and discriminating speech of that ancient people. Several of the towns in North-Britain have derived their descriptive names from the Pictish speech, such as Eccles, Lanark and Strivelin, Peebles and Perth, Forfar and Aberdeen. Some of the parishes also enjoy the honour of Pictish names, such as Llan-bride and

(*f*) See before, Book i., ch. vi.

(*g*) See Book i., ch. i., and the topographical dictionary in vo. *Aber*. The late Dr. John M'Pherson, who was praised by James M'Pherson "as a master of the Celtic in all its branches," wrote an express dissertation, the fifth, on "the Pictish language." In this he attempts, with a feeble voice indeed, to confute Innes as well as Camden, who were of opinion "that the Picts spoke the British language." In this hopeless task of writing down the truth, he objects to the British word *Aber*, which they had considered as Pictish. He cannot admit this, because the word (*Aber*) is found in some parts of North-Britain to which the Pictish empire never extended, as in Loch-*aber*. He did not know that every part of North-Britain was once inhabited by British tribes, who left the word *Aber* behind them during a thousand years before the Scots came into that country from Ireland. He intimates, indeed, that the Irish may have had the word *Aber* from some of their progenitors; yet he durst not claim it as an *Erse* word: and he did not know the fact, about which he had never inquired, that the word *Aber* is neither in the Irish dictionaries, nor to be found in the Maps of Ireland. By the Pictish tongue he meant, as he says, the language of the old Caledonians, who, according to this master of every dialect of the Celtic, spoke *Erse*! It did not escape the acute penetration of Whitaker that neither Dr. John nor Mr. James M'Pherson understood one word of the *British*. "It is impossible to prove," says Dr. John M'Pherson, "from any faithful record, that Kenneth M'Alpin introduced a new language among his new subjects after he had united the Pictish kingdom with that of the Scots." Yes, the chartularies prove that the Scoto-Irish people did change the British speech for their own. The chartularies show the Scoto-Irish in the very act of converting the British *Aber* into their own *Inver*. It has been demonstrated in Book i., ch. ii., that the names of places in North-Britain during the second century were British. The *Topographical Dictionary* will equally evince that the names of places in the same country became *Scoto-Irish* after the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth M'Alpin.

(*h*) See before, Book i., ch. i. and ii., where the most ancient names of places in the first and second centuries are shewn to be British, that is, Pictish.

Llan-morgan, from the British *Llan*, a church; Liff, from the British Liff, a flood; Pennycuick, Ochiltre, Ayr, and others. Many other names of places may be traced up to the same ancient source, such as *Arran*, a height; *Core*, a creek; *Hengh*, a height; *Pen*, a head; *Ram*, a promontory; *Trwyn* or *Troon*, a point of land; *Pill*, a strength; *Tre*, a vill; *Cader*, a fortress, as *Cater-thun*; *Carse*, and *Kerse*, a swampy ground; *Granbain*, the Grampian range; *Noeth*, a hill; and almost all the rivers and waters (i).

Next to the notices of topography with regard to the Pictish language, we come to the authority of Bede. Amidst his penury of topographical intimations the learned monk does recollect one Pictish word (*k*). In the like manner Nennius informs us that the Scoto-Irish called the same *head of the wall* *Cen-aíl*, which is known at this day by the familiar name of *Ken-neil*; now, the *pen* of the British being equivalent to the *cen* of the Irish, this coincidence of the kindred languages confirms the opinion of Bede, and adds certainty to truth.

The Pictish language may also be found in the vernacular language of North-Britain even at this day (*l*). The inhabitants of Edinburgh use the language

(i) See the comparative topography in Book i., ch. i.

(l) Bede, speaking of the wall of Antonine, the obvious vestiges of which remained in his time, remarks; "Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a monasterio Abercurnig ad occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum *Penwahel*; lingua autem anglorum *Penneltun* appellatur." Bede, edition Smith, p. 50. We thus perceive that in the age of Bede and during the Pictish period the end of the wall was named by the Picts *Pen-wahel* or *Pen-wahel*, the (f) and (v) being convertible—a fact this which proves additionally that the Picts and Britons spoke the same language, for *Pen-wal* and *Pen-y-wal* mean the same thing under different constructions, as *Pen-wal* is Wall-end, and *Pen-y-wal* is the end of the wall. Now, one dialect might more commonly use the one form than the other, and Bede only showed by writing *Pen-wahel* instead of *Pen-y-wal*, which is still prevalent among the northern Britons, the habit of giving double sounds to the single vowels which are used in the Welsh. The *Penel-tun* of the Saxons, as recorded by Bede, is merely the *Penwal* of the Britons contracted by the Saxon pronunciation into *Penel* with the affix *tun*, signifying the town or hamlet at *Penwal*. The intimations of Bede attest what all historians seem to acknowledge, that the languages of the Picts and the Saxons were quite different, Enquiry, 1789, v. i., p. 365, and that the Pictish *Penwahel* preceded the Saxon *Penel-tun*. We are told, however, by the same enquirer, v. i. p. 46, that *Penal* in the Suio-Gothic of Ibre signifies *extendere*, to extend; but if we change the terms of a proposition, and alter the orthography of words, it were easy, no doubt, to convert the *Pen* of the British and the *Cen* of the Scoto-Irish into the *Pana* of the Suio-Gothic. In true etymology, when applied to the names of places, the construction, the spelling, the sense, and the sound ought all to concur together.

(l) There is a vast body of the common speech both of England and of Scotland borrowed from the noble language of the ancient Britons. See the vocabulary, British, Scoto-Irish, and Scottish, in the introduction to the topographical dictionary. Take the following specimens:

Arles, earnest-money, from the British *Arles*.

of the Picts, as often as they speak of some of the North-British towns or of many local objects around them.

The municipal law of North-Britain has even borrowed several of its significant terms from the Pictish speech. The subjoined specimens may suffice for the present :

Clep and *call* of the Scottish law, from the British *Clep* and *Clepian*. *Galnes* of the Scottish law, from the British, *Galan*, Galanes. *Kelchin* of the

Bugabo, from the British *Bug*, a hobgoblin ; and *Bo*, a bugbear, an interjection of terror. Owen's Dict. and Lhuyd's Arch., 214.

Bung, a bung-hole. Lhuyd, 214 ; Owen.

Batie, a boar, from *Baedd*, British ; *Bahet*, Cornish. Davies and Pryce.

Brisket, the breast of a slain beast, from the British *Brysced*. Richards.

To *Cleck*, from the British *Cleca*. Owen.

Cowl, from the British *Cuwyl*. Owen.

Cach, dung, from the British *Cach*. Owen and Lhuyd, p. 198.

Cummer, a godmother, also *Cummerwife*, from the British *Commaer*. Lhuyd, p. 183 ; and Borlase, p. 422.

Cawk or *Chalk*, from the British *Calch*. Owen.

Claver, and clish-ma-claver, from the British *Clebar*.

Clap, from the British *Clep*.

Darn, to mend or piece. Owen.

Dub, from the British *Dwb*. Owen.

Dad, a father, from the British *Tad*.

Earnest, the pledge-money of an agreement, from the British *Ern* and *Ernes*.

Gridle or *Girdle*, from the British *Griedell*, or Irish *Greidal*.

Glos, a slumber, British *Gloes*, Corn. *Glos*. Owen and Pryce.

Gus, a sow ; Corn. *Guis* ; Arm. *Gues*. Pryce and Lhuyd, p. 183, 204.

Hether, from the British *Eithliar* (Eithiar). Owen. The aspirate H being prefixed by the Saxons, changed the word to *Hether*.

Hem, a border seam, from the British *Hem*. Owen.

Hut, *Hoot*, an interj. from *Hwt*, British. Owen.

Knoc, a rap, from the British *Cnoc*.

Knoll, pronounced *Know*, from the British *Cnol*. Owen.

Knell, the stroke of a bell, from the British *Cnul*. Owen.

Kebar, a rafter, from the British *Ceber*. Lhuyd, p. 214 ; Owen and Pryce's Arch. in vo. Keber.

To *Kemp*, from the British *Camp*, Campiau. Owen.

Mammy, from the British *Mam*, a mother. Davies and Richard.

Marl, from the British *Marl*. Id.

Pez, pease, from the British *Pys* ; Cornish *Pez*. Richard and Pryce.

Park, a field or enclosure, from the British *Parc* ; Cornish, *Park*.

Paw, the foot, from the British, Cornish, and Armoric *Paw* and Pawen. Pryce and Lhuyd, p. 208.

Ruth, plenty, from *Rhwth*, British ; *Ruth*, Cornish. Davies and Pryce.

Saim, lard, from the British *Saim*. Richards.

Withy, a twig, from the British *Wydd* (Wyth) ; Cornish *Withen*. Richard and Pryce.

Scottish law, from the British *Cyleh*. *Merched* or *Mercheta* Mulierum, of the Scottish law, from the British *Merched*. *Ocker* of the Scottish law, from the British *Ocyr* (*m*).

The Welsh archaeology has at length furnished the curious inquirers after a language, which has been supposed by the English chroniclers of the middle ages to be lost, with some admirable poems in the Pictish language. The Caledonian Myrddin or *Merlinus Caledonius*, who was born on the north of the Clyde, and flourished about 560 A.D., has left an elegant specimen of Pictish poetry in his *Acallennau*, wherein he speaks of Caledonia as his native soil (*n*). The *Gododin* of Aneurin, who wrote his elegant poem about 540 A.D., may also be justly deemed a specimen of Pictish poetry, as it was composed in the kindred language of the Romanized Britons of the Ottadinian country (*o*). In fact, the Picts being merely the descendants of the British settlers of North-Britain, and the British names of waters, both in North and South-Britain, being significant in the Welsh dictionaries, the Pictish language must be sought for in the Cambro-British word-books as its genuine depositories.

The language of the Britons and Picts has been considered by judicious writers as masculine, copious, and poetical. Indeed, from not seeing it in its primitive orthography, it seems to be harsh in its sounds to the ears of strangers; yet when it is put into verse and is read with its genuine pronunciation, it is like the Greek and the Hebrew, melodious and strong (*p*).

(*m*) Owen's and Davies's Dict.; and Skene, *De verborum significatione*.

(*n*) Welsh Arch., v. i., p. 150; Lhuyd's Arch., p. 263:

Ni neuav; ni chyscaf: ergryna! fy nragon,
Fy arglwydd Gwenddolau, am browy frodorion!
Gwedi porthi heint, a hoed, amgylch *Celyddon*,
Bwyf was gwynfydig gan Wledig Gorchorddion!

I sigh not; I do not sleep; I am agitated for my chief,
My Lord Gwenddolau, and my genial countrymen!
After bearing of affliction, and mourning about *Caledonia*,
I pray to be a blessed servant with the Supreme of supernal circles!

(*o*) See the Welsh Arch., v. i., p. 1.

(*p*) Ancient Univer. Hist., v. vi., p. 31. The topography of North-Britain alone exhibits abundant proofs of those several characteristics of the British and Pictish languages, while it shews the barrenness of the Gothic speech, and the want of taste for descriptive appellations of the Saxon people. The Celtic names of promontories, mountains, valleys, lakes, rivers, and other natural objects display a vast variety of descriptive and metaphorical terms, which must give great delight to all those who are capable of understanding them. The strength of the Gaelic speech arises from the brevity and force with which it conveys to the mind the meaning of the speakers

As the Celts were the original settlers of western Europe, they transmitted to their posterity an energetic passion for imposing their own significant names on all the prominent objects of nature. In exercising this peculiar prerogative of first discoverers, they displayed those appropriate qualities of their language which have been remarked, its strength and discrimination, its copiousness of epithet, and its frequency of metaphor (*q*).

and writers. Its copiousness is seen in the great variety of its appropriate appellations. The Gaelic language has no fewer than fifty thousand terms for hills of various kinds, from the *Bein* for the highest mountain, down to the *Tom* for the smallest hillock, while the Gothic has scarcely half a dozen for the same objects. See Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary, Hick's Thesaurus, and other Gothic word-books for the facts.

(*q*) See Lhuyd's *Adversaria* which are annexed to Baxter's Glossary; and the following topographical dictionary, which displays a thousand examples of the *strength* and discrimination of the British and Pictish languages. It were endless to enumerate the great variety of descriptive appellations which the Celtic people have given to the mountains, rivers, and other natural objects in North-Britain. They may be seen as well in the Comparative Topography, book i., ch. i., as in the Topographical Dictionary. The Gaelic settlers in North-Britain seem to have had a singular disposition to suppose the heights of their mountainous country to resemble different parts of the human body in various attitudes, and to apply metaphorical names to those heights in allusion to those fancied resemblances. The British *Truyn* and the Scoto-Irish *Sron*, which signify the *nose*, are often applied to promontories and to projections of hills; the British *Pen* and the Scoto-Irish *Cen*, the *head*; the British *Bron*, the *breast*; the Gaelic *Druim*, the *back*; *Tom*, the *backside*; *Lurg*, the *leg* or *shank*; *Aodan*, the *forehead*; the British and Scoto-Irish *Tou*, a *belly*; and many other similar expressions, were all metaphorically applied by the Gaelic settlers as the names of hills. Many of the appellations of rivers, lakes, and waters in North-Britain also evince the liveliness, taste, and discrimination of the Gaelic colonists of Great-Britain in imposing their lasting names on the various waters of that country, such as *Avon*, *Uisge*, *Ease*, *Dur*, *Tain*, *Guy*, *Wy* or *Uy*, *Aw*, *Awdur*, *Ey*, *Dobhar*, *Sruth*, *Ad*, *An*, *Ean*, *Oiche*, *Bir*; and for smaller streams the Celtic appellations are *Carrog*, *Nant*, *Gover*, *Ald*, *Sruthan*, *Loin*, *Gil*, and others. We may perceive in the map of Wales the same descriptive and metaphorical names of hills, rivers, and other such objects. See the *Adversaria* of Lhuyd before quoted. On the contrary, the only Saxon appellative for a river which appears in the topography of North-Britain is the *Fleet* or *Fleet*, and which occurs but twice in the *Fleet* in Galloway and the *Fleet* in Sutherlandshire. The only Scoto-Saxon name for a rivulet is *Byrn* or *Burn*, which has passed into common speech. Here, then, are additional proofs of the copiousness of the Celtic and of the barrenness of the Gothic. Take an example of the discriminating faculty of the Celtic language. Many streams were called *Duglas*, from the *dark blue* appearance of the water. There is in the vicinity of some of these the epithet *Finglas*, appropriately applied to some streams having a *light blue* colour. See the Map of Dunbartonshire. In the topography of North-Britain there are a thousand names which evince the nice discriminations of the Celtic colonists. The *Eden* and *Ithan* denote in the British a gliding stream; the *Aluon* and *Alan* in the British and Scoto-Irish signify a bright or clear stream; *Uisge-du* signifies a black or dark-coloured stream; *Iligh* or *Ila* denotes a floody stream; the *Carrons* derived their names from their distinguishing quality of *Curvatures*, and the *Levens* from their appropriate smoothness of surface or flow.

As the Celtic tongue abounded with indigenous elements, the Celts borrowed little from foreign languages, whatever they may have lent from their own abundance to succeeding people. The Celtic, indeed, did not stand in need of foreign aid, as the ingenuity of the Celtic people, from the copious roots of their own tongue, formed and multiplied terms as occasion demanded and invention dictated. The Celts enjoyed from their earliest progenitors an invincible attachment to their own language, which naturally produced a strong antipathy to innovations in their ancient tongue, or adoptions from the speech of those whom their hatred viewed as invaders or oppressors. Though the Romans were for centuries mixed with the Britons of the south and the Caledonians of the north, and taught them some of their arts, yet the British and Pictish people did not adopt any of the Roman language, except the names of art or of persons. Such words in the British and Pictish language, as seem to the eye of cursory observation to exhibit some analogy in their form and meaning, owe such appearances to their formation from roots which sprung originally from a common source. It cannot then be said with truth or propriety that the Celts borrowed from the Latins, or the Latins from the Celts. Not a Latin expression is to be found in the ingenious poetry of the ancient Britons during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, while the vulgar languages of Europe had not yet been formed (*r*). The speech of the Romanized Britons remained after the retreat of the Romans the same as the language of the extraprovincial Britons of Caledonia. The tongue of the Caledonian Myrddin is exactly the same with the speech of the southern poets who wrote in the same age among the Romanized Britons. The Britons even applied terms from their own copious language to the Roman walls, to the Roman roads, camps, stations, and other Roman works in this country, instead of adopting Roman terms for Roman labours. Neither the lapse of time nor the change of circumstances have at all diminished the strong attachment of the Celtic people to their own language, or their aversion from the intrusion of hostile tongues. These passions form a striking feature in the character of their undoubted descendants in the present age. It was one of the fundamental maxims of the Celtic Bards to preserve their own language. Actuated by this principle, the ancient Britons in Wales and the Scoto-Irish in North-Britain tenaciously maintained their own speech, and obstinately resist the adoption of the English language, whatever may be its improvements or its use (*s*).

(*r*) See the Welsh Archæology, v. i., throughout.

(*s*) Major takes notice of this aversion of the Scoto-Irish in his time. Hist., 4to edit., p. 34.

In the subsequent progress of the Gothic tribes over Europe, wherever they occupied countries which had been previously occupied by the Celts, the Gothic intruders not only adopted the names of the rivers, mountains, and other places that the more lively genius of the Celts had imposed from a more energetic and descriptive speech, but the Gothic colonists borrowed many terms from the more opulent language of their Celtic predecessors. The Goths who in late times intruded upon the Celtic people of Germany borrowed much of their language, and adopted many of the Celtic names of places in that ample region; hence we find in the excellent glossaries of the German language by Wachter, and by Schilter, a numerous body of Celtic words which they fairly state as derivations from a Celtic origin (*t*). The candid statements of both might be confirmed from the German topography, if the names of rivers and of places were traced up to their Celtic sources. The Saxons who settled in Britain were prompted by their poverty of speech to follow the example of their Gothic fathers. They adopted the Celtic names of rivers, many of the names of hills, as well as other places, and they appropriated a number of terms from the more copious and expressive speech of the Britons, both of

The numerous roots and the great variety of the Celtic tongue may be seen in Bullet's *Mem. Sur la Langue Celtique*, tom. ii. iii., in *Geb. Monde Prim.*, tom. v., and in Owen's *Welsh Dictionary*. The British dialect of the Celtic contains a copious, energetic and expressive language, which was early formed from its native riches, without the help of foreign adoptions. See also the Gaelic vocabularies of McDonald and M'Farlan, and Shaw's *Dictionary*, for the copiousness of the Scotch-Irish dialect of the Celtic. On the other hand the comparative barrenness of the Gothic language may be seen clearly in the *Monosyllaba Islandica*, in Andreas's *Islandic Dictionary*, in the *Vocabularium Dacorum*, 1510, and in Hick's *Thesaurus*. The barrenness of the Anglo-Saxon language may be seen in the fewness of its synonyma; it has only four or five appellatives for a hill, as *Berg*, *Hleaw*, or *Law*, *Dun*, and *Tor*, and of these four the two last are borrowed from the Celtic, for the *Dun* and *Tor* only appear in the Anglo-Saxon and in the German, but not in the other dialects of the Gothic; and indeed Wachter, with his usual candour, states the *Dun* and *Thor* to be Celtic words. In the whole of the Islandic, Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish dialects of the Gothic there are only about nine or ten appellations for a hill, as *Berg*, *Fell*, *Bucke*, *Klett*, *Holl*, *Hoi*, *Lid*, *Lie*, *Blu*, while one dialect of the Celtic alone has more than fifty different appellatives for the same objects. The poetical nature of the Celtic language may be inferred, not only from its aptness for poetry, as we may see in the *Welsh Archæology*, but still more from the lively metaphorical and descriptive epithets which the Celtic people applied to the various objects of nature wherever they colonized.

(*t*) The most ancient specimens of the German and French tongues are the oaths of Louis le Germanique and his brother Charles le Chauve, which they took in 842 A.D., and which consist of a rude mixture of Latin, Celtic, and Tudesque. Bullet's *Mem.*, tom. i., p. 23; and *Geb. Monde Prim.*, tom. v., p. 103. At that epoch, when the Picts ceased to be an independent people, both the Britons and Picts spoke a highly cultivated language, and possessed many specimens of the finest poetry from a long succession of elegant poets. See the *Welsh Archæology*, v. i.

the south and the north. Many of the Celtic words which had been thus adopted from necessity or convenience have maintained their places in the English language, through successive ages, from their usefulness. These adopted words form a considerable proportion of the English language, even at the present day (*u*). The greater number of those adopted words is so little altered in their form and meaning, as to give little exercise to the ingenuity of the etymologist in tracing them to their true originals. But our lexicographers, from their unskilfulness in the language of the Britons and unacquaintance with the history of the Goths, have stated many of the adopted words from the original language of our island as of unknown origin, and they have traced many words to a Saxon source without knowing that the Saxons had themselves borrowed their adoptions from the British Aborigines.

It was owing to that barrenness of speech and dullness of apprehension that we see so little description or variety in the names of places in the countries which were settled by the Gothic colonists (*x*). The Anglo-Saxons who in more recent times acquired settlements in North-Britain adopted, in the same manner, the Celtic names of waters, of heights, and of other great objects of

(*u*) See Whitaker's *Manchest.*, v. ii., p. 238-40; and see the introduction to the following topographical dictionary for "a specimen of a vocabulary, British, Scoto-Irish, and Scottish." The intelligent writer of the late *Welsh Dictionary* has carefully investigated the origin of the several words which begin the letter B in the English language, and according to his result there may be referred to the Saxon, - - - - - 1101

Of these, 165 words were obviously borrowed by the Saxons from the British,	165	
	—	hence 936
Words certainly derived from the British, including the above 165,	- - -	905
Uncertain Words, - - - - -	- - -	126
Words from the French, - - - - -	- - -	541
— from the Latin, - - - - -	- - -	461
— from the Greek, - - - - -	- - -	164
— from the Italian, - - - - -	- - -	60
— from the Dutch, - - - - -	- - -	135
		<hr/> 3328

In several of the other letters of the English Dictionary this ratio of adoption will be more in favour of the British speech, as the words in this language beginning with B are few in number, compared with several other letters of the *Cambro-British Dictionary*; and considering the connection of the French, the Latin, the Greek, and the Italian with the Celtic, we may see the great preponderance of the Celtic in the English language.

(*x*) See satisfactory proofs of this in Jonas's "*Specimen Islandiæ Historicum, et magna ex parte Chorographicum.*" Amstel., 1643. See annexed to Gibson's *Sax. Chron.*, his "*Regulæ Generalis ad investigandas origine Nominum Locorum.*" And see also the following topographical dictionary in the Saxon names of places.

nature. They adopted a greater number of the Celtic names of places in North than in South-Britain, because their settlements were made in the north at a later period and in a different manner. The Anglo-Saxons also borrowed many words both from the British and Scoto-Irish, which have maintained their place, and give strength and copiousness and ornament to the Scoto-Saxon of the present times. In allusion to the want of fertility in the Anglo-Saxon speech, Verstegan has recorded a *saie* which Somner was studious to copy :

“In Ford, in *Ham*, in *Ley*, and *Tun*,
“The most of English surnames run (*y*).”

To the language of a people, which is of all their antiquities the most interesting, the next object of curiosity is their *religion*, as it shows a progress of sentiment, and may evince an analogy of lineage. The religion of the Gauls and the Britons, as we have seen, was the same. The religion of the Britons and the Picts was the same, as we know they were the same people from the identity of their speech, the sameness of their topography, and the identity of their monuments. The tenets and the form of the Pictish religion were Druid till the sixth century, as we know from a thousand relics of stone that are still the wonder of inquisitive eyes within the district of the Pictish country (*z*). The modes of sepulture among the Picts were the same as those of the Caledonians, as the sepulchral rites of the Caledonians were the same as those of the Britons (*zz*). Their hill-forts, their weapons of war, their ornaments, and their modes of life were the same as those of the Caledonian Britons, of whom the Picts were the immediate descendants (*a*).

Whatever portion of the Pictish history we discuss, whether their origin, annals, or their language or religion, their manners or customs, it is repeatedly asked whether the Picts were a *Celtic* or a *Gothic* people. In order to close an inquiry which embarrasses by the frequency of its recurrence the history of this people, it is proposed to review briefly the *Pictish question* as it has been discussed by inquisitive men at different periods under various aspects.

If facts had been ascertained or regarded, it is impossible that such an inquiry could have been ever made. That Britain was gradually colonized from the nearest coast of Gaul is an historical fact which seems to be agreed upon by

(*y*) Versteg. *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*. But both Somner and Verstegan should have considered the *surnames* as derived secondarily from the Saxon topography, wherein the defect originally arose.

(*z*) See before, those curious objects investigated in book i., ch. ii.

(*zz*) *Id.*

(*a*) See all those objects of rational curiosity fully treated of, where we speak of the Caledonian tribes, in book i., ch. ii.

scholars from J. Cæsar, and Tacitus, Buchanan, and Camden, to Stillingfleet and Schoepflin (*b*). That the several districts of the same island should be peopled by the same tribes is a probability which may be carried up to certainty by the satisfactory evidence of the perpetual resemblance of the same language, religion, and manners. Yet paradox supposes it to be more likely that the northern parts of our island were planted by migrants from beyond the ocean than from beyond the Tweed during ages when the art of ship-building was unknown. For maintaining that certainty, proofs which come near to demonstration have been submitted to the reader, that every part of this island was settled originally by the same Gaelic tribes. It is a *truism*, then, that our whole island was planted by the same British people; and against this *truism* and that demonstration Tacitus cannot be allowed to make his conjectures, nor Bede to inform us, *from the report of others*, that the second people who settled in this island came from Scythia. Subsequent writers, who raised a superstructure of sentiments on the *opinion* of Tacitus and the *hearsay* of Bede, appear thus to build on a very slight foundation (*c*).

The British tribes cannot be dispossessed unless by the introduction of a new people, whose arrival and conquests must be evidenced by stronger proofs than paradoxical theories. The British people, in fact, remained undispossessed of their ancient land during the first and second centuries. The pristine topography of North-Britain, as it is exhibited by Ptolemy and Richard, ascertains that decisive truth. In them we see a thousand traces of a Celtic people; but of a Gothic people it is impossible to perceive a single trace. While topography speaks thus to the conviction of every reader, history is silent concerning Gothic migrations in those times into the British islands, or even into western Europe (*d*).

The *Caledonians* were the inhabitants of North-Britain during the first century, as we learn from Tacitus. It was the Caledonians who fought Agricola at the foot of the Grampian. It was the Caledonians who finally repulsed the Roman legions. If the inhabitants of North-Britain during the first century were British tribes of a Celtic lineage, the Caledonians must necessarily have been Celtic Britons; and the context of Tacitus attests that the Britons of North and South-Britain were in that age the same people.

(*b*) See Gibbon's Hist., 8vo. edit., v. iv., p. 291, who says the present age is satisfied with the rational opinion that the British islands were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul.

(*c*) It was the deliberate opinion of Tacitus, or rather of Agricola, says Gibbon, that the Gauls, the Britons, and the Caledonians were a kindred people. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

(*d*) See before, book i., ch. i.

The Caledonians were immediately succeeded by the Picts, or rather the Picts were the old Caledonians under a new name. The classic authors who lived during the third century, when the Caledonians first appeared under the appellation of Picts, are so positive that they were the same people, that even polemics have acknowledged this significant truth. The stoutest supporters of the Gothic system concerning the Pictish lineage, are forced to confess that the Caledonians and Picts were the same people (*c*). The acknowledgement which has just been made of the *sameness* of the Picts and Caledonians is fatal to the *Gothic system*; for, as it has been settled by a thousand facts as a moral certainty, that the North-British tribes were a Celtic people during the second and first centuries, the Caledonians of those times must necessarily have been British Celts. A system which pretends to outface a thousand facts, involves in it a million of absurdities; the fundamental truth that the Picts and Caledonians, the Britons and Gauls, were the same Celtic people, is strongly supported by moral certainties; while the Gothic system is made to stand on unauthorized assertion and unavailable inference.

The Scottish chroniclers, Fordun and Wyntoun, Boece and Major, copying the obscure intimation of Bede, trace the Picts, by successive migrations, “from Scithy to Ireland, and from Ireland to Brytayne.” We may easily suppose that in their conceits the Picts were a Scythic people. Against such history and such an inference Buchanan at length made a stand. This acute writer

(*c*) “That the Caledonians and Picts were one and the same people is now universally allowed. “Buchanan, Camden, Lloyd, Innes, Whitaker, the M’Phersons, O’Conner, D’Anville, Stillingfleet, though differing widely on other points, all join here.” Enquiry, 1789. The first chapter of part iii. of this book has this significant title, “The Caledonians and Picts the same.” The motive for this alacrity in bringing so many scholars to acknowledge the sameness of the Picts and Caledonians appears to be this: During the three centuries which elapsed after the invasion of North-Britain by Agricola, the Greek and Roman authors would have so firmly opposed the notion of a *Gothic* conquest over Caledonia, that it became necessary to go back into darker ages as much more commodious for fabulous assumption. *The fact* required that the original colonization of North-Britain by the Cambro-Britons should be acknowledged. The classic authorities demanded that the sameness of the Picts and Caledonians should also be acknowledged: and nothing remained in *this strong dilemma of a desperate case* but to assert, without proof and against probability, that the Caledonians were a Gothic colony who conquered North-Britain in some unknown age, two or three centuries, perhaps, before our common era. He who goes back to those distant times for proofs of a Gothic conquest of North-Britain must show what the most erudite scholars have not yet shown, when the Gothic people came into western Europe, except the conquering Goths be brought indeed from the Danube, through the Hellespont, into the ocean. But of such expeditions in such an age history is silent, and of such conquests there does not remain in North Britain the smallest trace, while there exist a thousand proofs that such Gothic conquests were never made.

now insisted that the Picts of the third century were the descendants of the Caledonians in the first who spoke the Celtic tongue. After proving from an accurate comparison of the names of places in Gaul and in Britain that the Gauls and Britons were the same people, he erred with the vulgar in supposing that either the Picts or Caledonians were migrants from abroad, rather than descendants of the first settlers from South-Britain. By thus admitting what was untrue in argument and false in fact, he was obliged to derive the Picts and Caledonians from the Gothini, a Gaulic people in Germany (*f*). Buchanan was obviously misled by his enmity to Humphrey Llyud the Welsh antiquary, to derive the Caledonians from any people rather than the Cambro-Britons.

In this track of inquiry Buchanan was soon followed by Camden, the Strabo of England, who originally offered his *Britannia* to the antiquarian world in 1586 (*g*). After stating the opinions of others, this modest and judicious writer gave his own judgment "that the Picts were very Britons, indeed, by "the demeanor, name, and speech of the Picts." He argues the question, like Buchanan, from classic authors; like him, he shows the conformity of the names of places; and he concludes a learned disquisition, without dreading the charge of absurdity, "that the Pictish and the British language differed not; "and of consequence the nations were not divers" (*h*). With this judgment of Camden, concurred Selden, who advised others to follow his example (*i*). Speed, when he came to exhibit a *prospect* of Scotland, gave it as his opinion "that *the Picts* anciently inhabiting a part of that kingdom, were the *inborn Britons*, whose names began first to be distinguished under Dioclesian" (*k*).

(*f*) See Buchanan's Hist., lib. xi., § 18 to 27. This able man assures us that before the arrival of the Saxons none of the British nations, when conversing with each other, used an interpreter; that there are no traces of a foreign tongue in the peculiar country of the Picts; that the names of districts and of towns which they once inhabited are still significant in the ancient language. It is curious to remark that these notions of Buchanan are confirmed by the fact. In this work, book i., ch. i., may be seen, from an elaborate comparison of the names of places, that North-Britain must have been settled by the same Gaulic people who colonized South-Britain. In book i., ch. ii., it is evinced by similar comparisons that the names of tribes and of places were still Celtic in the *second* and *third* centuries, without a single trace of any Gothic tongue, and hence the instructive inference that a Gothic people had not yet arrived within the Caledonian regions.

(*g*) The first edition of the *BRITANNIA* is an 8v volume of 560 pages. Of these he dedicated four pages to the *Picti*, nine to the *Scoti*, and eight to *Scotia*.

(*h*) *Ib.*, § 8, *Picti*.

(*i*) In his notes on the *Polyolbion* of Drayton.

(*k*) *Prospects*. B. iii., ch. i. The geographer du Chesne concurs with Camden, Selden, and Speed, adding new authorities and additional facts. *Histoire d'Angleterre, d'Escoce, et d'Irlande*, Liv. iii.

When Usher was collecting materials, however, for his *ecclesiastical antiquities*, he thought fit to follow the intimations of Bede rather than the judgment of Camden, by supposing that the Picts were Cimbric-Germans, and not *inborn Britons* (l). Yet with Usher did not concur Lloyd, the learned Bishop of St. Asaph, who was an original thinker rather than the collector of the opinions of others. According to this eminent scholar, *the Picts* were anciently called *Caledones*, and were not of a different language from the Britons, nor were called by any other name that we read of, till about three hundred years after Christ (m). This explicit judgment of Lloyd did not, however, prevent Stillingfleet, when he came out to defend this learned prelate against Sir George M'Kenzie, from attempting a confutation of Lloyd 'on this *Pictish question* (n). The notions of Stillingfleet are chiefly derived from Tacitus, who had not influenced Buchanan, nor Camden, nor Selden, nor Speed, nor Du Chesne, to think absurdly on so obvious a point. In 1706 was published the *History of the Picts*, which had been written a century before by Henry Maul, who concurred with Camden, and argued, from the North-British topography, that their lineage was British. The Pictish history was followed in 1707 by Lhuyd's *Archæologia*. This learned writer now delivered it as his judgment "that the Picts were Britons without question, as appeared from the names "of the mountains and rivers in the *Lowlands* of Scotland, where they inhabited." After reviewing such contradictory opinions, it is curious to remark that those scholars who formed their judgments from reading books, without attending to circumstances, considered the Picts as a *Gothic* people; while those scholars who weighed circumstances, examined topography, and adverted to language, regarded the Picts as *inborn Britons*, whose tongue was Cambro-British. It will be found from the most elaborate researches that facts must necessarily prevail against opinions.

At length Innes appeared with his *Critical Essay* in 1729, which he had elaborated during twenty years. Like Lloyd, Innes is an original thinker who forms his own opinions. He now reviewed with an elaborate pen the

(l) *Eccles. Primord.*, ch. xv.(m) *Hist. Acco. of Church Gov.*, 1684, ch. i., § 3.

(n) *Origines Brit.*, 204-6. When Gibson republished the *Britannia* in 1695, he referred in a note to Usher's *Primordia* for the origin of the Picts, and added, that "Stillingfleet proves "them to have their original from Scandinavia." It is quite wonderful that Gibson should have opposed the loose collection of Usher, and the learned impertinences of Stillingfleet to the solid sense of Camden, which will remain for ever. When Gibson had the rashness to attempt a confutation of Camden he seems not to have known that Camden had been supported by the concurrence of Selden, of Burton in his *Antoninus*, and of Sir William Temple in his *Introduction* to the history of England.

several sentiments of those who had before him discussed the *Pictish question*. He reconciles the conjecture of Tacitus (*a*); he explains the *hearsay* of Bede; he concurs with Lloyd; he confutes Stillingfleet (*b*); and he at length declares it to be more natural as well as more probable, that the Caledonian Britons, or Picts, were of the same origin as the Britons of the South, who came certainly from the nearest coast of Gaul, and who gradually advanced northward, carrying with them the same customs and the same language which they had themselves derived from the Gaulish Celts (*c*). The *Critical Essay* of Innes made a great impression on the antiquarian prejudices of those times, though he was encountered by opponents (*d*). But every research which has yet been made, evinces that Innes was accurate in his authorities, founded in his facts, and right in his conclusions.

The next in succession, though not in merit, who discussed the *Pictish question*, was Sir John Clerk, who died in 1755 (*e*). The *Critical Essay* was too recent for the perusal of such an antiquary, and the opinions of Buchanan and Camden had been too little considered in his judgment to merit refutation; nor can he allow to Davies and Lhuyd that the speech which they had cultivated was once the *Lingua Britannica*, or the universal language of Great Britain. But he who speculates on languages which must have existed before the waters in the same country had received their names, only plunges into *the dark, unbottomed, infinite abyss whence none can find his uncouth way through the palpable obscure* (*f*). Yet our antiquary appears to have never inquired

(*a*) Gibbon concurs with Innes in the sound construction which he gives to Tacitus's sentiments as to the question, who were the first inhabitants of Britain. In fact Tacitus, after idly supposing that different tribes may have had a different origin, at length gives his deliberate judgment: "On a general survey, however, it appears probable that the Gauls originally took possession of the neighbouring coast. The sacred rites and superstitions of those people are discernible among the Britons. The languages of the two nations (the Gauls and Britons) do not greatly differ." Yet Sir John Clerk insisted that Tacitus had said the languages of the Gauls and *Germans* did not widely differ. He must have hastily written from faint recollection.

(*b*) Ledwich, the Irish antiquary, observes that Stillingfleet had never been confuted. Ledwich perhaps never saw Innes's work.

(*c*) Crit. Essay, v. i., p. 41 to 166.

(*d*) The Rev. Dr. Free tried to confute Innes's judgment concerning the *Pictish question* in some dissertations, which are now forgotten.

(*e*) He compiled, for the private hearing of a literary society, in 1742, his "Inquiry into the ancient languages of Great Britain," which was published in the *Reliquiæ Galeanæ*, p. 362, and which was opposed even by its publisher, who saw its manifold defects.

(*f*) We have seen before, in b. i., ch. i., that the names of the waters within North-Britain are significant in the Cambro-British speech, as explained by Davies and Lhuyd.

who were the first inhabitants of Europe, or when the Goths came originally into Western Europe; but he is sure, in opposition to authorities and facts, that the German nations were the first who peopled the greatest part of this island; he is clear that the Saxon speech was heard throughout the land before J. Caesar had defiled its shores with his ambitious feet; he is certain that “the *Saxon* language was what the Picts spoke,” and he knew that “the true ancient Scoto-Saxon language continues in the Orkneys to this day (*g*). The true friends of so worthy a man must lament that his *Inquiry* should have been exposed to the eye of criticism, because it must lessen his fame as an antiquary, and disparage his character as a scholar.

We are now advanced in reviewing the *Pictish question* to the present reign. Guthrie published his *History of Scotland* in 1767. He professes to write without regard to former systems of Scottish antiquities; he considers ancient languages as more instructive, because they are founded upon facts, than the wild dreams of Irish or of northern antiquities; he thinks that the speech of the Celts was perhaps the mother language of the dead tongues in every part of Europe; and, after some obliquities, he comes at length to conclude that the Picts, who were the unsubdued part of the Belgic-Britons, in the end merged the very name of Caledonians (*h*). It is apparent from Guthrie's arguments that he relied more on Welsh philology than on the more instructive inferences of local facts.

We now enter on the Polemic scene wherein the Macphersons and Whitaker played conspicuous parts. In 1768, appeared *Critical Dissertations* on the ancient Caledonians, their posterity, the Picts, and the British, and Irish Scots (*i*). In proving what cannot indeed be denied, that the Picts were the posterity

(*g*) Galeanæ, p. 362-3. It is demonstrably certain that the first stratum of names on the map of North-Britain is Cambro-British; that the second stratum which, within *Pictinia*, was superinduced upon the former was the Gaelic; that the topographic language of the Orkneys, *Norse* as it is, is as different from the Anglo-Saxon as any two languages can be that have a common origin. See before b. i., chap. i. ii.; b. ii., ch. iii. The inferences which necessarily result from the demonstrations which those Books supply are very obvious to all who can reason without regard to previous opinions; that the Cambro-Britons were the first colonists who imposed those names on places; that the Gaelic-Scots were the second settlers in the *lowlands* who imposed their peculiar names; but that there was no room left for the intrusion of Gothic appellations. The Teutonic names of places in the lowlands are Anglo-Saxon and English, which were imposed during recent times, and of course do not apply to the *Pictish question*. It is singular to remark that the name of Pen-y-cuik, whence Sir John Clerk dated his *Inquiry*, can only be rationally explained from the British speech, and not from the Gothic or Gaelic.

(*h*) See his *Introduction* throughout.

(*i*) By John Macpherson, D.D., the minister of Sleat.

of the Caledonians, he confutes some positions of Stillingfleet, and concurs with the opinion of Camden (*k*). After refuting the learned Polemic, our Dissertator is so weak as to deny the existence of the Pictish monarchy. He reads the *Pictish Chronicle* in Innes, he sees the Pictish kings in Bede, acting in their proper characters, both ecclesiastical and civil; yet, cannot he perceive the Pictish monarchy, whatever Innes may prove by the most satisfactory evidence. The blindness of prejudice carries our Dissertator even beyond this incredulity; he admits the existence of the Picts as a people, yet denies the entity of their speech as a language (*l*); and his ardour of *Scoticism* hurries him headlong from the paths of truth which lay directly before him, into the obliquities of error that have consigned his *Critical Dissertations* to long-enduring oblivion. These *Dissertations* were immediately followed throughout their whole course of inquiry by the *Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (*m*). His precursor had already done so much to annihilate the *Picts*, that it did not require much effort in our *historical introducer*, who affects “to look upon “antiquity through the medium of the ancients,” to *adjudge the Picts to death and hell by doom severe* (*n*). The arrogance which attempted to blot from our history the genuine descendants of the first colonists of North-Britain, was

(*k*) Stillingfleet had been so unguarded as to argue that the Caledonians, having been wasted by war, left an opening for the Gothic Picts to come in upon them from Denmark during the *third century*. Our Dissertator opposes such groundless suppositions by the improbability of such a migration, and the silence of ancient writers. The total absence of Gothic names of persons and of places during that age in the North-British topography is decisive proof that no such emigration took place.

(*l*) He contends, he says, for the identity of the Pictish and Scottish tongues, as the Picts and Scots were genuine descendants of the old Caledonians. It is, however, apparent that those tongues were *not identical*, but were distinct dialects of the Celtic. The Scots were not genuine descendants of the Caledonians, and did not speak the Caledonian language. The topography of North-Britain attests the distinctness of the two people, and the difference of their tongues.

(*m*) By the well-known James Macpherson, who supplied the *Preface* and other helps to the *Critical Dissertations*. It was the great object of those two writers to revive the fabulous conceits of the ancient priority of the Scots in North-Britain, which critical controversy had driven into *obscure darkness*.

(*n*) The Picts are not so much as mentioned in Macpherson's ample Index, nor in his copious title page, which specifies the Britons, the Irish, and the Anglo-Saxons. The painful reader, after turning over a hundred and twenty-nine pages, will find the Picts cursorily mentioned as having once existed in the historic pages of Ammianus Marcellinus. But whether they spoke the Gaelic language or the British he could not tell. I have been assured that James Macpherson tried throughout his life, though without success, to discover the etymon of the name of Spey, the outrageous river on whose banks he was born. Now this appropriate appellation is merely the Cambro-British *Espeye*, which denotes the qualities of this overflowing stream.

soon severely chastised. Every branch of the British root found a potent prop in Whitaker. The *Genuine History of the Britons* appeared in 1772, which undoubtedly is what it professed to be, "A Candid Refutation of Mr. Macpherson's Introduction." It may be said of this powerful assertor of the British history, that "his words are smoother than oil, and yet be they very swords." Macpherson fled from *the words* of Whitaker. The refutation of this ardent Polemic evinces, in opposition to the mis-statements of Macpherson, that the Picts were Caledonians, and that the Caledonians were Britons.

This conflict had scarcely ceased when there appeared "An Enquiry into the History of Scotland preceding 1056 (o)." By a meretricious display of authorities, etymologies, and topography, he professes to show the opinions of those erudite writers, Camden, Selden, and Lloyd to be false, ignorant and childish (p). In order to fasten this censure upon such scholars, he dedicates a whole chapter to prove that "the Northern Britons, Caledonians, and Picts were one and the same people (q)." A superficial reader would necessarily suppose from this proof that our Inquirer coincided in opinion with those learned men who are said to talk falsely, ignorantly, and childishly; for they maintained that the Northern Britons were the same people as the Southern Britons; that the Caledonians were the descendants of the British colonists from South Britain; that the Picts were merely the offspring of the Caledonians, under a new name and a different aspect. He has, however, a thousand distinctions to shield himself from the charge of contradiction. The Northern Britons were not, in his opinion, Cambro-Britons (r). The Caledonians and Picts were, indeed, the same people; but they were Goths from Scandia who expelled the Cambro-Britons about two centuries before Christ (s). But the research and learning of two centuries have not brought yet any proof of the migration of a Gothic colony into North-Britain till the fifth age, when the Angles arrived upon the Tweed. Every attempt to prove this improbability has

(o) By John Pinkerton in 1789.

(p) Enquiry, v. i., p. 163.

(q) Ib., part iii., ch. i.

(r) The demonstrations in the first chapter of the first book of this work confute this conceit.

(s) Enquiry, v. i., p. 132, 146-160. The author saw that Stillingfleet's position of a Gothic migration into North-Britain during the *third century* could not be maintained against the classic writers, and he chose a darker age for his unauthorised assertion. Let any fair inquirer after truth run backward through the history of Europe from the epoch of Christ two hundred years, and downward from the same epoch two centuries, and he will satisfy himself of the impossibility of such a migration during such times. The Gothic people who finally overthrew the Roman empire did not begin to move till 250 A.D. The topography of Scotland during the two first centuries of our common era, as it contains not a particle of Gothicism, evinces incidentally that such a migration of Goths could not have taken place.

egregiously failed, because falsehood cannot be proved. Stillingfleet had learning, and our Inquirer exerted his diligence; but they failed in establishing their Gothic migrations, because such migrations never happened. Suffice it to say, adds our Inquirer, "that every writer who mentions the origin of the Picts "till 1707, when Lhuyd's *Archæologia* appeared, derive them from Scandinavia, "excepting *Camden alone*, who was himself far from learned (*t*)." The writers who are thus opposed by our Inquirer to Camden, who is mistakingly supposed to have stood alone in maintaining the Cambro-British origin of the Picts, are Nennius the Saxon Chronicler, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Giraldus Cambrensis, O'Flaherty, Usher, Stillingfleet, and Sheringham (*u*). Our Inquirer was immediately opposed by Ritson, who maintained, with equal learning and labour, the *Celticism* of the Picts, yet acknowledged that it would require a volume to expose the errors, to exhibit the contradictions, and to confute the system of the *Enquiry*, 1789 (*x*).

The next writer who pretended to answer the *Pictish question* was Sibbald, who published in 1802 "A Chronicle of Scottish Poetry." He adopts, as he tells the reader, "the principal arguments of Sir John Clerk and Mr. Pinkerton

(*t*) *Ib.*, 198-9. Our author had done well to have also excepted Buchanan in 1582, Selden in 1613, du Chesne in 1614, Speed in his *Prospects*, Maul in his *History of the Picts*, Burton in his *Antoninus*, Sir W. Temple in 1695, Bishop Lloyd in 1684, Bishop Kennet in his *Complete History of England*, 1706, and last, though not the least, Bochart, who all concurred with "the far from learned Camden!"

(*u*) *Ib.*, 193-9. To this motley list our author might have added that curious chronicler Robert of Gloucester, who gives a very interesting account, which is obviously copied from Bede, "how "the *Pycars* out of the lond of *Scitie* atta laste came to Yrlonde's north ende, and then into the "lond of Scotland." It is quite allowable for the chroniclers of the middle ages to romance in this manner. But who would quote such chroniclers, or even Bede, upon such a point which demands research and reflection! Yet our inquirer afterwards does admit that Camden is supported by Lloyd, Innes, Guthrie, Hume, Whitaker, Gibbon, and to these he might have added Henry the historian. *Enquiry*, v. i., p. 200. By such assertions, however, and contradictions; by such sins against truth and confessions of error, are childish writers and elderly readers imposed on. Our inquirer, 1789, might have found a coadjutor in the late Rev. Dr. Walker, the professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, who tried to support the doctrines of Stillingfleet by a series of assertions which are not very consistent with facts. See his letter to Dr. Lyttleton, the Bishop of Carlisle, dated the 28th of April, 1767. *Archæolog.* v. i., p. 231. He has one passage which merits recollection: "One of the best Scots antiquaries with whom "I lately conversed, Lord Auchinleck, one of our judges, was plainly of your lordship's sentiments (Bishop Lyttleton) in questioning if such people (as the Picts) ever existed, I mean "distinct from the British and Caledonians." We have already seen that Bishop Lyttleton and Lord Auchinleck thus concurred with Camden, Selden, and other great antiquaries and historians on the *Pictish question*.

(*x*) See the *Historical Essay on Scottish Song*, 1794.

"to prove the *German* origin of the Caledonians." As their several systems have been already surveyed, the Gothic lucubrations of this shallow Chronicler need not be awakened from their *quiet slumbers* (x).

In the progress of inquiry, the next writer who speculates on the origin and language of the Picts, is the recent biographer of the Scottish poets. He thinks it extremely probable that Scotland was originally peopled by a colony of *Cumri*; but how this Celtic race was superseded by invading Goths who never invaded them, is the very question which the erudition of Europe cannot answer. He thinks, however, "it may be conjectured that the *Cumri* were "subjected by some new settlers" from some Gothic shore; and he presumes that the *new settlers* who settled, according to conjecture, might have perpetuated the names which their predecessors had applied to mountains, rivers, and other external objects; yet, he hazards no opinion as to the cause why there should be found no traces of such settlers in the North-British topography during the first, second, and third centuries. He is positive, however, that if the Picts were Goths, they must have spoken Gothic; and if they were Celts, they must have used the Celtic speech. This writer may be said, in the language of Shakspeare, "to win us with *honest trifles*; to betray us in *deep consequence*."

The latest investigator of the *Pictish question* is the erudite Edward King, the curious author of the *Munimenta Antiqua*. After investigating the stone monuments and the hill-forts, the ancient castles and the barbarous manners of North-Britain, he gives it as his judgment "that the Picts were descended "from the aboriginal Britons (y)." This profound antiquary concurs with the late Doctor Henry in saying that "we hear nothing of any invasion of the "Caledonians by any such distinct people as the Picts;" and he, therefore, concludes, as Innes had inferred before him, "that this denomination was "merely a *new name* which was given to the *old settlers* (z)."

The Caledonian descendants of the Celtic aborigines of North-Britain must therefore be allowed to possess their native land till it can be clearly shown when, and upon what occasion, they were dispossessed by Gothic intruders. This has not yet been done either by the labours of learning, or the diligence of research, either by the dexterities of sophistry or the perversity of design. Possession in common life is never changed whatever may be the claim,

(x) His system is confuted in the *Prolegomena*, and Glossary to the Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay.

(y) *Munimenta Antiqua*, 1804, p. 181-5.

(z) *Ib.*, 179. Such, then, is the final answer to the *Pictish question*, which has been so much investigated by learned men, and so perplexed by paradoxical writers.

without establishing a better right, not by presumptuous surmise, but by satisfactory proofs.

The one-and-twenty British tribes who occupied North-Britain during the first century remained for ages in their ancient settlements. Five of those tribes were subdued by the Roman arms, and were civilized by the Roman arts. After the Roman abdication, those five tribes continued in their appropriate country on the south of the friths, distinguished by no other circumstance than their civilization, from the sixteen tribes who equally remained unsubdued on the north of the same friths, and who obtained the name of *Picts*. The descendants of those Romanized Britons enjoyed their ancient possessions on the south of the friths, by the various names of *Cumbrenses* and *Wallenses*, which denote their lineal descent from the Cambro-Britons, whose language they spoke. If they were five of the pristine tribes of Caledonian Britons, however they may have been civilized by subduction, it follows as a consequence that the sixteen tribes of Caledonians who remained unsubdued under the name of *Picts*, were as much the descendants of the Cambro-Britons as their southern neighbours of Strathclyde, who were noticed till recent times as genuine Welsh (*a*).

(*a*) The only difference between the Britons who lived on the north of the friths and the Britons who dwelt in Strathclyde consisted merely in this, that the last were subdued and civilized Britons, while the first had remained unsubdued and uncivilized, and consequently they both equally spoke the Cambro-British speech, since they were all derived from a Cambro-British origin. As the writers who strenuously insist that the *Picts* and *Caledonians* were *Goths*, yet acknowledge that the Britons of *Valentia* were *Celts*, who spoke the Cambro-British language, it follows that such writers are chargeable with inconsistency in maintaining such contradictory opinions upon such obvious questions. The *Inquirer*, 1789, says "that when the *Picts* seized on the south of Scotland, the Britons of *Valentia* "seem to have retired to the western parts." V. i., p. 82. "When the *Dalriads* in 503 settled "in *Argyle*, they became next neighbours to those Britons, and they seem to have naturally formed "alliance from proximity of speech, both speaking the Celtic, though in different dialects." Id. The *Picts* rather wished to have the *Strathclyde* Britons in their amity. It would have been folly in the *Picts* to have attacked the *Strathclyde* Welsh. Id. And see p. 98-9 for *the Welsh of Strathclyde*. "Aneurin, the author of the *Gododin*," says our *Inquirer*, ib., 98, "was of the north, "and perhaps from Welsh manuscripts we might learn whether of *Strathclyde* or *Cumbria*. *Merlin* "the *Wild*," he adds, "was of *Strathclyde*, as is clear from his life by *Geoffry*, compared with *Adamnan* and *Jocelin*." Id. The poems both of *Aneurin* and of *Merlin* have been lately published in the *Welsh Archaeology*, and show to every eye that the language of both is Cambro-British. The context of several pages of *Merlin* evinces that his country was *Caledonia*, the land of the *Picts*. Our *Inquirer* also shows that *Gildas*, the British *Gildas*, was born at *Alcluyd* or *Dunbriton*, and that his father *Cannus* was king of that country, who was also the father of *Aneurin*. Ib. 63. *Bede*, he says, p. 62, mentions *Alcluith* as remaining in his time (731 A. D.) in the hands of the Britons. Such is the power of truth that it generally prevails in the end over the inconsistencies of prejudice. This clue leads inquiry through the mizmaze of opinions and authors to knowledge and certainty.

CHAP. II.

Of the Romanized Britons of the Cumbrian Kingdom in North-Britain.

AT the period of the Roman power in the British island, that extensive country, from the rampart of Severus to the wall of Antonine, was inhabited by the five British tribes of *Valentia*, the *Ottadini*, the *Gadeni*, the *Selgovæ*, the *Novantes*, and the *Damnii*, who, as they were Roman citizens, were entitled to Roman privileges (*a*). During the decline of the imperial power, the Romanized Britons within the province of *Valentia* were often attacked by the Scots from *the west*, and by the Picts from *the north*; but were as often defended by the Roman armies, till the final abdication of the Roman government (*b*).

The Romanized provincials were by that event acknowledged to be an independent people. As they had been often urged to govern themselves, they naturally assumed such forms as the occasion dictated, and established such authorities as necessity required. The appointment of a *pendragon*, when danger approached, was a policy which was very familiar to all the descendants of the British tribes. The practice of an enterprising age, perhaps, pointed to the fitness of such an officer, whether he were intended for the energies of attack or the resolutions of defence. In every district of Britain, at the memorable epoch of the Roman abdication, we behold princes playing their parts in the busy scene. In the country of *Valentia*, which had been attacked, and was to be defended, we equally see kings acting in their appropriate characters at the head of their affairs, protecting the land during the struggle of war, and ruling their people amid the enjoyments of peace (*c*). Yet their authority

(*a*) I do not concur with Innes, *Crit. Essay*, v. 1, p. 29-32, that the *Maeatae*, who were subdued by Severus, inhabited the country of the five tribes, on the *south* of the wall of Antonine. They obviously lived on the *north* of the same wall; were confederated with the *Caledonians*, a kindred people; and, as an independent tribe, the *Maeatae* entered into treaties with Severus and Caracalla, as we have already seen.

(*b*) *Ib.* 22-24; and see the preceding book, ch. 6.

(*c*) Innes's *Crit. Essay*, vol. i., p. 32-6. Whitaker's *Manchester*, vol. ii., p. 92. Langhorn has, indeed, given us, in his *Chronicon Regum Anglorum*, a series of the kings of Cumbria and Arclude; whether they can all be supported by sufficient evidence may well be doubted. Some of

appears to have been extremely limited. The chiefs of the various clans which occupied the several districts exercised such unbounded power as to end often in their own ruin. The jurisdiction of the prince and the pretensions of the nobles often clashed; and during an age of commotion, when the safety of all required the strength of union and the concert of co-operation, the people were distracted by domestic contests; the chiefs raised the dagger of resentment against each other, and the land was exposed by continual anarchy sometimes to invasion and at length to conquest.

At the epoch of their independence, the Romanized descendants of the five tribes were attacked by the Picts with a view to plunder more than to subjection (*d*). The northern Caledonians continued to act on that occasion from the constant habits of two centuries. When they envied the steed of the strangers they no doubt gratified their propensities; but from the state of their civilization, of their manners, and of their agriculture, they could neither raise nor maintain considerable armies. Their incursions were made by few men, who could soon do much mischief without many means. Their warfare consisted of sudden invasions, and of hasty retreats when danger approached and hostility pursued. They crossed the two friths in their canoes or their currachs, and infested either side of Valentia; they may have even passed the northern fence when it was no longer defended by men who had arms in their hands and resolution in their hearts; but we have no historical notices which would show that the Pictish invaders either formed settlements within the wall, or claimed rightful possession of that ancient dominion. The notion which attributes such pretensions to the Picts is unfounded in its principle, and is modern in its application. The descendants of the five Caledonian tribes who had been subdued by the arms and civilized by the arts of the Romans, had the best right, from possession and descent, to the whole country which lay between the two walls. This ample range of *debatable ground* the Picts are said to have taken possession of *as their own*, after the final retreat of the Roman forces (*e*). But what of *his own* can an individual

those princes, however, as his first Caun, his second Hoel, his fourth Marcen, his seventh Ryderych, and his twelfth Constantine, we shall hereafter find in the obscure narratives of contemporary writers.

(*d*) Gildas offends by declaration, rather than informs by a connected narrative of facts and circumstances, with regard to the events which happened on the obscure irruptions of the Picts and Scots, during the eventful years 446 and 448, A.D.

(*e*) Innes's Crit. Essay, vol. i., p. 32: North-Britain was, by the retreat of the Romans, left under "the dominion of the *Scots* and *Picts*," says the late royal historiographer. Hist. of Scot., v. i., p. 3. This assertion is faulty in two respects: (1) It is demonstrably certain that the Scots

enjoy till he exist? How can a nation consisting of many individuals be entitled to rights till its formation as a community? The Picts of that age ought to be considered as a congeries of clans who, as they were connected by very slight ties, may have enjoyed many separate pretensions, rather than a people who, having been formed into a body politic or nation, were entitled to public rights.

Meantime, neither history nor records nor tradition intimates that the civilized descendants of the two British tribes, the Ottadini and Gadeni, associated themselves into a community at the era of their independence, or formed the country, extending from the Tweed to the Forth, and from the east coast to the midland mountains, into a dominion. The silence of all those instructors seems to speak, what events will show, that they were early invaded by a people from the sea, by the Anglo-Saxons, who came to settle rather than to plunder. When the day of trial arrived the Ottadini and Gadeni acted like the descendants of the Britons: they defended themselves when they were attacked by ferocious invaders with more bravery than skill, and with more skill than concert. The battle of Catraeth decided the fate of the country, which the disunion and ebriety of the Ottadini and Gadeni could not defend against the union and fortune of the Saxon intruders (*f*).

The Romanized posterity of the *Belgæ*, the *Novantes*, the *Damni*, with the fugitive children of the Gadeni and Ottadini, associated themselves for their common defence as misfortune drew near; and they erected their paternal territories into an appropriate community, which was sometimes called *Regnum Cambrense* or *Cumbrense*, and oftener the kingdom of *Strathclyd*, according to the usual inaccuracy of the middle ages. This Cumbrian kingdom of the Romanized Britons extended from the Irthing, the Eden, and the Solway on the south, to the Upper Forth and Loch-Lomond on the north, and from the Irish sea and the frith of Clyde, which washed its western shores, it ranged eastward to the limits of the Merse and Lothian. It included within those ample bounds Liddesdale, Teviotdale, Dumfries-shire, all Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Strathclyde, the middle and west parts of Stirlingshire, and

did not then inhabit North-Britain; see the proof of this position in the subsequent chapter: (2.) The Picts, who were not at the epoch formed into a community, never enjoyed the dominion of the Roman province of Valentia: for proofs of this position, see book ii., ch. 4.

(*f*) Aneurin laments in pathetic strains, throughout his *Gododin*, the free use which his British countrymen had made of the bewitching mead, before they entered into the conflict of Catraeth.

the greater part of Dumbartonshire (*g*). The metropolis of this kingdom was Alcluyd, which they still retained when the pen dropped from the venerable hand of Bede in 734 A.D., and which is situated on the north bank of the Clyde at the influx of the Leven. The descriptive name of *Alcluyd*, which signifies in the British language, the *rocky height on the Cluyd*, was applied to this bifurcated rock, on the commodious summit whereof those associated Britons had a very strong hill-fort, which they called *Caer-Alcluyd*, and which formed a secure residence for their reguli (*b*). To this fortress the Scoto-Irish subsequently applied the name of *Dunbriton*, signifying the *fortress* of the Britons, and this appropriate appellation has in modern times by an easy transition been converted into *Dunbarton*.

Such was the outline of the Cumbrensian kingdom of the five British tribes during the more early period of its insecure existence. But the constant encroachments of the Saxons laid open its ancient boundaries on the south-east. The open country of Teviotdale, which formed the eastern extremity of the Cumbrian kingdom, though it was protected by a natural barrier of mountains on the south, yet on the east its facility of access invited the inroads of the Saxon invaders, who already possessed Northumberland and the Merse. The rugged country upon the west and south-west formed a powerful boundary to the associated Britons. To this natural defence they do not seem to have altogether trusted. Antiquarian research has discovered the remains of an arti-

(*g*) The tradition of the people, as stated on oath in the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116 A.D., gave those limits to the Cumbrian kingdom. *Cumbria* is therein said to lie “inter Angliam et Scotiam.” Now, England was then bounded on the north-west by the Solway, the Esk, and the Kershope; and the *Scotia* of that age was confined to the north of the Friths. The fact is, that in the age of David I. the whole bishopric of Glasgow, which then comprehended all those countries, was called *Cumbria*; as we learn from the chartulary of Kelso, No. 1, and from several charters and bulls in the chartulary of Glasgow. On the river Annan, in Dumfries-shire, there is an extensive hill, which was called in Pont’s Map, *Druym-Brettan*, in the Scoto-Irish tongue, and is named in Ainslie’s map of Scotland, *Drum-Brettan*, the ridge of the Britons.

(*h*) *All*, *Allt*, and *Alt*, in the Irish, as well as in the British, signify a rocky cliff or rocky height. The prefix *Caer* means in the British a fortress, a fortified town. Davies, Owen, O’Brien. “I know not why,” saith Foujas de St. Fend. “Mr. Pennant should say, in speaking of the rock on which Dumbarton castle stands, that its height is *stupendous*: I found that it did not exceed two hundred and fifty feet.” *Travels*, v. i., p. 228. When Harding visited this rock in 1434, the tide regularly flowed around it. In his *Chronicle*, fol. ccxxxi., he says,

“That mai been hold out long, when ye begyn,
 “Save *Dumbretain*, the sea aboute dooth ryn,
 “Eche daie and night, twice, withouten doubte,
 “Whiche maie bee woone, by famishyng aboute.”

ficial safeguard, which is known in the country by the several names of the *Cat-rail*, and of the *Pictsworkditch*. The *Catrail* is the British name of ancient times, and signifies in the British language what distinctly intimates the purpose for which it was made, the *dividing fence* or *the partition of defence* (*i*). The name of the *Pictsworkditch* was applied to this remarkable fence in more modern times by the same people who called Severus's wall the *Pictswall*, and other objects by the same well-known name. The *Catrail*, consisting of a fosse and a double rampart, runs through the shires of Selkirk and Roxburgh, from Galashiels on the north to the Peel-fell at the eastern extremity of Liddesdale on the south.

The *Pictsworkditch* first appears on the north at a farm called Mosalee, a mile westward from Galashiels, near the obvious remains of a British fort. From Mosalee, it runs southward by the west side of Boghall, and at the end of two miles arrives at the Rink-hill, on the summit of which there are the remains, as the name implies, of a British hill-fort, that is of an elliptical form, and is defended by two ditches and two ramparts of earth and stone (*k*). From the Rink-hill, the *Pictsworkditch* proceeds in a south-west direction across the Tweed near the influx of the Howdenpot-burn, and continues its course to a British fort on the west side of this stream (*l*). From this fort the *Pictsworkditch* passes Cribshill, and is again discovered several miles westward, passing along the south-east declivity of Minchmoor, whence it passes Henhillhope, where it is distinctly seen in its obvious course for a quarter of a mile. It afterwards clearly appears as it ascends the Swinebraehill above Yarrowkirk, and passing the Yarrow river near Redhawse, it is again observable several miles southward near Delorain-burn, on the south side of Ettrick river. From this position it has been traced across Coplaw, and thence southward by the base of Stanhopelaw, where its singular remains are pretty distinct. For

(*i*) In the British speech, *Cad* signifies a *striving to keep* or *to defend*—an engagement, a battle; and *Rhail* in the same tongue means *what divides, or parts off*, a *division*. Owen's Dict. In British composition the (*d*) changes to (*t*).

(*k*) Ainslie, in his map of Selkirkshire, has given this part of the *Pictsworkditch* a wrong direction, and the British fort on Rink-hill an improper position, placing it more than half a mile too far eastward; and he mistakingly calls the *Catrail* a Roman road, and the British fort a Roman camp.

(*l*) This fort is of the same form, but of smaller dimensions than the British strength on the Rink-hill. It should be represented just above the letter (*p*) in Howdenpot-burn, in Ainslie's map of Selkirkshire, saith the Rev. Dr. Douglas at Galashiels. It is to this very intelligent and obliging minister that the public are indebted for these accurate statements with regard to the *Catrail*, which he kindly communicated to me after the most minute inspection.

some distance southward of Stanhopelaw it cannot now be traced, owing to the swampiness of the country; but the Pictworkditch again appears on Hen-woody common, whence it proceeds in a south-west direction across Borthwick water past a farmstead called Broadlee, where the remains of it become very distinct for the course of a mile and a half till it reaches Slatehillmoss. From this position it proceeds forward in a south-east direction across Teviot river, through the farm of North-house to Dockcleugh-hill, where its remains are very distinct. From Dockcleugh-hill it continues a south-east course in a slanting form across Allan-water to a place named Dod, passing two hill-forts on the left (*m*). From Dod, where its remains are distinct, the Pictworkditch proceeds eastward past another British fort called Whitehillbrae, and it there ascends the Carriage-hill, on which its remains are very perfect. From Carriage-hill it proceeds across a rivulet called Langside-burn; and here, says Gordon the tourist, "it becomes the land-mark betwixt the Duke of Buccleuch's estate and Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs." From Langside-burn its remains appear very distinct as they pass along the northern base of the Maiden Paps to the Leapsteel, and thence passing Robertslin it traverses a tract of boggy ground called Cockspart; crossing the hills into the upper parts of Liddesdale, the remains of it again appear on Dawstane-burn, and thence passing the Abbey it goes on to Dawstane-rig. From this position faint vestiges of it were traced nearly to the Peel-fell, which is one of the chain of mountains that forms a natural barrier between Northumberland on the south and Teviotdale and Liddesdale on the north (*n*).

(*m*) These British strengths are placed as usual on the tops of heights, which are surrounded by fosses and ramparts, and appear in elliptical forms. One of these is called Dockcleugh-castle; the other stands on an eminence which is called Burgh-hill, and is situated on the east side of Allan-water.

(*n*) After bringing the Catrail to the Peelfell, Gordon says, "but a more distinct track of "it afterwards appeared to me in another journey near Langham (Langholm): whence it runs "towards Canoby on the river Esk." *Itin. Septent.*, p. 103. This cannot be connected with the end of the Catrail, that he left at Peelfell, which is more than eighteen miles north-east from Langholm and Canoby, having the whole extent of Liddesdale between them. A Roman vicinal road, indeed, led past Canoby and Langholm, up Eskdale to Castle-Over. Gordon, perhaps from a superficial view of this way, has supposed it to be the continuation of the Catrail, though it must be confessed they are very much unlike. As the Catrail at Peelfell reached a strong barrier of mountains, it was probably discontinued at this natural termination. If it ever extended further, it probably ran along the heights which separate Liddesdale and Northumberland, to the top of Kershope, and from thence southward to the Roman wall. The accurate Dr. Douglas says "when at Gillsland, in 1789, I thought I could perceive traces of the Catrail leaving the Roman "wall about five or six miles to the west of this place at a station upon the wall." This useful

The whole course of the Catrail, which has been thus traced from the vicinity of Galashiels to Peel-fell, is upwards of forty-five miles (*o*). The most entire parts of the Catrail show that it was originally a broad and deep fosse, having on each side a rampart, which was formed of the natural soil that was thrown from the ditch intermixed with some stones. Its dimensions vary in different places. This variation may be partly owing to its remains being more or less perfect. In those parts where it is pretty entire on the north of the Rink-hill, on Dockcleugh-hill, on Carriage-hill, at Leapsteel, and at the Abbey, the fosse is twenty-six and twenty-five feet broad; in one place, which was measured by Dr. Douglas, the fosse was twenty-seven and a half feet broad. But in those parts where the rampart has been most demolished the fosse only measures twenty-two and a half feet, twenty, and eighteen, and in one place only sixteen feet wide (*p*). In some of the most entire parts Gordon found the ramparts from six to seven, and even nine or ten feet high, and from eight to ten and twelve feet thick. The accidents of time and the improvements of tillage have, however, destroyed much of them, and lessened the height of those which remain, the singular objects of rational curiosity (*q*).

In its original state the Catrail must have formed a connected chain of defence along its extended course, being only interrupted in some parts by the channels of rivers or by impassable swamps, which formed themselves a sufficient fence. Along its ample extent there are several forts of the British people which were built either on the contiguous hills or on the neighbouring heights. But there are not upon the Catrail, as some antiquaries imagine,

notice he stated to me in his letter dated the 7th January 1796. This could not be the *Maidenway* which Dr. Douglas thus saw, for the Maidenway leaves the wall a considerable distance eastward of Gillsland, and proceeds northward along the eastern extremity of Cumberland to the top of Kershope, which separates Liddesdale and Cumberland. It is called by the historians of Cumberland, a Roman road. Gough's *Camden*, v. iii., p. 177, says it is eight yards broad and is paved with stones. It cannot of course be connected with the *Catrail*.

(*o*) Gordon indeed limits its extent to two-and-twenty miles; but this limitation was merely conjecture. Mensurations on the maps of the shires of Selkirk and Roxburgh, evince its real length to have been more than five-and-forty miles exclusive of its windings.

(*p*) In several parts which were measured by Dr. Douglas, the fosse was twenty and twenty-two and a half feet wide. Gordon says it was only eighteen feet broad on Swinebrachill and only sixteen feet broad near Stanhopelaw. As the ramparts sloped on the inside, it is obvious that in proportion as they were demolished, the width of the fosse within would be diminished.

(*q*) Dr. Douglas found that in many parts the ramparts do not now much exceed three feet high. Some old farmers in Ettrick forest informed him that the remains of the Catrail have been much diminished in their remembrance, and that the traces of it are becoming less visible every day.

a regular series of redoubts such as gave strength and ornament to the Roman walls (*b*).

Gordon, who has the merit of having first brought this curious remain into notice, absurdly supposes it to have been a *limes* or boundary which the Caledonians established after their peace with the emperor Severus (*c*). He ought to have recollected that this work is in the country of the Romanized Britons of Valentia, and lies far from the land of the Mæatae and Caledonians. Maitland, with equal absurdity, has converted the Catrail into a Roman road. If he had only examined it he would have seen that it is as different from a Roman road as a crooked is from a straight line, or as a concave work is from a convex. The able and disquisitive Whitaker was the first who applied the Catrail to its real purpose by referring it to its proper period (*d*). There can hardly be a doubt whether the Catrail was once a dividing fence between the Romanized Britons of the Cumbrian kingdom and their Saxon invaders on the east. It cannot indeed be fitly referred to any other historical period of the country which is dignified by the site of this interesting antiquity. The Britons and the Saxons were the only hostile people whose countries were separated by this warlike fence, which seems to have been exactly calculated to overawe the encroaching spirit of the Saxon people (*e*).

(*b*) Much of the description and many of the particulars which have now been stated with regard to the Catrail, are given from the mensurations and observations of the very intelligent Doctor Douglas. Gordon's *Itin. Septen.*, p. 102-3; *Stat. Acco.*, v. viii., p. 554; v. xi., p. 545; v. xvii., p. 92.; Stobie's Map of Roxburghshire and Ainslie's Map of Selkirkshire have supplied their several aids. The correct information of Dr. Douglas with the county maps, have helped to correct some of the inaccuracies and to illustrate some of the obscurities of Gordon's account of the Catrail. Pennant has given from Gordon an abridged and loose sketch of the course of the Catrail. *Tour in Scot.*, v. ii., p. 264.

(*c*) *Itin. Septen.*, 103-4.

(*d*) *Hist. Manch.*, v. ii., p. 93., 4to edit. The Catrail however does not run from Canoby, on the Esk. It is not a breast-work, nor is it lined all the way on the west with forts like the Roman walls. It does not continue itself by an additional chain of castles along the Gala-water. The Catrail is certainly a work of great extent and of immense labour; but it shows more perseverance than skill. Though it appears to have been constructed for a similar purpose with the Roman walls, yet in point of strength, regularity, and completeness, it is far inferior to those noble examples of ancient art. In extent only the Catrail exceeds the wall of Antonine.

(*e*) The Catrail cannot be referred to a more early period, for it runs through the middle of the country which had previously been possessed by the Gadeni, and could not of course have been constructed as a boundary by them. Nor can it be referred to a more recent period, as there could be no reason for forming such a warlike fence after the Saxons had intruded upon the whole country which the Catrail divides. There is a similar work near the Eldon-hills, which has been already described as pointing to the Tweed, and which is an additional evidence of the struggles of the Britons in that period against their powerful invaders. See book i., ch. iv.

Of this curious remain no traces have been ascertained beyond Mosalee on the north. It is however probable that it may have proceeded as, indeed, some antiquaries have supposed, in a north-east direction across the Gala-water into Upper Lauderdale, and thence athwart the country to the eastern sea. The separate remains of such a work proceeding eastward to the sea have been discovered by different persons at several times. The very accurate Kinghorn, who surveyed for me the Roman remains in Lauderdale during November 1803, informed me that he had traced a high earthen rampart and large fosse running off from a British fort on a height near Channel Kirk on the west in a north-east direction, across the highest source of Leader-water for the extent of a mile, and thence eastward through the Lammermoor-hills; and the inhabitants on its tract assured this ingenious surveyor that the remains of this singular work may be traced at intervals throughout Lammermoor to the neighbourhood of Dunbar. Upwards of fifty years ago the intelligent John Spottiswoode, the old laird of Spottiswoode, traced a similar rampart and fosse from a British strength called the *Haerfaulds*, on a hill two miles north-west of Spottiswoode, throughout the country to the vicinity of Berwick-on-Tweed. In that age it was in various places very discernible, and was known to the people by the name of *Herri's-dike* (*f*). In the ascertained track of this ancient fence there are several British strengths situated as usual on their several heights (*g*). Whether those several ramparts which traversed Berwickshire be the same as the Catrail is not quite certain; but there cannot be any reasonable doubt whether they were all made by the same British hands for the same purpose of defence during the same obscure age of hostile intrusion.

The most early reguli of the Cumbrian kingdom after the Roman abdication of whom any notice remains, is Cawn or Caw, that is mentioned by his son Gildas, who, if we may credit the Welsh genealogists, is but another name

(*f*) I owe the communication of his father's survey of this curious remain to the kindness of my late worthy friend John Spottiswoode of Sackville Street. The minister of Greenlaw said in 1795, that the remains of an earthen mound, with a ditch, called *Herri's-dike*, ran across his parish, passing about a mile northward of Greenlaw. It could formerly have been traced fourteen miles eastward, and tradition attests that it proceeded in the same direction as far as Berwick. Stat. Acco., v. xiv., p. 512.

(*g*) At a hamlet called *Chesters*, the sure intimation of an ancient strength, there are the remains of a British fort in the west of Fogo parish, *ib.* v. xx., p. 276: wherein this is mistakingly supposed to be a Roman camp. See Armstrong's Map of Berwickshire. Near Dogdenmoss, where *Herri's-dike* appeared remarkably distinct, there was another British fort called *Black-castle-rings*; and in that vicinity there is another British fort. *Id.* Old John Spottiswoode says, in his manuscript account of that rampart, "he had heard when a boy that a silver chain was found at it opposite to Greenlaw, "and was given to the Earl of Marchmont."

for Aneurin the Cambrian Poet. Caw was driven from his kingdom with his numerous issue at the close of the fifth century by the envy of the Picts. Caw found an asylum and lands among his countrymen in Wales, where his name is still revered as the fruitful progenitor of many monks (*h*).

At the commencement of the sixth century Caw was succeeded in his authority over the Cumbrian kingdom, and in his misfortunes by his son Huail, the Hoel or Coyle of the chronicles. Huail began to exercise his feeble powers at the same time with the Arthur of history, who was called by the distresses of his country to the supreme command over jealous chiefs. Huail had the unhappiness to attract the notice or to provoke the enmity of that powerful *pendragon*. The hostility of Arthur obliged Huail to flee from Strathcluyd into Anglesey, where he was put to death amidst the tears of his relations (*i*). Henry of Huntingdon, in relating the conflicts of those times, remarks that among the Britons the cessation of foreign war was merely the signal for domestic hostilities. Arthur thus established his power over Strathcluyd, and even fixed one of the seats of his authority at Alcluyd, which thenceforth was called *Castrum Arthuri* (*k*). If we may believe the Welsh chronicles, he even pursued the neighbouring Picts beyond Lochlomond, as they had pressed upon the Britons of Strathcluyd. The authority and influence of that uncommon character extended from A.D. 508, when he was chosen *Pendragon* to 542, when he received his death's wound in the fatal battle of Camlan (*l*). The valorous Arthur of history, or the redoubtable Arthur of romance, has supplied the topography of North-Britain with such significant names as seem to imply either that the influence of the real Arthur was felt, or the remembrance of the fictitious Arthur was preserved, for many ages after the *Pendragon* had fallen, by the insidious stroke of treachery from the kindred hand of Modred (*m*).

(*h*) Langhorn's Chron. Appen.; Lhuyd's Com. ed. Williams, p. 42; and the Welsh Triads.

(*i*) Usher states the death of Howel, in Anglesey, anno 508. Primord, 677-8, 1123; Langhorn's Chron., p. 29. In the Welsh Triads, as quoted by Owen in his Dictionary, in vo. *Penteyrnedd*, it is said, "Arthur yn benteyrnedd yn Mhenryn Rhionydd yn y gogledd, Cyndeyrn Garthwys yn benesgyb, a Gwrthmwl wledig yn benhynaiv." Arthur, a supreme of princes, at the promontory of Rhionyth in the north, and *Cyndeyrn* Garthwys [Kentigern] archbishop, and Gwrthmwl wledig chief of elders.

(*k*) Parliamentary Record, Temp. Dav. ii.

(*l*) Ush. Prim., p. 1123-1137; Ære Camb. apud William's Comment.

(*m*) It is amusing to remark how many notices the North-British topography furnishes, with regard to Arthur, whose name seems to brighten as inquiry dispels the doubts of scepticism, and archæology establishes the certainties of truth. In Clydesdale, within the parish of Crawford, there

The splendour of Arthur's fame seems to have obscured the name of his successor in Strathclyde. He was followed by Marken the Meirchjawn of

is *Arthur's* fountain; in 1239 there was a grant of David de Lindsay to the monks of Newbotle, of the lands of Brothralwyn in that district, which were bounded on the west part. "a *fonte* "*Arthur*i usque ad summitate montis." Chart. Newbotle, No 148. The Welsh poets assign a palace to Arthur among the Northern Britons at *Peurgu-Ryoneth*. In Lhuyd's Cornish vocabulary, p. 238, *Peurgurioneth* is called, the seat of the Prince of Cumbria; and see also Richard's Welsh Dictionary. The British *Peurgu* supposes a promontory, with some circumstance which reduplicates its height; and this intimation points to *Alclugl*, the well-known metropolis of the Romanized Britons in Strathclyde; now, a parliamentary record of the reign of David ii. in 1367, giving a curious detail of the king's rents and profits in Dunbartonshire, states the "redditum "assize *Castri Arthur*i," MSS. Reg. House: Paper-Office. The Castle of Dunbarton, therefore, was the *Castrum Arthur*i, long before the age of David ii. See the site of Dunbarton, in Ainslie's Map of Renfrewshire. The Point of Cardross was the *Rhyn-Ryoneth*; the castle of Dunbarton was the *Pen-rhyn-ryoneth*. According to the British Triads, Kentigern, the well-known founder of the church of Glasgow, had his episcopal seat at *Pen-rhyn-Ryoneth*. The romantic castle of Stirling was equally supposed, during the middle ages, to have been the festive scene of the *round-table* of Arthur. "Rex Arthurus," says William of Worcester in his Itinerary, p. 311, "Cus-todiebat le round-table in castro de Styrlung, aliter, *Snowdon-west-castell*." The name of *Snowdon* castle is nothing more than the *Snowi-dun* of the Scoto-Irish people, signifying the *fort* or *fortified hill* on the *river*, as we may learn from O'Brien and Shaw; and the *Snowi-dun* has been converted to *Snow-dun* by the Scoto-Saxon people, from a retrospection to the *Snow-don* of Wales, which is itself a mere translation from the Welsh. In Neilston parish in Renfrewshire, there still remain *Arthur-lee*, *Low Arthur-lee*, and *West Arthur-lee*. *Arthur's-oven* on the Caron was known by that name as early if not earlier than the reign of Alexander III. In 1293 William Gurlay granted to the monks of Newbotle "firmationem unius stagni ad opus molendini "sui del Stanhus quod juxta *furnum Arthur*i infra baronium de Dunypas est." Chart. Newbotle, No. 239. The name of *Arthur's-Seat* at Edinburgh is said by a late inquirer, "to be only a "name of yesterday." Yet that remarkable height had that distinguished name before the publication of Camden's Britannia in 1585, as we may see in p. 478; and before the publication of Major in 1521, as appears in fo. 28; and even before the end of the 15th century, as Kennedy in his flying with Dunbar, mentions "*Arthur Sate* or ony higher hill." Ramsay's Evergreen, v. ii., p. 65. This is not the only hill which bears the celebrated name of Arthur. Not far from the top of Loch-Long, which separates Argyle and Dunbarton, there is a conical hill that is called *Arthur's Seat*. Guide to Loch Lomond, pl. iii. A rock on the north side of the hill of Dunbarrow in Dunnichen parish Forfarshire, has long borne in the tradition of the country the distinguished name of *Arthur's Seat*. Stat. Acco., v. i., p. 419. In the parish of Coupar-Angus in Perthshire there is a standing stone called the *Stone of Arthur*; near it is a gentleman's seat called *Arthur-stone*, and not far from it is a farm named *Arthur's fold*. But it is at Meikle in the same vicinity, that the celebrity of *Arthur* and the evil-fame of his queen *Venora* are most distinctly remembered. Pennant's Tour, v. ii., p. 177-8; and Stat. Acco., v. i., p. 506; and above all see Bellenden's Boece, fo. lxxviii., for the origin of the popular fictions at Meikle about *Arthur* and *Venora*. The Scottish chroniclers, Barbour and Wyntoun, were perfectly acquainted with the *Arthur* of romance. We may easily infer from the local facts that his story must have been

the British chronicles. Marken is chiefly remembered for his enmity to Kentigern, the founder of the Episcopate of Glasgow; and for his premature death, as the appropriate punishment for raising his sacrilegious foot against that holy man (*n*).

After the death of Marken, a contest among the chiefs for superiority left Rydderech the bountiful in the government of Strathclyd. One of his first acts was to recall Kentigern to the seat of his usefulness (*o*). Such were the events which occupied five-and-thirty years, from the death of Arthur to the battle of Arderyth in 577. The British Triads reprobate this skirmish as the *nugatory battle* of Britain. Whatever cause may have moved the wrath of the kings, whether a *bird's nest* or a disputed boundary, Rydderech, the munificent king of Strathclyd, defeated on the height of Arderyth, Aidan of Kintire, who is stigmatized by Merlin, the Caledonian poet, as *Aeddan Frawlawg*, the perfidious Aidan (*p*). Merlin was a witness of the conflict;

equally known to Thomas of Ercildun a century sooner. In 1293 the Monks of Newbotle knew how to make a mill-dam with the materials which they found on the banks of the Carron. Sir Michael Bruce of *Stanhus* thought it necessary in 1743 to pull down *Arthur's Oon*, one of the most curious remains of antiquity, for the stones which it furnished for building a mill-dam. The enraged antiquaries consigned Sir Michael to eternal ridicule. See the *Antiquary Repertory*, v. iii., p. 74-5. Sir David Lindsay in his *Complaynt of the Papingo*, makes her take leave of Stirling Castle thus:

“Adew fair *Snawdown*, with thy towris hie,

“Thy chapell royall, park, and *tabyll round*.”

And in his *Dreme*, he mentions his having diverted James V. when young with “antique storeis
“and deidis martiall,”

“Of Hector, *Arthur*, and gentile Julius,

“Of Alexander, and worthy Pompeius.”

This shows that the stories of Arthur were then ranked among those of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity.

(*n*) Langhorn's App.; Lhuyd's Comment. Ed. Williams, p. 42; Jocelin's Life of Kentigern, ch. xxii. Jocelin, who died in 1199, relates that Morken died at a royal village which was then known by the Saxon name of “*Thorp-morken*.”

(*o*) *Ib.*, ch. xxx.

(*p*) Welsh Archæol., v. i., p. 151. It is of more importance to settle the site of the conflict of Arderyth, to give it a local position as well as a poetic name. It was not on the Solway as the editor of Lhuyd's *Commentariolum* supposes, p. 142, but on the Clyde, as probability attests. From a consideration of all the circumstances, it seems more than probable that *Airbrie* in the parish of New Monkland, Lanarkshire, which was in the territory of Rydderech, and is at no great distance from the Clyde, is the true site of the battle of Arderyth. In the *Airdarith* of the Irish, signifying the height of the course or flight, the (*th*) are quiescent; but in the British language, the (*th*) are both written and spoken. Merlin the Caledonian poet is very lavish in praise of the *Apple-trees* of *Lanerch*, while he reprobates the battle of Arderyth. See his *Arallennau* in the Welsh Archæology, v. i., p. 151.

and he had the envied honour of wearing on that decisive day the golden torques. Gwenddolau, the patron of Merlin, fell in the treacherous field. He merited a more disgraceful fate. Gwenddolau, according to the habits of the people and the perturbations of the age, had called in Aidan as an auxiliary against the munificent king of Alclud. Rydderech enjoyed the comfort of Columba's advice, the favour of Adamnan's recollection, as well as the panegyric of the Caledonian Merlin, and the celebration of the British Taliesin (*q*). In the curious passage from Adamnan we see a singular picture of the manners of the times, when a king could ask a saint about his fate, as he felt his throne to be unstable; and the biographer could attest the fulfilment of the prophecy. Columba died in 597; Rydderech in 601; and Adamnan in 704 A.D. (*r*).

Meantime, Aidan the Scoto-Irish king, confederated with Malgon the Cumbrian prince against the Saxons. In 584, with their joint arms, they defeated the Saxon powers in the battle of Fethanlea, or Stanemore, a stony district on the eastern borders of Westmoreland, which was then inhabited by the Britons (*s*). Aidan again coming to the aid of the Britons, defeated the intruding Saxons in the battle of Leithredh (*t*). He was defeated by them, however, at the battle of Kirkinn, during the year 598 (*u*); and he was totally overthrown by the Northumbrians in 603 A.D., on the fatal field of Dawstane, within the country of the Britons (*x*).

The fears of Rydderch, the late munificent king of the Cumbrian Britons, appears to have been only for himself. He seems to have left no sons to inherit his unstable power. There is reason to believe that the chiefs contended

(*q*) Rydderech, the son of Totaill (Tudwall) sent to St. Columba; "wishing to know if he should be slain by his enemies or not." The Saint made answer, "He shall never be delivered into the hands of his enemies, but shall die in his own house upon his pillow." Adamnan, the writer of Columba's life, adds emphatically, "according to the Saint's vaticination, Rydderech died an easy death in his own house." *Vita Columb. L. i., cap. xv.*

(*r*) The British Triads in giving an account of the *three generous ones* of Britain, mention Rydderech the son of Twdwal as one of them. For his genealogy see Lhuyd's *Comment.*, Edit. Williams, p. 142. Rydderech died the same year with Kentigern, 601. "in villa regia que *Pertmet* nuncupatur;" as we learn from Jocelin's life of Kentigern. The *Pertmet* of Jocelin is now *Partick*, a village on the Clyde below Glasgow.

(*s*) Sax. Chron., p. 22; Usher's *Prim.*, p. 570: wherein he quotes the Saxon annals, Ethelwerd and Florence.

(*t*) Adamn., *Life of Columba*, lib. i., cap. viii., ix.; Tigernach: *Ulst. An.*; Usher's *Prim.*, p. 709-1037; Ogygia, 475; Innes's *MS. Eccles. Hist.*, p. 245.

(*u*) Ogygia, p. 475; Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, lib. i., cap. ix. *Saxon Chron.*, p. 23.

(*x*) Sax. Chron., p. 24; Bede, lib. i., cap. 34.

for superiority after his death during half a century, according to the principles of the people and the practice of the age. Owen, or Hoen, at length acquired the dangerous pre-eminence. It fell to his lot to execute the destiny of the Irish soothsayers on Donald-breac. The restless career of the king of Kintire was closed in 642 A.D. at the battle of Sraith-carmaic, by the appointed sword of the gallant Owen (*y*). The merit of defending Strathclyud against its insidious invader does not seem to have transmitted Owen's power to his posterity. A race of obscure reguli succeeded, whose bounty, like the generosity of Rydderech, engaged neither poet nor chronicler to transmit their deeds to more inquisitive times (*z*).

As the Strathclydensian Britons were often attacked by the Picts from the North, by the Scoto-Irish from the westward, and by the Saxons from the south, they had many battles to fight (*a*). They appear to have been exposed, in addition to those conterminous enemies, to invasions by the tribes of Ireland. In 681 A.D. they repulsed an invasion of the Cruithne of Ulster at Machlin in Ayrshire, where Caethasao, the son of Maoileduin, the king of the Cruithne, was slain (*b*).

(*y*) Adamnan Vit. Columb., lib. iii., cap. v.; Colgan's Triad, p. 583: Annals of Ulster; Usher's Primord, p. 712; and O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 478.

(*z*) In 657 A.D. is said to have died Guiret, the king of Alcluyd. An. Ulst. This is perhaps the Ceretic of Langhorn's catalogue of Cumbrian kings. Chron., p. 328. In 693 is said to have died the Domnal M'Apin, of one editor of the Ulster annals, and the Daniel M'Avin of another, the king of Alcluyd. This king is probably *Deorana*, the son of Owen or Huen, who slew Donald-breac and is mentioned blunderingly by Langhorn. Chron., p. 328. In 721 A.D. is said to have died Bile M'Elpin, the king of Alcluyd. This notice shows that *Elpin* was a British name. In 815 A.D. is said to have died Conan M'Ruorah the king of the Britons. *Conan* is also a British name. After Domnal, Langhorn includes in his catalogue of Cumbrian kings Constantin, whose son was slain by the Scottish Grig; Herbert the brother of Constantin; Eugene, who was contemporary with Athelstane, and Dunwall who was expelled by Edmund in 945 A.D. Chron. Reg. Angl., p. 328.

(*a*) The annals of Ulster mention many conflicts of the Britons without much connection or perfect accuracy in the dates of the events. In 631 A.D. was fought the battle of Cathleen between the king of the Cumbrian Britons and Anfrith. In the subsequent year happened the conflict of Indris. In 710 was fought the battle of Loughcoleth, between the Scoto-Irish and the Strathclyud Britons, who were defeated. In 716 happened another conflict between the same combatants at the Rock of Mionure, where the Britons were again worsted. In 779 A.D. Alcluyd is said to have been burnt.

(*b*) Annals of Ulster. Yet they were again invaded by the same ambitious tribe. In A.D. 702-3, the Cumbrian Britons fought the battle of Culinfeld with those enterprising invaders from the Ulster shore.

They continued, however, in possession of their appropriate country at the decease of Bede in 734 A.D. They sustained a conflict with the Picts in 744 (c); and they fought the battle of Cutho with that oppressive people in 749, when they slew Talorgan, the brother of Ungus the Pictish king (d). In 750, the Northumbrian Eadbert seems to have traversed Nithsdale and seized Kyle (e). By a joint attack of the Saxons under Eadbert, and of the Picts under Ungus, the metropolis of the oppressed Britons, though not the castle of Alclud, was taken in 756 A.D. (f); yet the descendants of the Romanized Britons were not conquered. The series indeed of the Cumbrian reguli was often broken by civil broils or by foreign conflicts. The chiefs never failed to resume their power when the storm of war had passed over them; and the Cumbrian people remained within their ancient territories under the appropriate name of *Walenses*, though they were pressed on every side long after the Pictish government had fallen for ever (g). They were unable, however, to prevent considerable encroachments on their paternal domains. The Northumbrians broke in upon them on the south; and the Cruithne from Ulster, at length formed a lasting settlement on the south-western shore of the Cumbrian kingdom, as we shall perceive in our progress. From the events of their history, it is apparent that the character of the Strathclydensian Britons had been greatly softened by the Roman conquest. They were obviously inferior to the descendants of the Un-romanized Britons, the Picts of the North; they were less vigorous than the Scoto-Irish who had never felt the Roman arms; and they were still more inferior to the Anglo-Saxons, who had risen on the fall of the Roman power.

(c) Hoveden, p. 402.

(d) Ulster Annals. This is the same battle which the Welsh MS Chron. of the Saxons states in 750 A.D. by the several names of Maes-Ydaoc, Maes-Eldaroc, or Magedaoc. Welsh Archaeology, v. ii., p. 391.

(e) The chronicle which is annexed to Bede states, "A.D. 750, Eadbertus *Cyil*, cum aliis "regionibus suo regno addidit." Smith's Bede, p. 224,

(f) Simeon Dunelm, p. 106; Usher's Prim., p. 819-20.

(g) Innes's Crit. Ess., v. i., p. 32-41; Whit. Manchester, v. ii., p. 92-5; and there are obscure traces of the foregoing events in the *Inquisitio Davidis* of the year 1116. Chart. of Glasgow. The charters of Malcolm IV. and his successor William to the bishopric of Glasgow, enforcing the payment of tithes, are addressed, "Francis, et Anglis, *Walensibus et Galuciensibus*." Chart. Glasgow.

CHAP. III.

Of the Saxons in Lothian.

A NEW people of Gothic origin arrived, from whatever shore, within the Ottadinian territories, at the troublous epoch of the Roman abdication. This novel race are the earliest colonists who settled themselves among the ancient people within the Caledonian country. But they established their settlements so firmly; they introduced their maxims, their usages, their language, so lastingly; and, in the end, settled their government and promulgated their laws so generally within our island, that curiosity must be gratified by tracing their origin, and instruction must be gained by pursuing their progress.

The fathers of the Goths, as they passed the Hellespont and settled near the mouths of the Danube in the most early ages, formed one of the original nations of Europe. On this event history is silent, but philology is instructive. The Gothic language is certainly derived from a common origin with the most ancient tongues of the European world, and hence may be traced its manifest connections with the Greek, with the Latin, and with the Celtic (*c*).

Long after the European regions had been filled with inhabitants, the Goths remained in their original settlements (*cc*). During the fifth century before our common era, the Gothic people inhabited the eastern shores of the Euxine on the south of the Danube. They were found in that position by Darius when he crossed the Hellespont and the Danube in pursuit of the European Scythians (*d*). During the conquests of Alexander, the Gothic people still

(*c*) Geb. Monde Primitif. tom. ix., p. xli.-li; Mem. Litteraires, 750, p. 62. Schilter's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum*; Wachter's *Glossarium Germanicum*. These vastly learned authors demonstrate without intending it, that the Celtic and Gothic languages had a common origin: and it is therefore absurd to talk of the Gaelic, a Celtic language, being mixed with Gothic words.

(*cc*) Well's *Hist. Geog.*, v. i., the Map prefixed to p. 109; Bayer's *Dissert. in Mem. Litteraires* 1750, p. 211-259; Geb. Monde Prim. tom. ix., p. 49.

(*d*) Herodotus *Melpomene*; Plin. lib. iv., ch. ix.; Count de Buat's *Hist. Ancienne des Peuple de l'Europe*, tom. i., ch. i.—8; and the Map in Rennel's *Herodotus*.

remained upon the Euxine (*e*); and their undoubted descendants continued, as a well known people, at the late commencement of our common epoch, when Ovid was banished to Tomi by the jealousy of Augustus. During the effluxion of five centuries, there does not appear an event which could have contributed to force the inhabitants on the Euxine and the Danube, in considerable bodies, to remove westward in search of new settlements on the Rhine and the Ocean.

When or on what occasion, or by what route the Goths with their associates moved westward from their ancient settlements, are questions which have not yet been answered by the united antiquaries of the European regions. During the first ages the original colonists of Europe were conducted by the Danube and the Rhine from the Euxine to the Ocean. In subsequent times, the Gothic migrants may have found a different route by the Boristhenes and the Vistula, during much more recent times from the Euxine to the Baltic (*f*). The stone monuments which still remain on the shores of this northern Mediterranean are obviously the works of a prior people, though the Scandian scholars suppose them to be the durable remains of the gigantic children of the mythological Woden.

From philology we know, rather than from history, that the Angles, the Jutes, and the Saxons, were Gothic tribes, who were indistinctly seen on the southern shores of the Baltic soon after the Christian era (*g*). There elapsed three centuries and a half of internal associations and of maritime enterprizes before the Saxon tribes became intimately known to the Roman world. Their incursions on the Roman boundaries were at length felt; and in 368 A.D. Theodosius repeatedly defeated the Saxon fleets, with such superiority of genius and efficacy of advantage, that the Gothic navies did not soon infest the British seas. Yet the Saxon adventurers were not altogether suppressed; and they contributed by their various irruptions to enforce the abdication of the Roman authority in the British island.

(*e*) Arrian, book i., ch. iii.; book iv., ch. i.; Q. Curtius, book ii.

(*f*) See the two Maps which are prefixed to Rennel's Geographical System of Herodotus.

(*g*) The fact is inferable from the notices of Gibbon, the intimation of Tacitus, and the informations of Ptolomy; but it is from Hick's Thesaurus, Somner, and Lye's Saxon Dictionaries, Ihre's *Glossarium-Suigothicum*, and the Icelandic word-books, that we must learn how many differences and shades of discrimination there are between the several dialects of the Gothic tongue. A comparison of Wachter's German Glossary with Ihre's Suio-Gothic Glossary, would show clearly that in the German tongue there is much Celtic, but in the Swedish none. Somner and Lye contain some Celtic words; but the topography of Orkney and Shetland, two countries which were settled by emigrants from Scandia, exhibit none of the Celtic words that have been introduced into the Anglo-Saxon, such as the *Dun* and the *Tun*. See Mem. Litteraires, 1750, p. 102-4, for the origin of the Saxons.

The memorable epoch of the first entrance by a Gothic people into Britain is A.D. 449. The Angles at that troublous period arrived. They were followed soon after by a body of their confederates, who debarked on the Forth, within the Ottadinian country. This land, like every other district of South and North-Britain, was then divided among many chiefs, who little merited the praise of Urien, the gallant prince of Reged, "that he was the prompt defender of his neighbourhood (*h*).” At that sad epoch disunion was the evil star of Britain. Conducted by it, the superior vigour of the Saxons universally prevailed, though the more enervated Britons opposed them with persevering bravery. The country of the Ottadini was rather over-run than subdued; and the invaders are said to have even formed settlements among them along the Forth almost as far as the northern wall (*i*). The Saxons are supposed to have soon made a peace with the Picts (*k*). As neither history nor tradition speaks of any conflict between them on that occasion, we may infer that the invaders did not direct either their attacks or their views to the northward of the Forth. The bloody struggles of the south during a century occupied perhaps all the energies of the Saxon invaders.

The year 547 is the epoch of the invasion of Ida, one of the most vigorous children of the fictitious Woden (*l*). To his talents and successes the Northumbrian monarchy owes its foundation at the same interesting date. Talorg then ruled among the Picts. Gauran governed the Scoto-Irish; and both those reguli were protected against the enmity and envy of Ida by the intervening barrier of the Forth and Clyde. Rydderech was then supreme in Strathclyud. Walluain at the same time acted as the gallant chief of the Novantes on the Solway; and Urien, the *cherisher of Bards*, the protector of Aeron, reigned meanwhile in the hearts of the Cumbrians (*m*). Ida brought with him no scald that could compare with Aneurin, or Taliesin, with Merlin, or Llywarch, who deplored in sublime strains the misfortunes of their country from the invasions of strangers (*n*). Such poets as the British, Europe could not in that age indeed

(*h*) Owen's Llywarch Hen.

(*i*) Nennius, ch. xxxvi.; Gildas, ch. xxiii. The struggles of the Britons in defence of their country against their invaders, may be seen more distinctly from a view of the Catrail and other fences of that nature than in the obscure hints of such delusive writers.

(*k*) Bede, lib. i., ch. xv.

(*l*) Saville's Chronologia ap. Scriptores post Bedam; Flor. Wigorn., p. 218, sub A° 547.

(*m*) Urien was celebrated by Taliesin in several admirable odes; Welsh Archæol. v. i.

(*n*) See the Gododin of Aneurin, a chieftain of the Ottadini; Welsh Archæol. v. i.

supply, whether we consider their invention or energy, the flow of their verification or the copiousness of their language (o).

At Flamborough, Ida landed in 547 without opposition. As he seems to have acted from a previous design he soon pointed his flaming sword to the north. The gallant efforts of Dutigern, the chief of the Ottadini, did not prevent the invading foe from carrying victory with him to the Forth. It was probably on this invasion that the battle of Cattraeth was fought, wherein Aneurin shared the misfortunes, and by his poetry has perpetuated the remembrance (p).

But Ida was recalled into the south by an attack on Deira which, though it was the seat of his authority, he had left insecure. It was Urien, "the shield of his country," who had hastened from Cumbria on the west to succour his neighbourhood in Deira on the east (q). Yet the conduct and valour of Ida extended the Saxon conquests, notwithstanding the gallantry and the vigour of Urien (r). The victorious career of Ida was stopped in 559 by the vengeful sword of the valorous Owen, when the Northumbrian monarchy had been extended along the coast from the Humber to the Forth.

The successes and the fame of Ida seem to have induced the Britons in the west of Valentia to draw their slight ties of connection closer together. Their associations contributed perhaps to their safety, while Aella, the successor of Ida, turned his hostile eyes to the south. They now remained a while quiet. But the activity and vigour of Ethelfrid decided their fate. He defeated the Scoto-Irish Aidan at Dawstane (s) in 603. The conqueror signalized his recent triumph on the borders of the neighbouring Selgovæ. The bravest efforts of their gallant chiefs could not suspend their destiny; and the western Britons acknowledged the superior union and energy of the Saxon people (t).

Ethelfrid himself fell a sacrifice to civil discord in 617; when Edwin, the most potent of the Northumbrian kings, immediately assumed his sceptre and soon exercised his sword. History has recorded the extent of Edwin's conquests,

(o) The energetic effusions of the British Poets in that age turn almost wholly on the misfortunes of their country, which involved their own. See *Welsh Archæology*, v. i.

(p) The remembrance of this conflict is also preserved, perhaps, in that remarkable remain which is known by the name of the *Catrail*, and is often mentioned by the name of *Pietswork-ditch*. See before book ii., ch. ii.

(q) *Whit. Manch.*, v. ii., p. 75.

(r) *Ib.* 75-6.

(s) *Usher's Primord.* 1154. For the site of Dawstane in Liddesdale, see the Map of Roxburghshire.

(t) *Bede*, lib. i., ch. 34; *Malmsbury*, fo. 64; *Whit. Manch.*, v. ii., p. 94.

and tradition has spoken of the terror of his fame. Not only the Britons and English, the Scots and the Picts, but even the most distant islanders are said, by the voice of panegyric, to have feared his arms and to have adored his power (*a*). The metropolis of North-Britain owes its castle to his policy and its appellation to his name. Edwins-burgh never had the honour of being a Roman station, though a Roman road certainly passed on either side of its remarkable site. Neither before the rise of the Roman authority nor after its extinction does that city appear to have been a British *Din* or fort; and probability attests what circumstances confirm, that this commodious rock was formed by a Saxon prince into a *burgh* or fortification, during the Anglo-Saxon conflicts for a doubtful frontier (*b*).

The rashness of its founder, which exposed him to the sword of Penda, involved his family in distress and his kingdom in anarchy. Yet the northern frontier on the Forth seems to have remained where Edwin had placed it during the reigns of Oswald, who succeeded Edwin in 634, and of Oswi, who followed Oswald in 643, and who, having chastised the Scots and overrun the Picts, left his rights and his warfare to Egfrid in 671 A.D. (*c*). At this epoch the Northumbrian kings appear to have pushed their conquests and established their power from sea to sea; and the city of Carlisle was completely theirs till it was given by Egfrid to Cuthbert in 685 A.D. (*d*).

The inconsiderate valour of Egfrid was crowned with unmerited success in several enterprises. He is supposed to have vanquished the Picts in 679 (*e*). He is said to have sent an expedition under Berht against the unoffending Irish in 684, the effects of which are still remembered with indignation by the Irish antiquaries (*f*); and in 685 he marched against the Picts in opposition to the remonstrances of his eoldermen and the foreboding of his bishops (*g*). The torch enlightened his route. He probably passed the Forth

(*a*) Bede, l. ii., ch. v. vi. ix.; Malsbury, p. 18.

(*b*) A full discussion of the origin of Edinburgh with its name will be given in the local history, wherein it will appear, after considering all circumstance, that Edinburgh is merely the burgh of Edwin.

(*c*) Bede, l. ii., cap. v., l. iii., cap. xxiv.

(*d*) Bede's Life of Cuthbert, ch. xxvii.; and Smith's Bede, p. 782.

(*e*) Eddius, vit. Wilfrid, cap. xvii.

(*f*) Bede, l. iv., cap. xxvi.; Flor. Wigorn, p. 254; Ogygia, p. 40, 230; Ogygia Vindicated, h. xiii.

(*g*) Bede, l. iv., cap. xxvi.; Sax. Chron. p. 45; Flor. Wig. 255; Sim. Dunelm., p. 5. They all agree that Egfrid marched against the *Picts*; it was the continuator of Nennius alone who said that Bredei the king of the Picts slew Egfrid the Northumbrian king. Usher's Prim. 1167.

below Abercorn; and he now plunged into the defiles of Pictavia. In his rage he burnt Tula-Aman and Dun-Olla (*h*). He was now led by his imprudence to pass the dangerous Tay into Angus. In the meantime Bredei, the Pictish king, had summoned his warriors to oppose the approach of the adventurous foe. The Picts hastened from every mountain and from every marsh to surround their destructive enemy. At length the two kings met in the *tug of war* at *Nechtan's-mere*, near Dun-Nechtan, the Dun-nichen of the present day (*i*). And on the 20th of May 685 A.D. the Saxon army was defeated and the Northumbrian king was slain by the valorous hand of Bredei, who did not long survive his triumph. Few of Egfrid's army returned, says Mahnsbury, to relate his sad disaster; the piety of Adaman opened a grave for the restless Egfrid in Iona, the sacred cemetery of the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons. So complete was his overthrow that his government shrunk up to the south of

(*h*) Ulster Annals. In North-Britain there are only two Amon waters; the Amon in Lothian, which was then within the Saxon territories, and the Amon in Perthshire in the very heart of the Pictish country. It was here that Tula-Amon stood, of which there is neither remain nor remembrance except in the Ulster Annals. Dun-Olla was also in the land of the Picts, as Talorgan the son of Drastan, was made prisoner in 733 near the *fortress of Olla*; though, as we also learn from the Ulster Annals, there was a Dun-Olla on the west coast of Lorn.

(*i*) Fruitless inquiries have hitherto been made for the true site of this important battle. The Saxon Chronicle records this defeat to have happened "*be northen sæe*," *juxta mare boreali*, explains Gibson, Chron. p. 45, *benorth* the Scottish sea or Forth says the context. Simeon of Durham restricts the field of battle to *Nechtan's-mere*, (i.e.,) *Stagnum Nechtani*, p. 5. Tigernach talks of this conflict as "*Cath Duin-Nechtan*." Ogygia Vindicated, p. 198. The Ulster Annals speak of this disastrous field as "*bellum Duin-Nechtan*," and Johnstone has absurdly translated this passage the battle of *Drum-Nechtan*. All circumstances thus point to the parish of Dunnichen, which was of old called Dun-Nechtan, and which we learn from William's Charter to Arbroath, was the scene of this great event. *Din-Nechtan* signifies in the British speech, the *fort* of Nechtan, which is obviously the *Duin-Nechtan* of the Irish annalists; the *Dun* of the Irish language, whereof *Duin* is an inflection, signifying equally a *fortress*. The remains of this ancient strength may still be seen upon an eminence on the south side of the hill of Dunnichen, which is to this day called Cashill or Castle-hill. Stat. Account, v. i., p. 419. In the neighbourhood of Dunnichen there are several sepulchral tumuli, some of which on being opened were found to contain human bones in rough stone coffins. Id. The nearest hill to Dunnichen is called *Dun-burrow*, the hill of the barrow, which denotes the sad effects of an ancient conflict. The *Nechtan's-mere* of Simeon was a small lake near the church of Dunnichen on the east, which was drained for its marle or its fuel about forty years ago. Ib. 420; and Ainslie's Map of Forfarshire. The church and village of Dunnichen are situated on the side of a hill, the ridge whereof is 700 feet above the level of the sea in the middle of Angus, about ten miles *north* from the frith of Tay, and twelve miles *west* from the German ocean. Ainslie's Map of Forfar. William the Lion's charter to the monks of Aberbrothock, calls this parish by the name of *Dun-Nechtan*. This fact is decisive with regard to the Dun-Nechtan where this important battle was fought. Chart. of Arbroath.

the Tweed. The Scots were freed from the terror of his name. The Strathclyd Britons resumed their ancient rights; and the limits of the Northumbrian kingdom never regained their former extent; nor did the power of the Northumbrian rulers ever acquire its recent ascendancy; though the *Angles* remained within their appropriate territory without distinctly acknowledging perhaps any particular sovereign (*k*).

The learned Alfrid immediately succeeded the vanquished Egfrid; and he was followed by the infant Osred in 705 A.D. (*l*). The Saxons meantime tried in 699 to revenge their late defeat on the Picts, but though they were conducted by the experienced Berht, they were again repulsed by Bredei the son of Dereli (*m*). The Picts appear to have been induced by a recollection of their victories, or a sense of their valour, to advance into the Northumbrian territories during the year 710, as far as the wall of Severus; but the Saxon leader, Beortfryth, marched out with the Northumbrians against the invaders, and defeated them upon the Tyne, between Hæfe and Caere, in a sharp conflict, wherein Bredei the Pictish king was slain (*n*). Osred was succeeded in the distracted government of the Northumbrians A.D. 716, by Kenred; and the new king was followed at the end of two wretched years by Osric, who established the bishopric of Candida Casa in 723, and appointed Pechtwinne for its first prelate (*o*). Ceolwulf succeeded Osric in his dangerous charge during the year 729; and Ceolwulf was followed in 738, by Eadbert, whose vigour protracted his government twenty years. After that overthrow of the Picts in 710 A.D. the Saxon inhabitants of Lothian remained a long while unmolested, and the Pictish frontier continued many years quiet; though Eadbert is said to have warred with the Picts in 740 A.D. under the able rule of Ungus (*p*).

On the western side of Valentia the encroaching Saxons displayed their power near the shore of the Solway and on the banks of the Clyde. They carried their arms into Kyle and Cunningham, where they fixed their settlements in the

(*k*) Sax. Chron., p. 45; Bede, l. iv., ch. xxvi. At that epoch, Bede marks very distinctly the boundary between the Picts and English, by the Forth, and states explicitly that Abercorn on the firth was within the English country.

(*l*) Savill's Chronologia.

(*m*) Sax. Chron., 49; Bede, lib. v., ch. xxiv.

(*n*) Sax. Chron., 50; Huntingdon, fol. 193; and for the place where the battle was fought, see the map which is prefixed to Gibson's Sax. Chronicle. The Annals of Ulster state this battle to have been fought in *Campo Manan*.

(*o*) Savill's Chronologia. Usher's Prim., 1170.

(*p*) Smith's Bede, p. 224; Savill's Chronologia.

year 750 under the active Eadbert (*q*); and in conjunction with the Picts, the Northumbrians, under the same able leader, sacked Alcluyd, the ancient seat of the Cumbrian government in 756 (*r*). His sceptre was successively held by Osulf, Ethelwald, and by other feeble monarchs, but as Ethelred was slain by the dagger of insurrection in 794, an anarchy ensued, which distracted the affairs and enfeebled the power of Northumberland during three-and-thirty years (*s*). Northumberland was thenceforth governed by earls, who tried to rule a distracted people under the sovereign authority of the English kings. Of the Northumbrian weakness, North-Britain enjoyed the benefit. During this calm the Cruithne of Ulster, who had made frequent incursions on the frith of Clyde, formed at length a lasting settlement on the coast of Galloway (*t*). From the distraction of their southern neighbours the Picts enjoyed the tranquility which their gallantry merited; the Stratheluyd Britons derived quiet, from the insignificance which their frequent defeats had induced; the Scoto-Irish possessed the security which their mountains and their friths ensured them during many years of restless, but obscure enjoyment; and the Saxons throughout Lothian, the Bernicia of that period, remained in the meanwhile without the perturbation of civil or of foreign war. Yet if we were to believe the English chroniclers, Edgar, the powerful king of England, over-ran those countries in 828 A.D., and enforced the submission of those several nations (*u*). The Anglo-Saxons during the Pictish period left everywhere within the southern districts of North-Britain indubitable traces of their conquests, of their settlements, and of their language, in the Gothic names of some places on the Solway, and many between the Forth and Tweed.

In that country which extends from the Tweed along the Frith to the Avon, perhaps to the wall of Antonine, and which is bounded generally on the west by the dividing heights, the Anglo-Saxons settled in some districts of it as early as 450, and continued their devious residence within its narrow limits to the present times, though the rule of their native princes was undoubtedly lost in 685, and never was completely regained. Yet the Picts, as they had never enjoyed this fine country along the southern side of the

(*q*) Smith's Bede, p. 224; Camden, edit. 1694, p. 630.

(*r*) Simeon of Durham, p. 106; Usher's Primord, p. 819, 820.

(*s*) Savill's Chronologia; Usher's Primord, 667, 1172.

(*t*) Camden, in Scotia; Usher's Primord, p. 666-7, 1172.

(*u*) Saxon Chren., p. 72; Florence Wigorn., p. 289. The acuteness of Turner perceived that those pretended conquests were too extensive and too inconsistent with the general tenor of history to have ever happened. Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, v. i., p. 365-6.

Forth, neither possessed nor claimed it after the fall of the Saxon power. For the sovereignty of this country two nations long contended; for its identity and its name divers antiquaries have disputed with fiercer warfare. Had the disputants explained their own terms there could have been neither contest nor doubt about the location of the district which is called, with the inaccuracy of the middle ages, *Laudonia*, *Laodonia*, *Lodonia*, *Lauthian*, *Louthian*, *Lothian*, *Lawdian*, *Lothene* (*x*).

The origin and meaning of this name have puzzled all the antiquaries. Neither in the British nor in the Roman times had this district such a name as *Lothene*, *Lothian*, *Lodonia*, or *Laudonia*; and we may, from this circumstance, infer that the appellation, in whatever form, was imposed by the Gothic people who took possession of this country on the abdication of the Roman power. Buchanan indeed informs us that *Lothian* was so named from *Lothus*, a king of the Picts. He did not inquire, it seems, whether such a king of the Picts had ever any existence (*y*). A late historian translates the difficult expression *Lothene*

(*x*) For the identity and position of *Lothian* it is in vain to enquire of Chroniclers, who are sometimes ignorant and inattentive, and often partial and factious, when its position may be ascertained from records. In one of the Scottish Edgar's charters to the monks of St. Cuthbert he granted Coldingham, "et omnes illas terras quas habent in Lodoneo." Anderson's *Independence*, App. No. 20. In other charters Edgar the king of Scots, who died in 1107, granted divers churches, houses, and lands in the same country. *Ib.*, No. 1, 3, 4, 5. In a charter of Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, dated in 1124, the church of Coldingham was regranted to the prior of St. Cuthbert of Durham, "alie alique ecclesie que fuerint in *Lothonie*." Smith's *Bede*, App. No. 20. In a charter of Arnold, the bishop of St. Andrews, 1160-61, Gospatric, the Earl of Merch, is called Comite de *Laodonia*. By the contract of marriage between Alexander II. and Joanna, the daughter of John, dated the 18th of June, 1221, Rymer's *Foed.*, v. i., p. 252, Jedworth and its pertinents, Lessudden and its pertinents, are settled on the queen, with Kyngar and Carel "in Scotia." Among other witnesses there are William Cumin, Com. de Buchan, *Justiciarius Scotie*, and Walter Olifard, *Justiciarius Laodonei*. This record demonstrates that *Scotia* and *Laodonia* were then distinct, as they had always been, and long continued. In the year 1091, says the Saxon Chronicle, *Gib. Ed.*, 197, Malcolm came out of Scotland into *Lothene* in England. From this example of considering *Lothene* as in England, the English writers carried up the limits of England even to Stirling. Tyrrel's *Gen. Hist.*, v. iii., p. 63. In the curious tract *De Situ Albanie*, which Innes published from the Colbertine Library, *Crit. Essay*, App. No. 1, and which is supposed to have been drawn up by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, it is expressly said, 1118, that the *Forth*, "aqua Scottorum, regna Scotorum et Anglorum dividit." There is a proverb in Renfrewshire, "Out of Scotland into Largs." The Clyde being the Southern boundary, in early ages, whoever crossed the Frith and landed on the opposite shore, went out of Scotland into Largs, as Malcolm came out of Scotland into *Lothene*. For the origin and meaning of those distinctions we must constantly refer to the events which occurred in the long period from A.D. 446 to 843, whereof much is said in the present book.

(*y*) *Arbuth.*, Ed. fo. 5. In fact the Pictish Chronicle shows that there was never a King *Lothus* or *Loth* among the Picts.

into the unmeaning words, "Army Province (z)," which have not any appropriate application. But, in the Teutonic language of the German jurists, *Lot-ting*, *Lothing*, *Lodding*, signified a special jurisdiction on the Marches; a signification that certainly applies very appositely to the nature of a district on a dubious frontier (a). The country extending from the confluence of the Tweed to the Forth, and along its shore to the Avon, was called by the inaccurate writers of the middle ages *Lodoneium*, or *Lothien* (b). It was denominated by Nennius or his interpolator, *Provincia Lodonesie* (c). In those remote times, then, did this district begin to be known as a distinct territory, which continued for ages to be governed under a peculiar authority, whence it derived its appropriate appellation of *Lothian*.

(z) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, v. ii., p. 208.

(a) See Haltæus's Gloss. Germanicum Medii Aevi in Articulo. In the same manner *thingstow* in the Anglo-Saxon signifies *judicii exercendi locus*: so the tri-things *erant tertia pars provincie*. To these appeals were made in such cases as could not be determined in the Wapentakes. Thoresby's Leeds, p. 85. In Orkney the Senate or general Head Court was called in the ancient language of the country *Lawting*.

(b) Camden's Brit. Ed., 1607, p. 685.

(c) Nennius Ed., 1758, ch. lxii. Yet is it never mentioned by Bede under this appropriate name. He distinguishes the whole range of country from the Humber to the Avon under two names, *Deira* and *Bernicia*, the latter comprehending the Ottadinian country, as the same districts had been distinguished under the same names before by Aneurin and Nennius. See Smith's Bede, App. No. 2, with the map annexed. The writer of the Chronicle No. 3 in Innes's Appendix from the Colbertine Library, speaking of the frequent invasions of the country lying between the Forth and Tweed, calls it *Saxonia*, as if he had been unacquainted with the name of *Lothian*. The Chronicler was followed in calling this district *Saxonia* during a later age by Higden. Polychron, p. 210. Simeon of Durham describes *Lothene* very distinctly under the year 1020; the Saxon Chronicler mentions the same *Lothene* in 1091; and Florence of Worcester afterwards speaks of the same country as *Provincia Loildis*. Upon the whole it is apparent that this district was scarcely known by the name of *Lothene*, or *Lothian*, during the ninth century, but was recognized in the subsequent age by this singular name of very obscure origin.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Orkney and Shetland Isles.

THOSE islands which lie at no great distance on the north and north-east of Britain became distinctly known to the learned world during the first century (*a*). They were at least discovered, if they were not subdued, by the Roman fleet which circumnavigated the British island in Agricola's memorable campaign of 84 A.D. ; and even Thulé was in that voyage descried, which had hitherto been hid under eternal snows (*b*). The name of *Orcades* formed a classic term during classical times. The islands and their appellation became familiar to the Romans from their communications with the *Celtic* inhabitants of Britain before the Scandinavian rovers appeared in the British seas (*c*). By the British people those islands were called *Orc*. One of the three principal isles of Britain which are mentioned by the Welsh triads is *Orc* ; and *Orc* is the *Orcades* or *Orkneys*, in Davis and Richards' *Welsh Dictionaries*. *Orch* in the British signifies what is outward, *extreme*, or *bordering*. This term *Orc* was strikingly applicable to the situation of those isles during the British period (*d*). *Ynys*, *Enys*, and *Inis*, are the well-known words in the British, Cornish, and Gaelic languages for an island, hence those islands came in

(*a*) Pliny, l. iv., cap. 16 ; Mela, l. iii., cap. 6.

(*b*) Tacitus's *Life of Agricola*, § x. Tacitus conceals, under eloquent expressions, his real ignorance of the previous knowledge of Thulé. The learned have employed much erudition and some research to ascertain the Thulé of the ancients. Pytheas of Marsailles, who lived in the age of Aristotle, appears to have applied that famous name to Iceland, with which he seems to have been acquainted. The existence of Iceland came, however, to be unknown before the days of Ptolemy ; and the Egyptian geographer transferred the name of *Thulé* to the Shetland Isles, without knowing that the same appellation had been previously applied to the more northern Iceland. Even D'Anville, by not attending to those intimations, has fallen into mistakes on this subject. Gossellin's *Géograph. des Grecs*, p. 128 ; Gossellin's *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, tom. ii., p. 3, 35, 70.

(*c*) The name of *Orcades* is supposed by Claudian, who was a better poet than philologist, to be derived from the *Greek*.

(*d*) Owen's Dictionary.

subsequent times to be variously denominated *Orcades*, *Oreadia*, *Orchadia*, *Orchades*, *Orkenies*, *Orkneys* (*e*).

There is reason to believe that the Orkney isles were planted during early ages by the posterity of the same people who settled Western Europe. The stone monuments which still remain, plainly establish that obscure truth (*f*); yet, owing probably to some physical cause, the original people seem to have disappeared in some period of a prior date to our common era (*g*). During the intelligent age of Solinus those islands were supposed to be uninhabited, and to be “only the haunt of seals and orcs, and “sea mews, clang (*h*).”

It was from that circumstance, perhaps, that the Orkneys derived their modern name, *Ork*, or *Oerek*, signifying in the Danish, if we may believe Wolf, a *Desert* or uninhabited place, and *Oee*, or *Oè*, or *Ey*, an *Isle*; and hence the *Ork-eyes* came to signify the uninhabited isles (*i*). Such is the name

(*e*) The largest of the Orkney isles was called *Orc*, as we may learn from the MS. Celtic Remains, v. ii., p. 234. By the Gaelic people of the neighbouring coast, the *Orcades* are said to have been called *Inis-Orc*, or *Inis-Torc*. Macpherson's *Fingal*, p. 6; Smith's *Sean Dana*, p. 160.

(*f*) Pennant's *Arctic Zoology*, p. 34. “The flint heads of Arrows,” says he, “flint axes, “swords made of the bone of a whale, must be referred to the earliest inhabitants at a period in “which these kingdoms were on a level with the natives of the new discovered south-sea-islands.” Druidical circles of stones, he adds, the temples of primeval religion in our island, are not uncommon. See Wallace's *Description of the Orkneys*, ch. iii.; and King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, p. 198; and see b. ii., ch. i., § 2. The curious fact that Druid remains and stone monuments exist, and that celts and flint-arrow-heads have been found in the Orkney islands, while none of these have ever been discovered in the Shetland islands, evinces that the same Celtic people who colonized South and North Britain also penetrated into the Orkney, but not into the Shetland islands; and this fact also shews that those several antiquities owe their origin to the Celts who early colonized the Orkney isles alone, and not to the Scandinavians who equally colonized both the Orkney and the Shetland Islands.

(*g*) A tradition came down to the fifteenth century that two nations which were denominated *Pati* or *Papé*, inhabited the Orkneys during ages before the recent arrival of the Scandinavians. Wallace's *Account of the Orkney Isles*, 1700, p. 121. Scarcely any of the names of places in Shetland and Orkney are *Celtic*, they are all Teutonic in the Scandinavian form. From these facts we may infer that the original settlers had long disappeared before the epoch of the new colonization by the Scandinavian rovers. Scandinavia itself was in the same manner originally settled by the Celts, who were the giants of Rudbeck.

(*h*) Solinus, cap. 34; Richard, l. i., cap. viii.

(*i*) Wolf's *Danish Dictionary*. In Ichthyology, indeed, *Orc* or *Orca* signify a monstrous sea-fish, and the Latin *Orca* means a sort of great fish. So the name of Orkney may be possibly derived from *Orc*, with the Scandinavian *ey*, an *isle*, annexed to it.

which was probably imposed by the Scandinavian adventurers of the middle ages. From the same people the neighbouring islands derived undoubtedly the various names of Zetland, Hetland, Skettland, Shetland, as they were viewed by various persons from different points (*k*). They were called *Zett-land* by the rovers, who considered those islands as *dispersed* or *separated* lands. They were denominated Hetland by the navigators who fixed their attention to the *heights* which were seen far from the sea (*l*).

During the effluxion of two centuries those desert isles became the harbours of the ferocious seamen of Northern Europe. In A.D. 366, the great Theodosius pursued the Saxon fleet into the usual haunts of those enterprising pirates; and, he is said in the language of panegyric, to have stained the Orkneys with the bloody streams of Saxons slain (*m*).

The Orkneys were settled by the Scandinavians before the age of Columba, who found one of their chiefs at the residence of Bredei the Pictish king, and who sent his missionaries to illuminate the darkness of those benighted islands (*n*). We may easily suppose that the Orcadian isles were thinly inhabited and little cultivated, during a period rather of naval enterprises than of domestic industry. The adventurers, from the hope of plunder, frequently invaded the coasts of *Pictavia*; but they were vigorously repulsed by Bredei the Pictish king, who is said to have pursued them into their usual retreats amidst their

(*k*) Sibbald's Description of Shetland, p. 1; *Specimen Islandiæ Chorographicum*, p. 2; "Hetlandia, Hietland, Vernacule, male Schetland."

(*l*) Wachter's Germ. Gloss. in vo. *Zetten*, *Spargere*, *Dispergere*; hence *Zett-land*. *Hæt*, signifying in the Icelandic *Altitudo*. Andreas's Dictionary; Hicks's Thesaurus. *Hat* in the old German signified *altus*, *excelsus*. Wachter. Hence *Hæt-land*, the high or lofty land. The mountains and headlands of Shetland naturally suggested this etymological notion to a naval people; at the southern end of the main island there are Fitfiell-head, signifying the white mountain, and the Sumberg-head, from the Scandinavian *berg*, a hill; and at the north end there is a high mountain named Ronas-hill, with a continued chain of hills running between the two.

(*m*) In celebrating the victory of Theodosius, Claudian remarks, among other topics of poetic praise,

"——— Maduerunt Saxone fusio
"Orcades; incaluit Pictorum Sanguine Thule,
"Scotorum Cumulus flevit glacialis Ierne."

(*n*) Adamnan's Life of Columba, lib. ii., cap. xl. xlii.; Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist., § 52. Bredei, the son of Mailcon, reigned from A.D. 556 to 586.

islets and shoals (*o*). During the additional lapse of two centuries they undoubtedly received many congenial colonists, who were driven into exile by the frequent perturbations of their common country. The Scandinavian settlers of the Orkneys probably yielded little subjection to any sovereign, and paid still less obedience to any government, while the sea-kings reigned over the German ocean and domineered over the Hebude isles during many a wretched age (*p*).

(*o*) Tigernach ; and the Ulster Annals under the year 681. Bridei, the son of Beli, reigned from 674 to 695 A.D.

(*p*) Torfæus Orcades, ch. ii.

CHAP. V.

Of the Western Isles or Hebrides.

THE stone monuments, which still exhibit in those Isles specimens of the labour and genius of the first ages, attest the Hebrides to have been planted by the same Celtic people who settled South and North-Britain (*a*). The same Druid temples, the same cairns, the same cromlechs, evince that the same people erected the same monuments in the same age. The maritime people who engaged in predatory expeditions to those islands during subsequent times, had neither leisure for such peaceful labours nor inclination for such lasting memorials.

The western isles were known to the Roman geographers during the first century by the name of the Hæbudes (*b*). This appellation, the etymology of which has defied conjecture, has been converted in modern times into *Hebrides* by the blunder of transcription or the error of typography. Those isles were seen rather than explored by the Roman fleet which circumnavigated the British island in A.D. 84 by the command of Agricola; and they afterwards had the honour to be described by Ptolomy from the local informations of the Roman officers.

During the period of the Roman government in Britain the Hebudes were governed, like Caledonia, by many petty cheftains, who were connected only by the slight ties of a common religion and language, and of similar customs and habits; but they owed no subjection to a superior, and scarcely acknowledged the connection arising from the same language, the same religion, and the same usages, which pointed to a common origin without allowing a common government. Yet the descendants of the original colonists could have

(*a*) See before, book ii., ch. i.; Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 8, 9-220; Pennant's *Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 180-357; *Munimenta Antiqua*, p. 145, 147, 245; *Mona Antiqua*, p. 84-94; Borlase's *Cornwall*, 205-231; Gough's *Camden*, v. iii., p. 174-190; *Archæol.*, v. vii., p. 107; *Ib.*, v. vi., p. 113-14.

(*b*) Mela, lib. iii., cap. vi., calls them *Haemodal*; Pliny, lib. iv., c. xvi.; Ptolomy edit. Bertius, p. 34.

been only few at the epoch of the abdication of the Roman government, owing to the barrenness of the soil, the infelicity of the climate, and the want of commerce (c); and they became the prey during several ages of every predatory tribe who navigated those seas either in quest of plunder or in search of settlements.

In giving an account of the second colonization of the Hebrides, which was made from opposite shores by different lineages of men, it is necessary for the purpose of distinctness to consider those isles under their natural divisions, in two separate ranges, the *interior* and *exterior* Hebrides. Without such distinctions archaeology tries in vain to illustrate their obscurities.

1. The interior range of the Hebrides stretches along the western shore of North-Britain, from Islay on the south to Skye on the north; comprehending the intermediate islands of Mull, Jura, Colonsay, Lismore, Tiree, Coll, Egg, Muck, Canay, Rasay, with a number of adjacent islets, and with this division may be classed the islands of Bute, Arran, and the Cumbrays within the Frith of Clyde.

2. The exterior range of the Hebrides, which lies much farther out in the western ocean, consists of the Lewis, Harris, North-Uist, South-Uist, Barray, Watersay, and of a number of adjacent islets, forming a continued chain from north to south of one hundred and forty miles.

During the sixth, the seventh, and the eighth centuries, the *interior* Hebrides were settled by Gaelic colonists, many of whom migrated directly from Ireland, and still more from the Irish settlements in Argyle. *Iona*, one of the islets of this range, was given to Columba by his relation Conal, the Scottish king, as a secure retreat whence he could send out his missionaries to propagate the Christian faith. The zealous Columbans soon established in those islands many *cells*; and in the progress of proselytism they extended their missions and diffused their instruction throughout the wide extent of the Hebrides (d).

(c) The small number of the names of places in the Hebrides which can be traced to the British language, shows the paucity of the first people at the arrival of the second colonists. There is, however, so much sameness in the British and Gaelic languages, that several names of places which now appear in the Scoto-Irish form, may have been originally applied by the first British colonists.

(d) In every one of the Hebride isles, the churches and chapels were much more numerous in former times than they have been since the Reformation. In some of the parishes of the present day there were formerly more than twelve or fifteen churches or chapels for public worship. In Harris, the walls of twelve churches are standing, and there are the ruins and names of some others. Stat. Acco. v. x., p. 376. In the parish of Tiree and Coll, there are the remains of fifteen chapels, at some of which there are still crosses and cemeteries. Ib. p. 401.

At the end of the eighth and during the ninth century the Hebrides were frequently invaded by the Norwegian pirates, who sometimes sought for settlement, but oftener prowled for prey. The same Scandinavian race who settled in the Orkney Islands and on the coast of Caithness extended their settlements in the ninth century to the *exterior* Hebrides, where they found but few of the first colonists to resist their intrusion. A subsequent body of their countrymen followed their tracks, and succeeded in forming settlements on the coast of Sutherland and around the shores of the interior Hebrides where they tried to give stability to their settlements and to overawe the Gaelic inhabitants by building *Burghs* or forts of stone (*e*). The topography and the antiquities of

Blaeu's Maps, No. 42 to 48, confirm the same position. All the old churches in the Hebrides, except some of those in Lewis and Harris, which form the northern part of the exterior Hebrides, were dedicated to the same patron saints as those of Argyre and other parts of Scotland where the Scoto-Irish settled. Among these may be noticed St. Columba, Brigid, Ciaran, Adamnan, Patrick, Bar, Brandan, Chatan, Martin, Caoinach, or Kenneth, &c.; even in Lewis and Harris, some of the churches were dedicated to the Scoto-Irish saints, as Columba, Brigid, Ciaran, Donan, or Adamnan. Martin's *W. Isles*, p. 27; *Stat. Acco.*, v. x., p. 377. The other churches in those islands were chiefly dedicated to the saints in the calendar of the church of Rome. *Id.* The churches throughout the Hebrides, except those of Lewis, and some in Harris, were named in the Gaelic manner from the Celtic *Cil*, signifying a cell, a chapel, or church; which *Cil* was prefixed to the name of the patron saint. For the numerous names of the ancient churches and chapels in the Hebrides, see the Maps in Blaeu's Atlas, 1662, from 42 to 48; Langland's Map of Argyreshire; and the Topographical Dictionary, under *Kil*.

(*e*) The ruins of many of those forts still remain around the coasts of the Hebrides. They were called by the Scandinavian people *Burghs*; by the Scoto-Irish people they are named *Duns*; and *Dun* in the Gaelic is synonymous to the Scandinavian *Burgh*. There is a remarkable difference between the few Scandinavian names on the shores of the *interior* Hebrides and those in the *exterior* Hebrides and the Orkney islands which deserves attention, as it throws a strong light on the diversity of their settlements. The most numerous class of names in these islands are, as in all other countries, compounded of those words which, in the language of the colonists, signify a dwelling-place, a habitation, or settlement. The Scandinavian *Bustar*, and *Busta*, which signify a dwelling-place; *Stor*, a station, or place; and *Seatur*, a seat or settlement; appear in a great number of the names within the Orkney and Shetland islands, and in several names on the coast of Caithness; and we also find the same terms in the Scandinavian names within the *exterior* Hebrides, though they have been somewhat disguised by a Gaelic pronunciation. But not one of those common terms is to be found in the Scandinavian names on the shores of the *interior* Hebrides, nor in those on the coast of Sutherland. In the interior Hebrides, and in Sutherland, most of the Scandinavian names terminate in *bol*, which in that language signifies a habitation, or dwelling-place; as in *Ski-bol*, *Enn-bol*, *Skel-bol*, *Tor-bol*, *Kirka-bol*, *Arna-bol*, and *Eri-bol*, in Sutherland; *Kirka-bol*, *Cross-bol*, *Hyle-bol*, *Barra-bol*, in Tiree-island; *Gris-bol*, in Coll-island; *Hara-bol*, *Ella-bol*, *Eyre-bol*, *Lyre-bol*, in Islay. These facts evince that the scattered settlements of the northmen on the coasts of Sutherland and the interior Hebrides were

the Hebrides, when judiciously investigated, greatly help the scanty notices of history in tracing those obscure events during such barbarous times. The great body of the names of places in the Hebrides are Gaelic, many of them are Scandinavian, and a number of them are pleonastic compounds of both those languages. In the interior range of the Hebrides the names of places are nearly all Gaelic, there being only a few Scandinavian names around the coasts of these islands. This fact shows that this division of the Hebrides was colonized wholly by the Irish and the Scoto-Irish before the Scandinavian rovers broke in upon them during the ninth century; and it also shows that the Scandinavian people only made a few settlements upon the shores of the *interior* range. In the *exterior* Hebrides the greatest number of the names of places are Scandinavian, a large proportion of them are Gaelic, and many of them are pleonasm, which were formed by prefixing Gaelic epithets to the Scandinavian appellations. In this division of the Hebride isles the Scandinavian names are not confined to the coasts, but are spread over the interior of each island, and are even applied to mountains and to waters. These facts demonstrate that the Scandinavian settlers preceded the Scoto-Irish in those distant islands, and found few of the first colonists who could hand down their traditions or transmit their topography, as the Scandinavian settlers new-named almost all the hills, the waters, and other great features of nature (*f*).

made by different settlers who spoke a somewhat different dialect of the Scandinavian tongue from their countrymen, who had previously settled in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and on the coast of Caithness, and within the *exterior* Hebrides. Thus does topography give her instructive intimations to history for illustrating the obscurities of colonization, and settling the doubts of etymology.

(*f*) For those instructive truths as to the names of places, see the several Maps of the Hebrides in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, Ainslie's Map of Scotland, M-Kenzie's Charts of the Lewis and of the West Coast, with Langland's Map of Argyleshire; and above all, see the *Topographical Dictionary*, wherein the names of places will be found more correct and more copious than they are in any of those Maps. For this correctness the public owe a favour, and I an obligation, to several of the intelligent ministers in the Hebride Isles, who communicated to me much useful suggestion, and many valuable emendations.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Scots.

THE obscurity in which the origin of the Scottish people has always been involved gave rise to the most absurd theories, and produced among polemics the most obstinate disputes ; their theories originated, like other systems, from inattention to facts ; their disputes arose, like other conflicts of greater moment, from national competition ; and these contests were continued, like other literary altercations, by controversial obstinacy.

Whether the Scots were natives in Britain or were emigrants from Ireland are questions which were long contested by the antiquarian zealots of two spirited nations. That the Scots were emigrants from Ireland is now certain, however prejudice may have tried to obscure the truth ; and the distant origin of the Scots within the sacred isle is at present the only inquiry on this head which can engage a rational curiosity. Such is the difficulty of this disquisition, arising chiefly from the contradictoriness of previous opinions, that perhaps the truth can best be obtained by carrying our searches backward from subsequent certainty to previous uncertainty.

Before the year 400, the Scots had become so pre-eminent in Ireland that they gave their own name to the whole country, if we may credit Orosius, who flourished as an intelligent writer at the interesting commencement of the fifth century (a). Claudian, his poetical contemporary, fully concurs with him when he says in more elegant language :

“ Totum cum Scotus Hibernem—movit ;

“ Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.”

“ When the Scots all Ireland—mov’d ;

“ O’er heaps of Scots, whom icy Ireland wept.”

(a) See the edition of Alfred and Barrington. *Igbernia*, which we call *Scotland*, says he, b. i., ch. i., is surrounded on every side by the ocean.

It is a fact, then, that the Scots were the ruling people of Ireland at the conclusion of the fourth century; and we have seen the Scots invade Romanized Britain in 360 A.D., when they were repelled by Theodosius, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (*b*). Curious erudition indeed has employed its research to investigate when the Scots were first mentioned in the intelligent pages of classic authors. Camden has the merit of having discovered that Porphyry, who flourished under Dioclesian at the close of the third century, first mentioned the *Scoticæ gentes*, the Scottish nations of the Britannic world (*c*). Eumenius, who first mentioned the Picts, and who was the contemporary of Porphyry, mentions the *Hiberni* and the *Hibernienses* without noticing the *Scoticæ gentes*. But Porphyry was a scholar and a *geographer*, while Eumenius was merely a scholar and an *orator*. It is obvious, then, that the Scots first began to appear to intelligent eyes towards the conclusion of the third century. When Ptolomy was inquiring about the nations of the earth during the second century, he heard nothing of the Scots (*d*). All former writers who speak of the two British islands, J. Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Mela, Tacitus, Pliny, Solinus, mention nothing of the *Scots*, though they severally speak of the Irish tribes; and we may therefore consider it as a moral certainty that the Scottish people had not acquired their appropriate name during the first and second centuries.

It is now time to inquire of what *lineage* and of what *country* were the objects of this disquisition. The *lineage* of every people is most accurately traced in their *language*. The Scoto-Irish even now speak *Gaelic*; their pro-

(*b*) I do not concur with those writers who speak of permanent settlements of Irish-Scots in Scotland during Roman times. They certainly invaded the Roman province on the west, but they were continually repulsed by the decided superiority of the Roman arms. It was this circumstance which induced those writers to speak of Scottish settlements in North-Britain, and Scottish migrants to Ireland, in those early ages. From all my enquiries, it appears to me that no permanent colonization of North-Britain by the Scoto-Irish people began till the recent period of the sixth century.

(*c*) Holland, p. 125; Gough's Camden, v. i., p. 98. Humphry Lhuyd, the Welsh antiquary, having intimated that the Scots were first mentioned under Constantine, was attacked by Buchanan with every asperity of reproach; but Buchanan did not himself pretend to show when the Scots were first known to the learned world. On this occasion Camden was induced to travel out of the common track of classic reading for the fact. Usher concurs with Camden. *Prim.* p. 728. Bollandus and Tillemont agree in saying that the *Scots* were not known as the *Irish* till the beginning of the fourth century. Tillemont's *Mem. Eccles.*, tom. xvi., p. 453.

(*d*) See Bertius's edition of Ptolomy; nor is there a word in his Map of Ireland which looks like *Scoti*. See *Geographia Antiqua et Nova*. Tab. ii. *Insularum Britannicarum Facies Antiqua*; nor does the copious index to this *geographia* mention a syllable of the *Scoticæ gentes*. Richard's Map of *Hibernia* does mention the *Scotti*, long after they had been recognized by geographers.

genitors in Ireland always spoke *Gaelic*, the same *Gaelic* which we see in the Irish word-books of every age; and the *Scoticæ gentes* were therefore a *Gaelic* people. The Scots never spoke *Teutonic*, and they were not therefore a Gothic people who spoke the *Teutonic* and not the *Gaelic* (*e*). The country of the Scots, as they were themselves *Gaelic*, must necessarily have been *Gaelic*.

This intimation points to Ireland, the western land, where the *Scoticæ gentes* or Scots were first found by those intelligent writers who take the most early notice of them in the fourth and third centuries; in those eventful times when the Scots moved all Ireland to enterprise, and when Irene wept the slaughter of her sons. From the foregoing proofs, it is a moral certainty of great importance in Irish history, that Ireland, at the epoch of the introduction of Christianity into that island, was inhabited by the Scots, a *Gaelic* people, who spoke the same *Gaelic* language which we may see in the *Gaelic scriptures*. We are, indeed, informed by contemporary writers, that the Roman missionaries who produced that great change were sent to the Scots in Ireland (*f*).

It is also a moral certainty, as we have seen, that Ireland was originally settled by *Gaelic* tribes from the neighbouring coasts of Britain during the first ages (*g*). Of Ireland I will say, after every endeavour to illustrate her anti-

(*e*) It is not wonderful, because it is so common, to hear men, learned and intelligent, speak nonsense without knowing that they speak nonsensically. How many writers are there who inform us that the Scots were Scythians from Scandinavia or Germany, though the same writers knew that the Scots spoke *Gaelic*, and not *Gothic*. What is this but to reason absurdly, by applying contradictory qualities to the same persons!

(*f*) Usher's Prim., p. 802 and 1043; Lloyd's Church Government, p. 7, 50-2, with the authorities which they quote. Prosper, indeed, when speaking on this subject, calls Ireland the *barbarous island*, in contradistinction to the *Romanized* isle of Britain. Id. Add to those proofs the following testimonies, that Ireland was known to the intelligent world during the middle ages as the native land of the Scots. Pope Honorius I., who died in 683 A.D., in writing to the Irish Church on the proper observance of Easter, addressed his epistle, "ad Scotorum gentem." Bede, lib. ii., ch. xix. And John IV., his successor, addressed a similar letter to the Irish bishops, presbyters, and abbots, by the appropriate name of *Scoti*. Id.; Flor. Wig.; Wilk. Concilia, v. i., p. 36. And Lawrence, the Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed an epistle about the year 614, "ad Scotos Hiberniæ incolas." Usher's Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, p. 18-22. Asser, in his Life of Alfred, says, "891 A.D. Tres *Scoti* ad Ælfredum ab Hibernia Veniunt." Add to all those authorities the decision of the erudite Scheopflin, in his *Commentationes Historiæ*, cap. iii.: De Scoto-Hibernia. Bede considers Ireland as the land of the Scots; but he settles them in Cantyre before the epoch of Christ. Lib. i. cap. i. Adamnan, who died in 703 A.D., mentions, in his Life of Columba, that the sacred object of his early biography sailed from *Scotia* to Britain, and to Hyona, and from thence went back to *Scotia*.

(*g*) See book i., ch. i.

quities has failed, what Diodorus Siculus said of Britain, that she anciently remained free from foreign force, and untouched either by Bacchus or Hercules, or any other heroes. Long after Britain had passed under the yokes of the Romans and the Saxons, Ireland continued unconquered by any foreign power, unmixed with any alien people, uncontaminated by any new manners, and unperplexed by any heterogeneous speech. As Greece and Rome and Scythia have their *heroical histories* and *mythological personages*, Ireland may well have her *milesian tales*, which have their antiquity to amuse and their sense to instruct, rather than the *Gothic system* of late times, that is founded in self-conceit and is disgraced by nonsense.

Yet the Scots, who are not mentioned in classic authors before the days of Claudian and of Porphyry, seem to have given their obscure name to the people, and acquired the chief sway in Ireland, before the conclusion of the third century. As there is no proof, whatever chroniclers may say and theorists may dream, that the Scots came from *abroad*, the *Scotica gentes* must have acquired within their original island, a *local habitation* and a *name*. As the inhabitants of Ireland are indiscriminately called by classic writers *Hyberni* and *Scoti* after the fourth century, we may infer that the *Hyberni* and *Scoti* were the same people under different designations; and Camden intimates, after many conjectures, that the Scots were merely the descendants of those Britons who of old inhabited Ireland, as Diodorus Siculus informed the world when Ireland became first noticed as a British isle (*h*). As the Scots were indigenous in Ireland, *sc* was probably their name; and from their own language they acquired the appellation of *Scelte*, which signifies, in the Irish, *dispersed* and *scattered*; and they thus appear to have obtained this characteristic name from their passion for enterprize during ages of perturbation (*i*). The Scots were originally noticed by the Roman government as a maritime people who infested, by their frequent incursions, the western shores of Romanized Britain; and the country of the Scots was therefore different from Britain. Ancient Scotland was undoubtedly an island, whatever theorists may have thought; and ancient Scotland was certainly not a distinct island from Ireland, whatever chroniclers may have said (*k*).

(*h*) Holland's Camden, p. 124.

(*i*) O'Brien's Dict. Ammianus Marcellinus in speaking lib. xxvii. of this people, intimates their qualities when he says, "*Scoti per diversi vagantes*;" and see the *Genuine History of the Britons* throughout; this erudite writer proves (1) that the Scots came neither from Scythia, nor Spain, and (2) that they derived their appropriate name from their acquired quality of *roving*.

(*k*) The following document, which was drawn up by the accurate pen of Camden, and may be seen

The nearest coasts of Britain supplied the sister isle with colonists in successive ages and on various occasions. In the progress of settlement and in the improvement of society the various settlers, when association became necessary, formed themselves into a community by the different names of *Scelte*, Scots, and *Scoti*; and hence the island of the western ocean became known to the intelligent world, at the end of the third century, as the native country of the

among his epistles, ed. 1691, p. 360, furnishes historical demonstrations of the three conclusive points in the text :

“Primum punctum ; Antiquam Scotiam fuisse insulam :

- “1. Scotia proxima Britanniae insula. S. Isidorus, lib. xii. cap. vi.
- “2. Scotia quæ terris nihil debet. Hegesippus, lib. v. cap. xv.
- “3. Scotia fertilis sanctorum insula. Surius 13 Nov. & 8 Maii. Item Molanus 8 Maii.
- “4. De Scotorum insulâ venientes. Beda in Martyrologio 13 Nov.
- “5. Tota insula Scotiæ mirabatur. Theodoricus apud Surium 1 Julii. tom. vii.

“Secundum punctum ; Antiquam Scotiam à Britannia fuisse discretam :

- “1. Scotiæ gentis de Britannorum vicina. Hieronymus in 3 præm. in Hieremiam.
- “2. De Scotiâ venit in Britanniam. Beda in Appendice ad Historiam.
- “3. Scotensis exercitus frequenter transnavigans in Britanniam. Vita S. Patricii in Collegio Duaceno MS.
- “4. Britannia Oceani insula, cui adjacet Scotia. Huebaldus apud Surium. 12 Nov.
- “5. Alter penè orbis Britannia cum adjacente Scotiâ. Theodoricus apud Surium tom. vii. Julii i.

Tertium punctum ; Antiquam Scotiam non diversam ab Ibernâ ;

- “1. Scotia eadem & Ibernia. S. Isidorus lib. xii. cap. vi.
- “2. Ibernia à Scotorum gentibus habitatur. S. Orosius lib. i. p. 20.
- “3. Britanniae adjacet Scotia seu Ibernia. Huebaldus apud Surium 12 Nov.
- “4. Ibernia propria est Scotorum patria. Vita S. Columbæ in Legendario Anglicano.
- “5. Ibernia propria Scotorum est patria. Beda in Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. i.
- “6. Scotorum qui Iberniam insulam Britannie proximam incolunt. Beda loco cit. lib. ii. cap. iv.
- “7. Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Iberna. }
- “8. totam cum Scotus Iberniam } Claudianus,
- “ Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethis. }
- “9. De Ibernâ Scotorum insulâ venientes. Beda 13 Novemb.
- “10. Scotia, quæ & Ibernia dicitur. Surius ad eundem diem.
- “11. Scotia, quæ tunc erat Ibernia. Bozius de Anno 434 in signis Ecclesiæ lib. viii. cap. i.
- “12. Scotus de Ibernâ insulâ natus. Marianus ad annum 657. de S. Kiliano.
- “13. Iberniam Scotorum gens incolit. Jonas in Vitâ S. Columbani.
- “14. Iberniam Scotorum insulam. Aimoinus lib. iv. cap. 100. & Eginardus in gestis Caroli magni.
- “15. Euntes in Scotiam intrent purgatorium S. Patricii. Cæsarius lib. xii. cap. xxxviii.
- “16. Ibernia partita in Scotos (Septentrionales & Australes) Beda, lib. iii. cap. iv.

Scots, and in after ages by the name of Scotland (*l*). The same appellation was transferred from Ireland to Scotland when both had lost their original designations amid the successive changes of unstable times.

Amidst the turbulence of rude ages, the Irish were seldom at rest. They were either occupied in maritime excursions against the Romanized shores of the British island, or they were agitated by domestic feuds. The northern division of Ireland, which was called by the Irish *Ulladh*, and by the English *Ulster*, was particularly subject to such perturbations, owing to the pretensions of two powerful tribes. The race of the Irish, who were long known and feared by the name of *Cruithne*, were the most powerful clan of the north-western district of Ireland. The frequent disputes of those rival tribes at length called for the interposition of the Irish sovereign at the middle of the third century. Cormac then reigned supreme king of Ireland. In this war, Cairbre-Riada, the cousin and general of Cormac, conquered a territory of thirty miles extent in the north-east corner of Ireland, which at that disastrous epoch was enjoyed by the *Cruithne* (*a*). This territory was now seized by Cairbre-Riada and his followers in the right of conquest and by the favour of Cormac, when it was denominated from the conqueror *Dal-Riada*, the *portion* of Riada. Over *Dalriada* Carbre and his posterity continued to rule for ages, under the constant protection of their relations, the sovereigns of Ireland (*b*). This conquest of Dalriada, at the middle of the second century by Cairbre, sowed the seeds of many disputes, which grew up into bloody

(*l*) See Whitaker's *Genuine Hist. of the Britons*, p. 283-88; Innes's *Crit. Ess.*, vol. i., p. 167-203; vol. ii., p. 401-545. The Milesian origin of the ancient Irish is now scarcely believed by Milesian fablers. The direct colonization of Ireland from the east is hardly credited by scholars who know that emigrations were made in early ages by land and not by sea. The Gothic origin of the old Irish is asserted by those who never inquired whether the Irish had ever spoken the *Gothic* tongue, or whether the names of places in the map of Ireland be significant in the *Gothic* language. In the midst of the conjectures of ignorance and the scepticism of learning, it is curious to remark that the great Ælfred appears to have been the first who wrote the word *Scotland*, and applied the Anglo-Saxon term as the name of Ireland: "On thaem ilcan wendel sæ on fyre westende "is *Scotland*;" in this same Mediterranean to the westward is *Scotland*. Ælfred's translation of Orosius, p. 14, and the translation by Daines Barrington, p. 3. Thus two Celtic communities were destined by a singular fortune to derive a lasting name from an Anglo-Saxon Prince in the Teutonic language!

(*a*) Cairbre-Riada was one of the sons of Conary II., who ruled as chief king in Ireland from 212 to 220 A.D., and who was descended, according to the Irish genealogies, from the great Conary that fell by the stroke of assassination in 60 A.D. Usher's *Prim.*, p. 610-11; Camden in *Scotia*; O'Connor's *Dissertation*, p. 192-3, 202; *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 164-5.

(*b*) O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*; *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 163, 164-5; O'Connor's *Dissertation*, p. 196-7.

conflicts between the Cruithne of Ulladh and the Dalriadæ of Ireland, as well as their descendants, the Dalriadæ of North-Britain.

In the prevalence of contest and the progress of population, a colony was conducted from Dalriada to North-Britain at the recent commencement of the sixth century, by Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, the three sons of ERC, the descendant of *Cairbre-Riada*. These colonists not only brought with them their language and religion, their manners and customs, but their subordination and allegiance to the country whence they had voluntarily proceeded (*c*). At that remarkable epoch in the Scottish history, Lugad the son of Laogar reigned supreme over Ireland.

The Irish colonists departed from Dalriada, which was thus occupied by the descendants of Cairbre-Riada, and was governed by Olchu, the brother of Erc (*d*); and the Irish colonists settled in the ancient country of the British Epidii, near the Epidian promontory of Richard and Ptolomy, which was denominated by the Dalriadinian colonists, *Ceantir*, or *head-land* (*e*). The epoch of their settlement is 503 A.D. (*f*); and the new settlers continued to the age of Bede to be commonly called from their original district, the Dalriadini, though they will be herein denominated the *Scoto-Irish*, with a retrospect to their origin and a regard to their colonization.

(*c*) Usher's Prim., p. 947, 1029; Tigernach; Ulster Annals; O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 470; Innes's Crit. Essay, p. 693. O'Conner intimates that the sons of Erc were favoured in their emigration by the Hy-Nial, or the supreme power which was then exercised by Lugad the son of Laogar, the grandson of Niel the great, and the sovereign of Ireland from 483 to 508 A.D. Ogygia Vindicated, p. 92, in the note. This connection between the Dalriadic race and the royal family of Ireland was again doubly cemented by the marriages of Erca, the daughter of Loarn, in succession with the two grandsons of Niel, who is called the great by the appropriate eloquence of the Irish annalists.

(*d*) Erc, who was the son of Eocha-Munramhar, and a lineal descendant of Cairbre-Riada, died in 474 A.D., and in conformity to the Irish law of Tanaistry, his only brother Olchu succeeded him in the government of the Dalriadæ in Ireland. The posterity of Olchu continued to rule this tribe in subordination to the supreme kings of Ireland after the sons of Erc had established their settlements in Argyle. Usher's Primord.; The Book of Leacan; Kennedy's Dissert. on the Stuarts, p. 145.

(*e*) In the Gaelic *Cean*, of which *Cin* is an inflection, signifies a *head*, and *Tir*, *land*, so *Cean-tir*, is literally head-land; yet this significant appellation of the Irish colonists is said to be Gothic. Enquiry Hist. Scot., 1789. The analagous term in the Gothic is *Hæfde-lande*. The Enquirer might with equal truth have said that the Gothic *Hæfde-lande* and the English *headland* are Celtic words.

(*f*) Tigernach; Usher's Prim., 947, 1122; Innes's Critical Essay, v. ii., p. 689, 694; Kennedy's Dissert. on the Stuarts, p. 146, 169. O'Connor confirms the fact, by saying wildly that Argyle, Alban, and the Hebrides were *conquered* by the sons of Erc in 503 A.D. Dissert. p. 198-9.

It has been reasonably asked, whether *the sons of Ere* made their settlements by force or favour. This inquiry supposes that tradition is silent upon the point, and that history is also uninformative (*g*); and the unsatisfactoriness of the one, and the silence of the other, lead us to suppose that the Dalriadini settled without offence, and remained in their new settlements for years without opposition. *Cean-tir*, as the name implies in the speech of the Scoto-Irish colonists, is a *head-land*, which, forming a very narrow peninsula, runs far into the Deucaledonian sea towards the nearest coast of Ireland, and is separated by lofty mountains from the Caledonian continent. It was in that age very thinly inhabited by the Cambro-Britons; and these descendants of the Epidii were little connected with the central clans; and were still less considered by the Pictish government, which perhaps was not yet sufficiently refined to be very jealous of its rights, or to be promptly resentful of its wrongs. Drest-Garthinmoth then reigned over the Picts, and certainly resided at a great distance, beyond Drum-Alban. To those intimations we may subjoin, that Loarn, Fergus, and Angus brought few followers with them; and though they were doubtless joined by subsequent colonists, they were for some time occupied with the necessary but uninteresting labours of settlement within their appropriate districts. Ceantir was the portion of Fergus, Loarn possessed Loarn, to which he gave his name, and Angus is supposed to have colonized Islay (*h*). They obviously established their several settlements according to the anarchical customs of their original country. Each of those princes with their followers formed a distinct tribe, which was nearly independent of each other, with a nominal subordination to the eldest, at least when obedience could be compelled by power. The history of those Scoto-Irish colonists will evince that, by acting on this notion of anarchy during a rude age, their descendants were frequently involved in the contests of disputed successions, and often in the miseries of civil war.

In the records of time there scarcely occurs a period of history which is so perplexed and obscure as the annals of the Scoto-Irish kings and their tribes,

(*g*) The Gaelic poem, or *duan*, as translated by O'Flaherty, makes the sons of Ere subdue Alban with a *strong hand*. *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 144. O'Connor, as we have seen, concurs in the notion of conquest. *Dissert.*, p. 188-9. The poetical notion of *conquest* cannot possibly be true: and probability and fact only justify the more reasonable position of quiet *colonization*. Bede adds the confirmation of his judgment to the simple notion of quiet settlement. *Bede*, lib. i. cap. i.

(*h*) Dr. Smith's *Hist. Dissert. in Stat. Account*, v. x., p. 521; Islay was certainly enjoyed by Muredach the son of Angus after his decease.

from their settlement in 503 A.D., to their ascendancy in 843 A.D. The original cause of this obscurity is the want of contemporaneous writing. An ample field was thus left open for the conflicts of national emulation. Ignorance and ingenuity, sophistry and system, all contributed by their various efforts to make what was dark still more obscure. The series and genealogy of the kings have been involved in peculiar perplexity by the contests of the Irish and Scottish antiquaries for pre-eminence in antiquity as well as in fame; and Cimmerian darkness overspreads the annals of a people who were too restless for the repose of study, and too rude for the elaboration of writing. In the sister islands there happily remain, however, various documents of subsequent compilation, which throw many flashes of light on the obscure transactions of the Scoto-Irish tribes, and which serve equally to enable us to unravel the entangled genealogies of the Scoto-Irish kings. In Ireland there exist the annals of Tigernach and of Ulster, with the useful observations thereon of O'Flaherty and O'Connor. There existed also in various depositories, several brief chronicles and historical documents, which Innes first brought to light, in a happy hour for the North-British history (*i*). A Gaelic poem, or genealogical account of the Scoto-Irish kings, also sheds some rays of light on this gloomy subject (*k*). Some other chronicles are fortunately preserved from the destruction of design and the waste of accident, which were also compiled before ignorance and folly, and refinement and system, began to falsify the Scottish annals. From an attentive consideration of all those, and from an accurate examination of other documents, I have compiled a genealogical and chronological *Table* of the Scoto-Irish kings during that dark period of their distracted annals (*l*). I trust it will be found to be more satisfactory than any

(*i*) See Innes's Critical Essay, p. 600-613; and his invaluable Appendix "of Ancient Pieces."

(*k*) This curious *Duan* was published in the *Enquiry*, 1789.

(*l*) The authorities from which both the Chronological Table and the following history of the Scottish kings have been collected, are, (1.) *Chronica Regum Scotorum*, from Fergus the son of Ere till King William, a MS. in the Colbertine Library, which is printed in Innes's Critical Essay, App. No. iv. (2.) *Chronica Regum Scotorum*, from Fergus the son of Ere, till King Alexander III., which was taken from the Register of the Priory of St. Andrew's, and is printed in Innes's Crit. Essay, App. No. v. (3.) *Chronicon Rythmycum*, at the end of the Scoti-Chronicon, a MS. in the Scots College of Paris, and is printed in Innes's Crit. Essay, App. No. vi. (4.) The *Duan Albanich*, an historical and genealogical poem composed in the time of Malcolm III. which is printed in the *Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotland*, 1789, v. ii. App. No. ii., with a literal translation by Mr. Wilson, and a free translation by Mr. O'Connor. The literal translation, though it contains a few mistakes, being made in a hurry and without consulting books, is by far the most useful. The free translation is indeed extremely free, is much abridged, and in several parts

genealogical series that has yet been submitted to the inquisitive world; and I now lay it before the reader with the hope of clearing the dark, and settling the doubtful, as to the early sovereigns of a country which has been aptly called *the cradle* of the Scottish monarchy (*m*). This Table evinces, that the length of the whole period, from the epoch of Fergus and of the settlement in 503 A.D., to the accession of Kenneth over the Picts in 843, is 340 years; that the sum total of the several reigns, which the *Table* assigns to the various kings, amounts also to 340 years, and the coincidence of these two sums of 340 years demonstrates that the whole chronology of the kings is perfectly accurate.

is mistakingly rendered. O'Flaherty has given a free translation of the first twelve distichs as far down as Ferchar I. *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 143, 145. This is also in several parts faulty, but he says his copy was an imperfect one. (5.) The Extracts from the Annals of Ulster in the British Museum, which were published by Johnston in 1786; *Antiq. Celt. Normannie*, p. 56; and in the Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotland, 1789, v. ii. App. No. 1. Many of the dates in these extracts are one year behind the dates in the Annals of Tigernach, and also behind the dates *quoted by Usher* from the original Annals of Ulster. (6.) Adaman's Life of St. Columba. (7.) Usher's *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, 1639. (8.) O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*. (9.) *Ogygia Vindicated*, by O'Flaherty, with O'Connor's Dissertation and Notes, 1775. (10.) Innes's Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of North-Britain, 1729. (11.) The Enquiry into the History of Scotland, 1789, with the collateral aid of many other books. I have also derived great help from the MS. Collections of Innes, which he had employed fifty years to amass for his Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, and which I owe to the obliging communication of his late grand-nephew, Alexander Innes of the Scots College at Paris.

(*m*) The errors and confusion which have been introduced into the series and the history of the Scottish kings have chiefly originated from the following causes: 1st, The sovereignty was not transmitted by the strict line of hereditary descent. There were, as we shall see, three great families, who, as they sprung from the royal stock, occasionally grew up into the royal stem; two of these were descended from Fergus I. by his grandsons, Comgal and Gauran, the third was descended from Loarn, the brother of Fergus. This circumstance naturally produced frequent contests and civil wars for the sovereignty, which from those causes was sometimes split, and the representatives of Fergus and Loarn, reigned independently over their separate territories at the same time. The confusion which all this had produced can only be cleared up by tracing as far as possible the history of these different families, and developing the civil contests which existed among them. 2d, Much perplexity has been produced by the mistakes and omissions of the Gaelic bard who composed the Albanic Duan, particularly in the latter part of the series, where he has erroneously introduced several supposititious kings from the Pictish Catalogue. These mistakes having been adopted by those writers whose object was rather to support a system than to unravel the history of the Scottish monarchs, have increased rather than diminished the confusion

A TABLE, Genealogical and Chronological, of the Scots-Irish Kings, from the Year 503 to 843 A.D., drawn up from a consideration of the Ancient Chronicles, Nos. 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's Appendix; from the MS. *Chronica Accurata* of Innes; and from the Gaelic Poem or Duan; from O'Flaherty's Genealogical Catalogue; and from an Examination of the "Enquiry into the History of Scotland, 1789." Giving, from a comparative view of all those authorities, and an attention to their several histories, a *gentile series* of the Accession, Reign, and Demise of each of those Kings.

The Series	The Names and Filiation of the Kings.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 4.		Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 5.		Chronicon in Innes's App. No. 6.		The GENTILE CHRONOLOGY:		The Gaelic O'Flaherty's Poem, or Duan.		Pinkerton's System.	
		Reigned. Years.	Reigned. Years.	Reigned. Years.	Reigned. Years.	A.D. in 503	Years.	Accessions.	Reigns.	Years.	Reigns.	Years.	Reigns.
	LOARN, the son of Erc, reigned contemporary with Fergus.	3	3	3	3	in 506	3			27	16	3	
1	FERGUS, the son of Erc.	5	5	5	5	511	5			4	5	5	
2	DOMANGART, the son of Fergus.	32	24	24	24	511	24			24	24	34	
3	COMGAL, the son of Domangart.	22	22	20	22	535	22			2	2	16	
4	GAURAN, the son of Domangart.	14	14	14	14	557	14			15	15	15	
5	CONAL, the son of Comgal.	34	34	34	34	571	34			24	32	30	
6	ADAN, the son of Gauran.	16	16	16	16	605	16			17	23	17	
7	EIOCHA'-BUI, the son of Aidan.	3 Mo ^s	3 Mo ^s	3 Mo ^s	3 Mo ^s	621	— ⁴			3 Mo ^s	3 Mo ^s	3 Mo ^s	
8	KENNETH-CEAR, the son of Eiocha'-bui.	16	16	16	16	621	16			16	12	16	
9	FERCHAR, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Loarn.	14	14	14	14	637	5			14	—	12	
10	DONAL-BREAC, the son of Eiocha'-bui.	—	—	—	—	642	10			10	18	10	
11	CONAL II., the grandson of Conal I.	—	—	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	
12	DUNGAL reigned some years with Conal.	—	—	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	
13	DONAL-DUIN, the son of Conal.	—	—	—	—	652	13			13	13	13	
14	MAOLDUIN, the son of Conal.	21	21	21	21	665	16			17	17	17	
15	FERCHAR-FADA, the grandson of Ferchar I.	3	3	13	13	681	21			21	21	21	
16	EIOCHA'-RINEVAL, the son of Domangart, and the grandson of Donal-breac.	1	1	1	1	702	3			2	7	2	
17	AINBHEALACH, the son of Ferchar-fada.	—	—	—	—	705	1			1	1	1	
18	SELVACH, the son of Ferchar-fada, reigned over Loarn from 706 to 729.	—	—	—	—	—	—			—	—	20	
19	DUNCHA-BEG reigned over Kintyre and Argyll till 720.	—	—	—	—	706	27			—	—	—	
20	EIOCHA III., the son of Eiocha'-rineval, reigned over Kintyre and Argyll, from 720 to 729; and also over Lorn, from 729 to 733.	13	13	13	13	—	—			—	—	—	
21	MUREDACH, the son of Ainbhealach.	3	3	3	3	733	3			3	5	10	
22	EIOGAN, the son of Muredach.	30	30	30	30	736	30			30	30	3	
23	AODH-FIN, the son of Eiocha III.	3	3	3	3	739	3			—	—	—	
24	FERGUS, the son of Aodh-fin.	24	24	24	24	769	34			30	30	30	
25	SELVACH II., the son of Eogan.	30	30	30	30	772	30			—	—	5	
26	EIOCHA'-ANNUNE IV., the son of Aodh-fin.	7	7	7	7	796	30			—	—	—	
27	DUNGAL, the son of Selvach II.	3	3	3	3	826	7			7	7	7	
28	ALPIN, the son of Eiocha'-anne IV.	3	3	3	3	833	3			4	4	4	
29	KENNETH, the son of Alpin.	7	7	7	7	836	7			—	—	2	
						843							

If we may credit the Irish chroniclers, the three sons of Erc enjoyed each an independent government, according to the anarchical maxims of the Irish polity, within his own district, in subordination, however, to the sovereign of Ireland (*n*). Neither of the brothers at the epoch of their emigration were young, if we may believe the same chroniclers, who assure us that the children of Erc had received the honour of St. Patrick's benediction before his death in 493 A.D. The early decease of each of the three brothers after their settlement, seems to be a still stronger proof of their having declined far into the vale of years before they engaged in the difficult work of founding a new dynasty of kings, and settling a new race of people, within a rugged country of lakes and defiles. Angus soon died, leaving a son Muredach, who enjoyed his authority within the narrow limits of Islay; and Loarn, the eldest brother, also deceased, leaving his brother Fergus the sole monarch of the Dalriadinian Scots (*o*). Fergus did not long survive his brothers, as he died in 506 A.D., leaving his pretensions, whatever they were, and his power, however limited, to his son Domangart (*p*). The Gaelic poem applies to Fergus the epithet *ard*, which may mean *great* in character, or first in sovereignty.

(*n*) O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 470-2; O'Connor's *Dissert.*, 199; and the Albanic Historical poem, or *Duan*. But the ancient chronicles in Innes's Appendix, No. 4, 5, 6, uniformly speak of Fergus as the sole monarch of the Dalriadinian territories, which he only enjoyed during the short period of three years.

(*o*) Loarn, who is called *Loarnius Magnus* by O'Flaherty, had several children, of whom the most celebrated was *Erca*, who was married successively to two cousin-germans, the grandsons of Niel, the great king of Ireland. She first married Muredach, the son of Eogan, by whom she had three sons; Murecheard, who reigned king of Ireland from 513 to 534 A.D., Feredach, and Moen. She married for her second husband, Fergus, the son of Conal, by whom she had four sons; Sednæ, who was progenitor of several of the supreme kings of Ireland, Fedlim (the father of St. Columba), Lugad, and Brendan. *Ogygia*, p. 470-1, and *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 159. It seems more than probable that the race of Loarn, who in after times succeeded occasionally to the Dalriadinian throne, sprung from the first marriage of Erca, as we see that Muredach, Eogan, and Ferchar, were family names in that royal series. Murecheard, the son of Erca, and king of Ireland as above mentioned, was surnamed Mac-Erca from his mother. *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 159. From Murecheard descended no fewer than sixteen monarchs of Ireland. *Ib.* Pref., p. 4.

(*p*) The three Chronicles in Innes's App. No. 4, 5, 6, and Innes's *Chronica Accurata*, together with the *Enquirer* 1789, all concur in stating that Fergus reigned *three* years, from 503 A.D. The Gaelic poem extends his reign to twenty-seven years, and O'Flaherty carries up its extent to sixteen; and see Usher's *Prim. Chron. Index*, under 503 A.D., p. 1122-3. Fergus is the appropriate name which the ancient Chronicles in Innes's App. and the Gaelic poem give to the great founder of the Scottish monarchy, according to the Scottish Chroniclers. The proper Irish name is Feargus, which is derived from the *féary* of the Irish language, signifying a champion, or warrior. O'Brien's *Dict.* This has been latinized *Fergusius*. Several chiefs of great note among the old Irish bore this distinguished appellation. The second husband of Erca was Fergus, as we have seen.

The new reign of five years is said by the Gaelic poem to have been crowded with *troubles*, which however are not recounted. Yet Domangart died quietly in 511 A.D., leaving two sons, Congal and Gabhran, who successively possessed his petty dominions, and indisputably enjoyed his considerable power (*q*). The *root* of Fergus now branched out into two great stems, which are distinguished in the Irish Chronicles by the appropriate appellations of *Cineal-Comgal*, and *Cineal-Gauran*; the *race* of Comgal, and the *race* of Gauran. Their contests for pre-eminence produced bloody conflicts, which ended in frequent revolutions of power that the pen of history must narrate and explain.

A peaceful reign of four-and-twenty years gave Comgal, the grandson of Fergus, leisure to extend his settlements and to consolidate his authority. Yet has he left no events for history to record. The Gaelic poem recites, indeed, that his long reign passed away *without wars* (*r*).

Comgal was succeeded by his brother Gabhran or Gauran, in 535, without a contest. This reign of two-and-twenty years is said by the Gaelic poem to have passed away *without reproach*. Engaging, however, on whatever motive, in hostilities with the Picts, Gauran was overpowered by their king, Bridei, the

A Fergus reigned King of Ireland with Donald, A.D. 565. Ware's Antiq. Hib., p. 19; Ogygia, p. 430. A Fergus was king of Temora at the end of the seventh century. Ware, p. 21. O'Flaherty calls Fergus the son of Ere, "Fergus-*mor* Mac-Mise." Ogygia, p. 472. He was surnamed Mac-Mise from his mother, whose name was Mise. So Murechard the king of Ireland was called Mac-Erca from his mother. The epithet *mor* which O'Flaherty applies to Fergus, denotes simply, great in body, while the epithet *ard* which the Gaelic bard affixes to his name, means great in mind, *mighty*. Fergus was probably, as O'Flaherty asserts, the youngest of the three sons of Ere, who conducted the Irish colonists to Kintyre. Ogygia Vind., p. 140.

(*q*) For the length of the reign of Domangart, see Innes's App. No. 4, 5, 6; and O'Flaherty, and Innes, and the Enquirer, 1789, concur in fixing it to five years. The Duan, or Gaelic poem, alone restrains it to four. Domangard, which is properly Domhangard, is called Domangart in the Chron. No. 4; Davenghart, in the Chron. 5; Donegart, in the Chron. Rythm; Dongard, in Fordun; Domangardus, in O'Flaherty; and Dongardus, in Buchanan.

(*r*) The Chronicle in the Register of St. Andrews, and the Chron. Ryth. in Innes's App. No. 5 and 6, lengthen the reign of Comgal to twenty-four years, an extent which is adopted by O'Flaherty and Innes. The Chron. No. 4, in Innes's App., enlarges the period to thirty-two years. The Annals of Ulster when properly understood, confirm the Chronicles before mentioned, in fixing the commencement of his reign in 511 A.D., and its conclusion in 535 A.D. Comgal, or more properly Comhgall, or Comgail, in the Irish speech, denotes one of the same tribe, *consanguinity*. O'Brien's Dict. This name is variously spelt Congal and Comgal, in the Chron. No. 4, and No. 5, Chomghall, in the Gaelic poem, Comgallus, by O'Flaherty, and Congallus by Buchanan. A Congal reigned supreme king of Ireland from 703 to 710 A.D. Ware's Antiq., p. 21.

son of Mailcon (*s*); and his government was thus left open in 557 A.D. to Conal, the son of Comgal, the grandson of Domangart, the great-grandson of Fergus.

Conal, the protector of Columba, was not, however, fortunate either in his family or his government. An unlucky administration of fourteen years was unhappily closed by civil war in 571. Aidan, the son of Gauran, claimed the crown; and this pretension was settled on the bloody field of Loro in Kintyre, where Duncha, the son of Conal, lost his life and his succession, as we learn from the Ulster Annals (*t*). Such was the event of this contest for sovereignty, between the race of Comgal and the race of Gauran, who were both descended from their forefather Fergus. The tribe of Gauran remained in possession of Kintyre; the tribe of Comgal enjoyed the less desirable district of *Argyll*; and these two tribes are sometimes distinguished in the Irish Annals, as the *sept* of Kintyre, and the *sept* of Argyll.

An active reign of five-and-thirty years furnished many occasions for displaying the enterprize, the successes, and the misfortunes of Aidan. He was inaugurated by Columba in 574 on the holy Iona (*u*). He overpowered his

(*s*) The Ancient Chron. No. 4, and the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, No. 5, in Innes's App., assign to the reign of Gauran two-and-twenty years, an elongation which Innes has adopted in his *Chronica Accurata*. The Chron. Ryth. restrains this reign to twenty years, and the Duan to two, a mistake that O'Flaherty follows, without perceiving that the bard, like other poets, often sacrifices the *sense* to the *sound*. The Enquirer, 1789, restrains the government of Gauran to sixteen years, merely upon a mistaken calculation from a supposititious date in the Annals of Ulster. The genuine date in these Annals is 557, which is the true epoch of the demise of Gauran. Gauran is variously spelt Gabran, in the Genealogy, No. 4; Goveran, in Chron. No. 4; in Innes, Gowren; in Chron. Rythm. Gauranus; in O'Flaherty, the Gonranus and Conranus, of Buchanan and Boece, are mere mistakes for Gauranus. The proper Irish name, as we see it in the Gaelic poem, is *Gabhran*, which is pronounced *Gauran*.

(*t*) O'Flaherty states this battle to have happened at *Dealgan*, in Kintyre. Ogygia, p. 473. The Ancient Chron., No. 4, the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, No. 5, and the Chron. Ryth. in Innes's App., give fourteen years as the length of Conal's reign, an extent that Innes adopts in his *Chronica Accurata*. The Duan, with poetic licence, extends this reign to fifteen years, a mistaken elongation that is followed by O'Flaherty, and copied by the Enquirer, 1789, in compliment to the Celtic Song which best suited his adopted system. Conal is latinized Conallus, in Fordun. Conal is the name of many great princes of Ireland. O'Brien gives an account of many of this name. From one of these, *Tir-Conail*, the *land* of Conal derived its name. Dict. in vo. Conal, who is said to have given the isle of Hy to St. Columba, and who was the third cousin of the saint; Conal being the great-grandson of Fergus, and St. Columba the great-grandson of Loarn, the two great leaders of the Scoto-Irish colony. Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 473; Ulster Annals; Usher's Primordia, p. 703, 1143.

(*u*) Adamnan, l. iii., cap. v.; Ush. Prim., p. 610, 709, 1145; Ogygia, p. 474.

antagonist at the battle of Loro, in 575. He fought the frivolous battle of Arderyth, with Rydderch the bountiful king of Stratheluyd, in 577 (*x*); and, coming to the aid of the Cumbrian-Britons, Aidan defeated the Saxons at Fethanlea on Stanmore, in 584 (*y*). In fighting again in support of the Britons, he defeated the Saxons in 590, at the battle of Leithredh, when his two sons, Arthur and Eocha-fin, were however slain, with rather more than three hundred men (*z*). From this specification of the loss, it is obvious, though Bede speaks of the *vast army* of Aidan, that the armies of those times were far from numerous, and that their conflicts were rather tumultuous than regular. In 598, Aidan appears to have been worsted by the Saxons in the battle of Kirkinn, where his son Domangart was slain (*a*). Aidan was totally defeated by the Northumbrians under Æthilfrid, at the battle of Dawstane, in 603 (*b*). The Dalriadini were now so completely overcome, that they did not venture for ages so far into the hostile country of the south. Meantime

(*x*) H. Lhuyd's *Commentariolum*, ed. 1731, p. 142-4.

(*y*) Saxon Chron., p. 22; Usher's Prim., p. 570, 1147, which quotes the English Chronicles. Aidan is even said to have carried his victorious arms into the Isle of Man about the same period. The Annals of Ulster, under 581-2, state, "*Bellum Manan, in quo victor erat Aodhan Mac-Gauran.*" Enquiry Hist. Scot., 1789, v. ii., App. i. In Johnston's edition of the Extracts from these Annals, he converts *Manan* into *Man*. Antiq. Celto-Norm., p. 57; and O'Flaherty says, "*Anno circiter 584 Aidanus rex in Mannia insula victor.*" Ogygia, p. 474. There does not, however, appear any thing but the mere similarity of the name to warrant the application of the *Manan* to the *Island of Man*. On the contrary, it is highly probable that the battle of *Manan* which is mentioned by the Annals of Ulster, was the same that the Saxon Annals record to have happened at *Stanmore*. The dates of both agree, making the usual allowance for the *backwardness* of the Annals of Ulster in a number of their notices. The Saxon *Stane-more* refers to the well-known moor of that name on the eastern confines of Westmoreland, which, as the name implies, abounds with *stone*. Now the Britons, who on this occasion were confederated with the Scoto-Irish, would naturally call the same place by the analogous name of *Maenan*, which in their language, denotes stoney, or a *place of stone*. So this battle may have been stated in the Irish Annals by the British name of *Maenan*, while the Saxon annalists used the appropriate name of their own language, *Stanmore*.

(*z*) Adamnan. l. i., cap. 9; Tigernach; Annals of Ulster; Ush. Prim., p. 709, 1037, 1148; O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 475; Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist., p. 245. This conflict is called by Adamnan *Bellum Miatorum*, and Fordun confounds it with the battle of Wodensburg.

(*a*) Adamnan, lib. i., cap. 9; and The Book of Cluan, in Ogygia, p. 475.

(*b*) Bede, lib. i., cap. 34; Sax. Chron., p. 24. This battle is herein said to have happened at Daegstane. The real site of this decisive field appears to be Dawstane, a small farm in the parish of Castleton, Roxburghshire, on a rivulet of the same name which falls into the Liddle, about two miles from the march of Northumberland, near the only pass which leads on that side into an impervious frontier. See Stobie's Map of Roxburghshire; and see also for the site of this battle, the map in Smith's Bede.

Aidan attended by Columba, appeared at the celebrated council of Drum-keat in Ulster, during 590 A.D., where he claimed the principality of Dalriada, the land of his fathers, and obtained by his influence a relinquishment of the homage which seems to have been yielded by the reguli of Kintyre to the kings of the parental island (*c*). Aodh or Hugh, the son of Ainmerach, was then sovereign of Ireland (*d*). During a long reign of active enterprize, Aidan appears rather to have raised his fame than extended his territories. In his several conflicts with the Saxons, he wasted his strength upon a powerful enemy, who was almost beyond the reach of his arm. He acquired in the metaphorical language of a courtly poet, the appropriate appellation of "*riġh-na nìol-rann*," or king of the *noble portion*. After all his ambitious conflicts, Aidan, the greatest of the Dalriadinian monarchs, died quietly in Kintyre at the age of eighty, during the year 605, and was buried in Kil-cheran (*e*).

Eocha'-bui, the son of Aidan, quietly assumed the sceptre of his father, according to the vaticination of Columba, which foretold, saith Adamnan, not only the succession of the son of Aidan, but the misfortunes of his posterity (*f*). Eocha', the yellow haired, reigned sixteen years; but his reign seems to have gone down under a cloud of foreign, perhaps of civil war. In 620 he appears to have been engaged in warfare with the Cruithne of Ulster. Kenneth-cear, as tanist or heir apparent to the kingdom, conducted his army against those

(*c*) Adamnan, l. i., cap. x., p. 49; O'Flaherty, p. 475; Kennedy's Chron. Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 169.

(*d*) Usher's Prim., p. 947.

(*e*) Usher's Prim., 1156, and the Chron. Table of the Scottish kings. The ruins of the church of Kil-cheran, or the chapel of Ciaran the saint, which contains the dust of Aidan, may still be seen in the midst of Campbeltown, the present resort of peaceful fishers. Aidan seized the Dalriadinian sceptre, in 571 A. D., reigned thirty-four years, and died in 605. The Ancient Chron. No. 4. the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, and the Chron. Rhyth. No. 6. in Innes's App. state the length of the reign of Aidan to be 34 years, an extent which Innes adopts. The Gaelic poem makes the length of this reign twenty-four years, O'Flaherty thirty-two, and the Enquirer, 1789, without any evidence, thirty years. The Annals of Ulster state the year of Aidan's demise in 605, which is supported by the Chron. No. 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's App. Fordun adopts this date. Innes considers this as a fixed epoch, on which all parties agree. Crit. Essay, v. ii., p. 693. Yet Usher states that Eocha-bui succeeded his father Aidan in 606. Primord., p. 710; and O'Flaherty follows him in this inaccuracy. Ogygia, p. 474. The name of Aidan is latinized *Aidanus* by Fordun, O'Flaherty, and Buchanan. It is Edain, Edan, Edhan, in the Chronicles. The proper Irish name is *Aodhan*. In the Sax. Chron. this enterprizing king of the Scoto-Irish is called *Æððan*; the Saxon (æ) being pronounced like the English (y), and the (ð) like the English (th).

(*f*) Vita Columbæ, lib. i., cap. ix.

warlike people into the successful field of Ardcoran, wherein was slain Fiachna, the son of the Ultonian monarch (*g*). In this conflict the Scoto-Irish prevailed. Donald-breac, the son of Eocha'-bui, led the race of Gauran into the successful battle of Kenn during the same year. But Eocha' did not long survive his victories, as he died soon after, and was succeeded by his son Kenneth-ear, the tanist, and of course the leader of his troops (*h*).

Kenneth, the awkward, the son of Eocha'-bui, succeeded his father in 621 A.D., being already the heir apparent. Kenneth ruled *happily*, saith the Gaelic bard, during three months (*i*). He prosecuted the war of his predecessor, and was vanquished and slain in the unfortunate conflict of Fedhaevin, in fighting against the *Cruithne* of Ireland (*k*).

Kenneth-ear was followed in 621 by Ferchar the son of Eogan, who was the first of the race of Loarn that acquired the unstable monarchy of the Scoto-

(*g*) Tigernach, *Annals of Ulster*, and O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 476.

(*h*) Eocha'-bui denotes the *yellow* haired Eocha. Aidan had another son, who was named Eocha'-*fin*, or white haired Eocha. Such were the nice discriminations of the Celtic people in applying epithets to persons as well as to places. This name has been variously spelt in the several chronicles, Eochoid-buidhe, Eochod-flavus, Heoghed-bude, Eog-hedbod; he was called Heeged-bud by Wyntoun; Echac-buide, Ocha-buid, in the genealogies in Fordun; Eugenius IV. by Fordun and Buchanan. The Gaelic bard calls him Eachach-buidhe. Eocha' in the Irish is the proper name of a man. O'Brien's Dict.

(*i*) All the authorities agree that Kenneth-ear became king in 621 A. D., and reigned only three months. They do not, however, concur in his filiation. The *Chronicles*, No. 4 and 5, in Innes's App., call him the son of Conal. O'Flaherty, from the Irish authorities, states him to have been the son of Eocha'-bui. *Ogygia*, p. 477; and he is supported by probability, for Kenneth commanded the army of Eocha' and enjoyed his sceptre. Kenneth-ear in the Irish is Coinadh-ear. By the Gaelic bard he is called Conchad-ear; by O'Flaherty, Conadh-cerr; by Innes, Connadh-cerr; by the *Chronicles*, the same prince is called Kinat-kerr, and Kinat-*sinister*; by Boece, Kenneth-ker; in the Latin of O'Flaherty, Conadius-ker; in the Latin of Buchanan, Kenn-ethus. Coinadh, or as differently spelt, Cainnach, by Macdonald's *Vocabulary*; Caoinnach, by Macfarlane's *Vocabulary*; is a proper name among the Scoto-Irish to this day. It denotes in the Irish, *mild tempered, peaceable*, being formed from the adjective *Caoin*. The same name is spelt by the English, Kenneth or Keneth. The *Enquiry*, 1789, v. ii., p. 162, tries to prove that Kenneth is a Pictish or Gothic name, Cinaed or Kineth, was king of Ireland from 724 to 727 A. D. Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 21; *Ogygia*, p. 432. The proper meaning of the epithet *Cearr* is the most doubtful of any of the sobriquets which have been applied by the *Chronicles* to the Scoto-Irish kings. It may signify *left-handed* or *awkward*, as the *Chron.* No. 4 in Innes translates it. It may signify *red*; but the common word denoting *red*, as applied to persons, is *ruadh*, or as it is Englished, *roy*. *Ciar* would signify *dark-brown*; but *left-handed* or *awkward* seems to be the most likely meaning. Macfarlane's *Vocab.* in vo. *Cearr*.

(*k*) Tigernach; and the *Annals of Ulster*; O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 477.

Irish in North-Britain. He seized the sceptre, which he saw had fallen from a vanquished hand; and he was inaugurated by Conan, the bishop of Sodor, if we may believe the learned Usher (*l*). Columba, who had inaugurated Aidan was now dead. Ferchar certainly reigned sixteen years; but such was his vigour or success during troublous times, that he left no events for history to recount. He died in 637 A.D. (*m*).

Donal-breac, the son of Eocha'-bui, of the Fergusian race of Gauran, succeeded Ferchar on his demise, in 637. Donal, who was called *breac*, or freckled from being often exposed to the sun, had already gathered laurels in the field of Kenn whilst his father reigned. The Gaelic Bard is studious to decorate the enterprizing Donal with the epithet *Bla'*, which, as it signifies in his language, *renown* or *fame*, he appears to have merited (*a*). He was induced by his vehemence of spirit, contrary to the vaticinal warnings of Columba, to carry a mixed body of various people into the sacred island against Domnal II., who then reigned supreme king of Ireland. Domnal was the son of Aodh I., the grandson of Ainmerach, and the great-grandson of Sednæ, one of the sons of Erca, by her second marriage; and was, of course, the relation of Columba, and the kinsman of Donald-breac. The cause of this unpropitious

(*l*) Primord. 711, 1158.

(*m*) The Chronicles in Innes's Appendix and the Gaelic poem agree in extending the reign of Ferchar to sixteen years, and this extent is adopted by Innes and the Enquirer, 1789; so that the length of this reign seems to be a point agreed. Not so the filiation of Ferchar. The Chrons. No. 4 and 5 in Innes's Appendix, call Ferchar the son of Ewen, with which concurs Usher as above. The Gaelic poem, however, speaks of Ferchar as the son of Kenneth-kear, and this filiation is adopted by O'Flaherty. Ogygia, p. 477. Yet is there reason to suspect that the bard has again sacrificed the fact as stated by the Chronicles, to the fiction as adopted by O'Flaherty. Eogan and Ferchar are family names in the race of Loarn, but not in the race of Fergus, so that it is more than probable that Ferchar and his father Eogan were of the royal race of Loarn. Ferchar, or more fitly Fearchur, is a proper name among the Irish and Scoto-Irish. It is Fearchair in the Gaelic poem. The word signifies a *champion*, *manhood*, *courage*. O'Brien's Dict. The English and Scottish Farquhar is the same name. In the Chronicles this king is variously called Ferchar, Fearchair, Ferquarth; and the name is latinized Farquardus by Buchanan and O'Flaherty.

(*a*) Donal-breac, or *freckled*, or *pock-pitted* Donal, is variously called Dovenald-*Varius*, Downal-brec, Dovenald-brec, Donald; and by the Gaelic Poem, Domnail-bhric. Domhnal, which is pronounced Donal, was the proper name of several princes among the old Irish, hence the MacDonalds, O'Donels, O'Brien's Dictionary. The name of Donal, which is latinized Domnallus, and Donaldus, occurs frequently in the Catalogue of the Irish kings. Of the supreme kings of Ireland from 565 to 763, three were named Donal. Ware's Antiq., p. 18-23. Yet, says the Inquiry, 1789, the name of Domnail, or Donald, is *Gothic*, as indeed he adds, systematically, most Irish names of kings are—that is, before the Goths arrived in Ireland!

war may be traced to the following source. Congal-Claon, the son of Scanlan, the king of the Cruithne in Ulster, having slain Suibne-mean, the king of Ireland, was attacked by Domnal II., who succeeded Suibne, and was defeated in the battle of Duncethern A.D. 629. Congal was thus obliged to seek for shelter in Kintyre; and having induced the inconsiderate Donal-breac to engage in his odious quarrel, they carried into Ireland a mixed army of Scoto-Irish, of Picts, of Britons, and of Saxons, who were led by Donal-breac and his brothers. Cealach, the son of Maelcomh, the nephew of the reigning king, and as *tanist*, the leader of his army, attacked Domnal-breac on the plain of Moyrath in 637, and completely defeated him after a long and bloody conflict. Congal met his merited fate; and Domnal-breac was obliged to secure his retreat and the safety of his army in Kintyre (*b*). Such was the rashness of Domnal-breac! He invaded the hallowed land of his fathers in support of the murderer of its lawful sovereign; and he attacked, as we have seen, his own and Columba's kinsmen. Domnal-breac derived no wisdom from his late misfortune. In the subsequent year he engaged in a different war; and he was again defeated, during the year 638, in the battle of Glenmoreson, within the country of the Picts (*c*). The Irish legends, indeed, pretend to demonstrate, that the prophecies which foretold the misfortunes of Donal the freckled, were all fulfilled in his fate (*d*). He was warned not to molest the land of his fathers, and the family of Columba; yet, with the intemperance of his nature, he led an army of foreigners into the sacred island; and, as he was carried by his destiny into the Clyde, he was slain at Sraith-Cairmaic by the obscure sword of Hoan, one of the *reguli* of Strathcluyd, during the year 642 (*e*). His destiny seems to have even confounded his chronology, which, as it is extremely embarrassed, will require some trouble to settle it. He certainly began to reign in 637 (*f*), as the series of his predecessors evince; and he undoubtedly was slain in 642,

(*b*) *Ulster Annals*; *Ogygia*, p. 478; *Ware's Antiq.*, p. 20; *Usher's Prim.* p. 712. Domnal II. reigned from 628 to 642 A.D.

(*c*) There is an extensive valley in Inverness-shire, called Glenmoreson. If this be the same, Domnal-breac must have been engaged with the northern Picts. *Ogygia*, p. 478; *Ulster Annals*; *Usher's Prim.*, p. 712. It must be again observed that the extracts from the annals of Ulster in the British Museum, which were published by Johnston in 1786, and in the *Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotland*, 1789, have the dates of many notices a year behind the annals of Tigernach, and also behind the dates quoted by Usher from the original *Annals of Ulster*.

(*d*) *Adamnan*, lib. iii. cap. v.; *Acta Sanctorum St. Bent. Sæc. v.* p. 361-7.

(*e*) *Annals of Ulster*; *Usher's Prim.*, p. 712; *Langhorn's Cat. of the Cumbrian kings*; *Ogygia*, p. 478; *Enquiry*, 1789, v. ii., p. 117-119.

(*f*) See the Chronological Table.

A.D., as we have seen above (*g*). The destiny of Donal seems also to have pursued his issue; his son Cathusaidh was slain by the same Hoan in 649, and his great-grandson, Cathasuidh, died in 688, as we learn from the Ulster annals. The destiny of Donald appears from sad events to have introduced competition into the succession of his race. Conal II., the grandson of Conal I., who was also of the Fergusian race of Congal, succeeded his unfortunate predecessor in the government of the tribes of Kintyre and Argyll. But Dungal, of the ambitious race of Loarn, ruled at the same time over the tribe of Loarn and disputed the pre-eminence with Conal. Dungal, however, appears not to have long maintained the contest; and Conal seems without further molestation to have closed his career of ten years in 652 A.D. The Gaelic Bard calls this prince Conal *na creach*, or Conal of *the spoils*; and we may from this circumstance infer, what is sufficiently probable in itself, that he had wasted the district of his competitor and driven away in triumph the cattle of Loarn (*h*).

(*g*) The Enquirer, 1789, tries to cut the knot which he cannot untie. He deducts from the preceding reign of Ferchar eight years, in order to carry back the commencement of Donal's reign to the year 630; and he makes the length of his reign twelve years, for which there is not one authority. Enquiry, v. ii., p. 117. The beginning of the reign of Donal must be fixed, by the preceding chronology, to the year 637. The chronicles in Innes's Appendix, No. 4, 5, 6, extend his reign to fourteen years. The Gaelic poem once more concurs with the chronicles; and this length of reign is adopted by Innes into his *Chronica Accurata*. Yet the influential authority of Tigernach; the satisfactory concurrence of the Ulster annals; the weighty voice of Usher; and the useful notice of O'Flaherty, all concur to fix the epoch of his death in 642 A. D. Primordia, p. 712; Ogygia, p. 478; Annals of Ulster. In this point, the Enquiry, 1789, p. 119, also concurs. I have found it necessary to adopt this epoch, because the subsequent chronology cannot be otherwise adjusted, or be made to agree with events; and, of consequence, I am obliged to disagree for once with the chronicles in Innes's Appendix, by restricting the reign of Donald to five years, which is most consistent with the series of events and the progress of his fate. Yet is there reason to believe, that Donal-breac may have assumed a sort of sovereignty over his own patrimonial territory of Kintyre for several years before the death of Ferchar. Donal-breac having begun his career as an enterprizing commander, before Ferchar acquired the Scottish sceptre, we may suppose that Donal would view the accession of a prince of the race of Loarn to the sovereignty, which his own father had so lately held, with a considerable degree of jealousy; and his restless disposition may have excited him to assume an independent rule in his patrimonial districts of Kintyre, even as early as 628, being nine years before the demise of Ferchar, when he became the sole monarch of the Scoto-Irish, and reigned five years longer. These intimations at once account for the length of his reign, as stated in the ancient chronicles, as well as the Duan, and render both consistent with chronology.

(*h*) After the demise of Donal-breac, the Gaelic poet introduces into the series of the Scoto-Irish kings, Conal, and Dungal, to whom he gives a joint reign of ten years; and after them,

Donal-duin succeeded his father Conal in 652 A.D. Donal, the brown, reigned thirteen years; but such was the insignificance of his character and the unimportance of his government that he left no events for the narration of history (*i*).

Maolduin, the brother of Donal-duin, succeeded him in 665 A.D. Maolduin was a prince of the Fergusian race of Comgal. The Gaelic poet is studious both to enlarge and legalize his reign by applying to his government, with a *bardic* retrospect to the past and prescience of the future, the epithet *godlighteach*, signifying *lawfully* in his language; but the Bard with all his knowledge, has recorded none of the events of the *lawful reign* of Maolduin (*k*). Yet the Ulster annals and Tigernach recount the murder of Domangart the son of Donal-breac in 672 A.D. (*l*); and the same annals also recite the assassination of Conal the son of Maolduin in 675 A.D. These odious deeds mark the savage manners of lawless times. It is apparent, however, that they were accomplished by the fell dagger of family feuds. Between the Fergusian races of Comgal and Gauran there existed a continual competition for pre-eminence, and Maolduin, the reigning king, who was of the Comgal race, may have contributed to the death of Domangart the son of Donal-breac, who was of the race of Gauran. Revenge prompted the family of Domangart to retaliate on Conal the son of Maolduin (*m*). By these terri-

Donal-duin, to whom he assigns a reign of thirteen years; yet none of those three reguli are mentioned by the chronicles in Innes's Appendix. The Enquiry, 1789, p. 119, follows the Gaelic poem as to the length of Conal's reign. O'Flaherty, without any authority, extends his reign to eighteen years. But the subsequent series of the kings does not admit of a longer reign to Conal than ten years.

(*i*) None of the ancient chronicles in Innes's Appendix recognize Donal-duin, except the chronicle in the register of St. Andrews, No. 5, which speaks of him as the father of Maldwin, the succeeding king. The Gaelic Poem, O'Flaherty, and the Enquirer, 1789, give Donal-duin a reign of thirteen years, from A.D. 652. It is conjectured that the chroniclers may have, mistakenly, passed from Donal-breac to Donal-duin, without perceiving that they rejected three kings, who are demanded equally by the series of the sovereigns and the genealogy of the families. See the Chronological and Genealogical Table.

(*k*) The chronology fixes the accession of Maolduin to the year 665. The Chronicles, No. 5, and 6, in Innes's Appendix, give him a reign of sixteen years. The Gaelic Poem, O'Flaherty, and the Enquirer, 1789, unreasonably extend his reign to seventeen years. The Gaelic Bard calls this king "Maolduin, mhic *Conaill na gcreach*," Maolduin, the son of Conal of *the spoils*. He thus makes Maolduin the son of Conal II., who succeeded Donal-breac in 642 A.D.; and O'Flaherty supports his authority.

(*l*) Annals of Ulster; Ogygia, p. 479.

(*m*) The name of this king in Innes's Chronicles is Malduin. Wyntoun calls him Maldowny.

ble actions the two Fergusian families weakened each other, and gave an ascendancy to the rival race of Loarn which they did not fail to assume.

Ferchar-*fada*, who derived the epithet *tall*, from his personal qualities, seized the sceptre of Maolduin upon his death amidst those bloody scenes. Ferchar was certainly of the family of Loarn, as the name seems to intimate, but he was probably the grandson, rather than the son of Ferchar, who died in 637 A.D. The period of four-and-forty years which elapsed from the demise of the one and the accession of the other, seems to carry that probability up to fact (*m*). The dirk of the rival races continued ready at the call of competition to execute any purpose of ambition or motive of revenge. Donal, the son of Conal, and grandson of Maolduin, who were of the Fergusian race, was assassinated in 695 A.D. (*n*). Yet such was the vigour or the fortune of Ferchar, that he continued to govern an irascible people amid family competition during one-and-twenty years; and he died in 702, when his bloody sceptre passed into the rival house.

To Ferchar succeeded Eocha'-rineval, the son of Domangart, who, as we have seen, was assassinated in 652. It is universally agreed that Eocha', who was remarkable for his Roman nose, was of the house of Fergus, as he was the grandson of Donal-breac (*o*). His reign was certainly short, and it probably was unfortunate. His encroaching spirit prompted him to invade the neighbouring territories of the Britons of Stratheluyd, but he was vigorously re-

Boece and Buchanan translate the name into Malduinus. The Gaelic Poem gives him in the Irish form the name of Maolduin, which literally signifies *bald* and *brown*. This was a proper name among the old Irish. The father of Fergal, the king of Ireland from 710 to 722 A.D., was Maoladuin. Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 21. The deaths of Malduin, the king of Ossory, and Maolduin MacCinfaola, the chief of Rathboh, are mentioned in the Ulster annals under 816 A.D.

(*m*) All the authorities concur in stating that Ferchar succeeded Maolduin, and reigned one-and-twenty years. But there is some doubt among them in respect to his filiation. The chronicles in Innes's Appendix studiously omit this important point. O'Flaherty, on the authority of the Book of Lecan, states that Ferchar-fada was of the race of Loarn, in the eighth descent. Ogygia, p. 479: and Ogygia Vindicated, p. 109-141. Innes in his MS. Ecclesiastical Hist. says, though he tells not on what authority, that Ferchar-fada was the son of Ferchar the first. The series of the kings and the dates of events evince that he was the grandson of the first Ferchar. See the Chronological Table.

(*n*) *Ulster Annals*; Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 311.

(*o*) Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 120; the chronicles in Innes's Appendix, No. 4 and 5, give three years to the reign of Eocha', and the Chronicle of Melros supports them on this head. The Chron. Rythm. expands its length to thirteen years. The Gaelic Poem restrains this reign to two years, and the Enquirer, 1789, assumes this restriction, while O'Flaherty gives it an elongation of seven years upon no better evidence than supposititious dates.

pulsed in a bloody conflict on the banks of the Leven (*p*); and he had the additional misfortune in the subsequent year to have his feeble sceptre seized by a prince of the rival race of Loarn.

Ainbhcealach, the son of Ferchar-fada, succeeded Eocha' in 705 A.D. The Gaelic Bard speaks of the new king as Ainbhcealach-*maith* mhic Fearchair, Ainbhcealach, *the good*, the son of Ferchar. He reigned, since he was too good for a savage people and a wretched age, only one year, as all the authorities agree and as probability attests (*q*). He was dethroned by his brother Selvach, and he was thus obliged in 706 A.D., to seek that shelter from the hospitality of Ireland which he appears to have received. The ferocity of Selvach carried the torch through Dunolla his father's castle and his brother's residence. At the end of twelve years Ainbhcealach returned from Ireland with some assistance, but he perished during the year 719 in a gallant struggle for his tarnished sceptre in the battle of Finglein, a small valley among the mountains of Loarn (*r*).

Upon the expulsion of Ainbhcealach in 706 A.D., Selvach began to sway the sceptre which he had wrested from his brother's hand. He was not, however, able to extend his sovereignty over the whole of the Scoto-Irish territories. A powerful antagonist of the rival race of Fergus rose up at this epoch, to resist the usurped power of Selvach, and to assert the right of his own sept. Duncha-beg, who was descended from Fergus by the line of Comgal, assumed the government of Kintyre and Argyll, and confined the rule of Selvach to his family district of Loarn. We thus perceive two reguli of rival lineages governing with equal authority two distinct divisions of the Dalriadinian kingdom (*s*). Selvach and Duncha the little, appear to have been princes of

(*p*) O'Flaherty states, in Anno 704. "Strages Dalriedinorum in valle Levinii." Ogygia, p. 479. This must be the valley on the river Leven in Dunbartonshire.

(*q*) Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 120; and see the Chronological Table. This singular name has been variously transformed by the different chroniclers: Arinchellar, Armkellach, Armchallach, Amrikellech; by Buchanan he is called Amberkelletus; by Tigernach, Anbkellach; by the Ulster Annals, Ainsceallach; by the Gaelic Poem, Ainbheallach. Ainbhceallach appears plainly to have been a compound name. *Ceallach* was an appropriate appellation among the great men of the old Irish. O'Brien's Dict. *Ceallach* signifies *war, strife*. Id. *Ceallach* appears in the series of the Irish kings from 612 to 648 A.D. Usher's Prim., p. 947; Ware's Antiq., p. 20. What the prefix *Ainbh* signifies it is not easy to ascertain. *Ainbhi* means *ferocious*, so Ainbhi-Ceallach might mean the ferocious Ceallach. Aine-Ceallach in Irish would denote the *agile* Ceallach. *Ain-ceallach* in the same language means the *honourable*, praise-worthy, or the *pleasant* Ceallach, which agrees with the qualities assigned to this king by the Gaelic Bard.

(*r*) Tigernach in Ogygia, p. 479; Ulster Annals; Stat. Acco., v. x., p. 524.

(*s*) Neither of the chronicles, No. 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's Appendix, introduces into the series

equal ferocity, of equal valour, and of equal enterprize. Their ambition and activity produced many conflicts, which ended in the misery of their tribes. In 719 A.D., they both set out in their currachs to invade the territories of each other; and they met off Ardanesse, on the coast of Argyle, when a naval battle commenced, which was long maintained with the fury of family conflicts and the gallantry of rival kings. The superior fortune of Duncha, at length prevailed over the intrepid skill of Selvach, who was defeated, but not subdued (*t*). So nearly equal was the strength of the rival races of Fergus, and of Loarn, and so equally balanced were the powers of mischief in Duncha and Selvach, that they continued for some time to contend for pre-eminence; since neither would admit a superior, and scarcely would allow an equal. Duncha at length yielded to nature, but not to Selvach, in 721 A.D. (*u*); when his sceptre and his sword were assumed by Eocha' III., the son of Eocha'-rineval (*x*). The rivalry of the two kings continued. At Air-Gialla, in 727 A.D., an undecisive conflict was fought between Selvach and Eocha', which left their tempers inflamed and their tribes miserable (*y*). But the death of the able and unscrupulous Selvach in 729 A.D. seems to have ended for a time the competition of the two houses and the wretchedness of their clans (*z*). In the meantime the enterprize of Selvach attacked the more civilized Britons of Strathcluyd. He appears to have defeated them at Lough-

of the Scottish kings either Selvach or Duncha-beg: they place Eogan after Ainbhceallach. Neither does the Gaelic Bard place either Selvach or Duncha in the royal line. Yet O'Flaherty, on the authority of the Irish annals, places Selvach after Ainbhceallach, and Eocha' or Achaius after Selvach, but he does not mention the length of their reigns. The Enquirer, 1789, introduces, indeed, Selvach after Ainbhceallach, and assigns him without authority a reign of twenty years. He places Eocha' after Selvach, and also gives him without authority a reign of ten years. Enquiry, v. ii., p. 120-5. But the facts which are distinctly stated by Tigernach, and by the Ulster Annals, evince the separate sovereignty of Selvach and Duncha-beg, and demand that they should be placed in the series of the kings.

(*t*) Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 480; Ulster Annals.

(*u*) Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 480; Ulster Annals.

(*x*) The Duncha-beg of the Ulster Annals is latinized by O'Flaherty into Duncadus-parvus. Donncha is a very common name among the old Irish. O'Brien. Donchad appears more than once in the series of the kings of Ireland. Ogygia, p. 429-33. Donchad occurs frequently in the Ulster Annals, and in Tigernach, as an Irish name; it is a common name among the Scoto-Irish to the present day. Duncha-beg was of the Fergusian race of Comgal, among whom this was a family name. Duncha, the grandson of Comgal, was killed, as we have seen, in the battle of Loro, A.D. 575-6. The Irish Dunchad is the English Duncan. The Enquirer, 1789, v. ii., p. 164, insists that the gracious Duncan of the Scottish history is a Gothic name, from *Dun*, a fort, and *Kan*, *possum*, *valco*; and the author boasts of this systematic folly as far superior to any Irish etymology.

(*y*) Ulster Annals.

(*z*) Id.

coeth, in 710; and at the rock of Mionuire, in 716 A.D. (a). But as their several countries were imperviously separated by lochs, defiles, and mountains, little advantage seems to have been obtained beyond the gratification of hatred or perhaps the obtention of plunder.

Eocha' III., the son of Eocha' II., who is remembered for his protuberant nose, became king of Kintyre and Argyll, as we have seen, on the death of Duncha the little. Eocha' was of the Fergusian race of Gauran (b). He had to execute the arduous task of maintaining a civil war against such an antagonist as Selvach. These domestic conflicts seem to have been closed after the battle of Air-Gialla, by a commodious compromise, which the safety of the tribes may have sought, and the interest of the families dictated. It is certain, from the series of the kings, that the two houses of Fergus and Loarn furnished a sovereign for the Dalriadinian kingdom by a sort of alternate choice, though each several tribe and individual prince yielded but a slight obedience to the reigning king. The death of Selvach transferred the government of Loarn to Eocha'; and from this transfer the whole Scoto-Irish kingdom became again united in the sceptre of Eocha'. Eocha III. died in 733 A.D., after a reign of nine years over Kintyre and Argyll, and of four years over all the Dalriadinian tribes.

He was immediately succeeded by Muredach, the son of Ainbhceallach, who was of the race of Loarn (c). This peaceful succession among a people who

(a) Ulster Annals.

(b) This Eocha' is excluded with Selvach, by the Gaelic Bard, from the royal line. O'Flaherty, however, places him after Selvach. When Tigernach mentions the demise of Eochna' III. he speaks of him as the son of Eocha', "Achais filius Achaij." Ogygia, p. 480. This specification shows the error of those late writers who consider Eocha' as the son of Duncha-beg, merely because he succeeded him in the government at a time when there was no regular rule of succession but a slight attention to the royal races. O'Flaherty even more expressly than Tigernach, calls "Achais III. Achaij II. filius." Ogygia, p. 480; and he repeats the same position in the Ogygia Vindicated, p. 101. In support of O'Flaherty's genealogy, it may be mentioned that Eocha' is a family name of the Gauran race, but not of the Comgal family. See the Chronological Table. In this part of the series the Chronicles in Innes's Appendix, No. 4, 5, and 6, place Eogan, who is said by No. 4 to have been the son of Ferchar-fada, and by No. 5 to have been the son of Findan, which is obviously a mistake for Ferchar. This Eogan of the Chronicles appears plainly to have been the Eocha' of Tigernach, the Ulster Annals, and of O'Flaherty. The filiation of Eogan in the Chronicles is undoubtedly wrong, for Ferchar-fada appears to have had only *two sons*, Ainbhceallach and Selvach; and Tigernach, in speaking of the contest between them, calls them the two sons of Ferchar-fada. The mistake of the chroniclers may have arisen by omitting Selvach, the younger son of Ferchar, and by applying his filiation to Eogan, the next in the series, who was the proper Eocha'.

(c) Tigernach states the filiation of Muredach very distinctly to be from the house of Loarn. Ogygia, p. 480; and in this filiation he is confirmed by the Ulster Annals.

were so irascible from nature and so inflamed by collision, seems to intimate some previous interposition of the tribes and some subsequent agreement among the kings. By the Gaelic Bard he is called Muredhaigh *Mhaith*, Muredach *the good*, who now reigned sole monarch of the Dalriadinian territories. Soon after his accession events occurred which involved the people in devastation and misery. Dungal the son of Selvach, who appears to have inherited the vices without the virtues of his father, was prompted by his baseness to invade the island of Culren Rigi, and to carry off the Pictish Forai, the daughter of Brude and the niece of the great Ungus. This aggravated insult was soon avenged by severe retribution. Dungal meantime conducted an expedition into Ulster (*d*), whence he seems to have been repulsed, as he soon returned. It was not foreseen that while his fleet sailed westward from the shores of Loarn, a storm was gathering in the east that would drench the native tribe of Muredach in blood. In 736 A.D. Ungus, the enraged king of the Picts, led his army from Strathearn through the passes of the mountains into Loarn which he wasted with fire and sword. He seized Duna and burnt Creic, two of the strengths of Loarn (*e*); and having taken prisoners the two sons of Selvach, Dungal and Feradach, he carried them in fetters to Forteviot his capital (*f*). The rage of Ungus seems to have been thus satisfied. The tribe of Loarn was overpowered but not subdued (*g*). Muredach collected his warriors, and followed the track of his foe. A sharp conflict ensued at Cnuic-Coirbre, where he was repulsed with great slaughter, and whence he was pursued by Talorgan, the brother of Ungus, who commanded the Picts on this bloody field (*h*). Muredach was probably slain in his flight, as he certainly died in 736 A.D., after an afflictive reign of three years (*i*). But this

(*d*) Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 480.

(*e*) Duna stood in Mid-loarn, some miles east from Dunolla, which was the chief residence of the Loarn dynasty. See the Map of Loarn in Blaeu's Atlas, No. 35.

(*f*) Tigernach, in Ogygia, p. 480; Ulster Annals.

(*g*) This invasion and waste of Loarn by Ungus is converted by the systematic wand of the Enquirer, 1789, into the total destruction of the country, the king, and his race, v. ii., p. 125. This annihilation he performs contrary to his own authorities, to events, and to facts, in order to let into history a new system which is to give a Pictish race of kings to the Dalriadinian territories, and finally to make the Picts conquer the Scots, instead of the conquest of the Picts by the Scots. For this system truth is sacrificed, facts are falsified, and history is perverted.

(*h*) Ulster Annals.

(*i*) The Chronicles, No. 4, 5, 6, in Innes's App., and the Gaelic Poem, all place Muredach on the throne at this period, and give him a reign of three years. With the epoch of the accession of Muredach, O'Flaherty concurs; but not so the Enquirer, 1789, who places this event in

unsuccessful war with the Picts did not end with his unimportant life. Hostilities continued against the tribe of Loarn till the princes of this race were so depressed, that the Fergusian family gained the ascendancy which had been lost by the destiny of Donal-breac.

Eoghan or Ewan, the son of Muredach, seized the fallen sceptre of his father in 736 A.D. He had to sustain the destructive enmity of the Picts; and he died in 739 after an insignificant reign of three years. If we were to credit recent inquiries, which too often substitute system for truth, we ought to relate that Eogan never reigned (*a*). But chronology demands the period of this reign for supplying the precision of its series as well as the length of its continuance: and truth requires the sacrifice of system, which would bury her consistency amidst the conceits of conjecture and the obscurities of error (*b*).

736 A.D., though he quotes expressly Tigernach, who clearly assigns the sceptre to Muredach in 733 A.D. Enquiry, v. ii., p. 125. The name of Muredach is variously transformed by the several chronicles into Murdauch, Murochat, Murthee, and translated by Fordun and Buchanan into Muirdacus, by Boece into Mordacus, by O'Flaherty into Muredachus. By the Ulster Annals the same name is called Muireach, the (*d*) being quiescent; by the Gaelic Poem, Mureadhaigh; Muireadhach in Irish is the proper name of a man, it signifies a *mariner*. O'Brien. The name of Muirechard has the same meaning. Muredach, the grandson of Neil, the king of Ireland, was the first husband of Ercu, the daughter of Loarn, as we have seen, by whom she had Muirechard, who was king of Ireland from 513 to 534 A.D. Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 19.

(*a*) Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 125-7. Disdaining the veracious chronicles, yet copying the Gaelic poem, this writer excludes Eogan from the series of the kings between Muredach and Aodh-fín, by which rejection he is obliged to make a breach in the chronology, that the three years reign of *Eogan* completely supplies. This name has been variously transformed into Heogan, Ewen, Eugenius. Eogan was the name of several great men among the old Irish. Eogan-mór was king of Munster during the second century. O'Brien's Dict. Eogan appears to have been a family name among the race of Loarn, as the father of Ferchar I. was called Eogan. The son of Neil, the king of Ireland, and the father of Muredach, who married Ercu, was named Eogan.

(*b*) The Chronicles all concur in making Eogan succeed his father Muredach, and in giving him a reign of three years. The Gaelic poem introduces anarchy, at the demise of Muredach, into the true series of the Scottish kings, till it recognises Dungal, who preceded Alpin. The wildness of the Gaelic bard is not even countenanced by the Irish annalists. On the other hand, the Chronicles No. 4, 5, and 6 in Innes's App., as well as two other unpublished Chronicles which were compiled from quite different documents, all agree in the consistency of the series of the Scottish kings, and in the length of their several reigns, from the demise of Muredach to the accession of Kenneth the son of Alpin. The Chronicles regularly state the filiation of every king, with the connection of his predecessors and successors; and their statements perfectly agree with the requisite chronology and the authentic notices of that long period, without the necessity of adding, subtracting, or altering a single month. In such coincidences the truth is always found, notwithstanding the perplexities of error arising from design or theory. Not one of the supposititious kings of the Gaelic bard—namely, Conal, Constantine, Aongus, and Eogan—appears

Aodh-fin, the son of Eocha' III., and the grandson of Eocha'-rineval, succeeded Eogan in 739 A.D. The Gaelic bard calls this new king, who was descended from Fergus by the race of Gauran, Aodh na *Ard-fhlaith*, which has been loosely translated, "Hugh, the high king." The Gaelic *Ard*, as applied to places, means *high*; but, as applied to persons, signifies *mighty, great, noble*. Hugh, the son of Eocha', appears to have merited the bardic epithet of *great*. From this circumstance, as it is corroborated by events, we may perceive through so many obscurities, that the feeble Eogan was hurled from his unstable throne by the vigorous rivalry of the great Hugh (*c*). The Dalriadinian tribes

in any of the genealogical chronicles of the Scottish kings, or even in any of the Irish annals. Those fictitious personages were surreptitiously abstracted from the genuine series of the Pictish kings; and from this obscure and scandalous parentage, and from the feigned and odious filiation of the bard, did O'Flaherty, and the Enquirer, 1789, adopt this spurious progeny of poetic fiction, instead of the real issue of chronicled veracity. Yet is it from this illegitimate source of bardic imposition that the Enquirer, 1789, has borrowed his system of Pictish conquests over Loarn; of Pictish kings for the Scoto-Irish, in the Dalriadinian districts; and of the conquests of the Picts over the Scots, rather than the conquest of the Scots over the Picts. O'Connor, who did not dislike such flights of fiction in the regions of history, remarked that the derangements of the Gaelic poem are visible from 719 to 895 A.D., and gave it as his opinion, that this part of the poem must have been corrupted and modernized. The Enquirer, 1789, declares even while he adopts the bardic fictions, "that many of the errors in the Gaelic poem must be the mistakes of the "bard who composed it." Vol. ii., p. 328-9; and p. 109; where this writer delivers contradictory judgments of the Gaelic poem and the ancient Chronicles. He tries to disparage the Chronicles because they stood in the way of his system; and he preferred the fictitious series in the poem, because it better suited his purpose of a Pictish dynasty. To effectuate his point he is obliged to interpolate the poetic series by adding four kings, three of whom he took from O'Flaherty and the Chronicles, and the fourth, Doncoreai, he borrowed from the Dalriadæ of Ireland; and in the same spirit of system he assigns to those kings arbitrary reigns of indefinite periods, without attention to dates or warrant of authorities. Thus with his Harlequin's sword does system hew down into a chaos of confusion annals and chronicles, dates and chronology, documents and authorities, events and facts, consistency and truth. See the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 126-136.

(c) The veracious Chronicles and the Gaelic poem all concur in stating that Aodh-fin succeeded Eogan in 739 A.D., and reigned thirty years; and these coincidences are copied by O'Flaherty, Innes, and the Enquirer, 1789. Though the Chronicles equally agree in the filiation of Aodh-fin, which is confirmed by circumstances, by showing that Aodh-fin was the grandson of Eocha'-rineval, and a lineal descendant of the stock of Fergus, yet doth system interpose to make Aodh-fin a Pictish prince, the creature of the great Ungus, who, as we have seen, over-ran Loarn. System, in equal defiance of all the authorities, of every fact, and of various events, makes Ungus annihilate both the prince and people of Loarn (for Argyll and Kintyre he seems not to have attacked), and to place a Pictish prince in the vacant throne. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 129-30. Yet the Chronicles No. 4 and 5 in Innes's App. distinctly state Aodh-fin as the son of Eocha'-rineval. The genealogy at the end of Chron. No. 4 in Innes's App. more correctly states Aodh-fin to have been the son of Eocha' III., who was the son of

had now at their head a sovereign, who was equal to the crisis of their affairs. In 740 A.D., Hugh the Great met the mighty Ungus, the king of the Picts, in a doubtful conflict. Such was the issue of this well-fought field, that those able sovereigns seem to have declined such hostile collisions during their subsequent disputes. Ungus, whose sword had borne victory on its edge, died in 761 A.D.; and the tide of success appears to have now turned in favour of the Scots against the less fortunate Picts. In that age national power depended more on the personal character of the princes than the general energies of the people. During the reign of Ungus the Picts were transcendant. During the administration of Aodh-fin the Scots gained the superiority. Yet, of that truth uncivilized tribes were unconscious; and between these neighbour nations, ill-will and enmity continued long to produce their consequences of alternate attacks and subsequent repulses. The vigour of Aodh-fin at length carried warfare into the heart of the Pictish territories. Hostility found his destructive course, during those mutual conflicts, through the natural passages, from Braid-Alban into Glenurchay and Upper-Loarn. By reversing this hostile course Aodh-fin penetrated to Fortren, the Pictish capital in Strathearn, during 767 A.D. Here, with all his conduct and all his valour, he fought with Ciniod the Pictish king a doubtful battle, which left him only the difficult alternative of ruin or retreat (*d*). The Picts had gathered round their capital and king, and seizing the defiles of the mountains, had made it almost impossible for Aodh-fin to advance with success or to retreat with safety. By great efforts of skill and bravery, he conducted, however, his warriors within the passes of Upper-Loarn, where the Picts declined to follow him. He did not long outlive this adventurous exploit. After a glorious reign of thirty years he died in 767 A.D., leaving his sceptre, but not his sword, to his son Fergus (*e*).

Eocha'-rineval, who was the son of Domangart. Some of the Chronicles probably confounded the father with the grandfather of Aodh-fin. But whether he was the son or the grandson of Eocha'-rineval, he was alike the lineal descendant of Fergus through the race of Gauran, as the Genealogical Table clearly shows.

(*d*) For those conflicts, see the *Ulster Annals* in the several years 736, 740, and 767.

(*e*) The year 769 is stated by Innes in his *MS. Eccles. History* as the epoch of the demise of Aodh-fin. The *Chronological Table* evinces the same point. O'Flaherty, who had not the benefit of Innes's *Chronicles*, mistakes this epoch of the demise of Aodh-fin. *Ogygia*, p. 481. The *Enquirer*, 1789, who seems to have associated more with O'Flaherty than with Innes, places the accession of Aodh-fin in 743 A.D.; but this is a date of fabrication, as there is for it not one authority. Aodh-fin is variously denominated by *Chronicles* Ed-albus and Eda-fin, Heth-fin and Het-fin. He is called by Fordun, Etha-find; by Wyntoun, Hed-white: and by Buchanan, Et-finus. O'Flaherty calls him Aod-fion, corruptly Ethfin. Aodh-fin denotes *fair* or *whitehaired*

Contemporary with Aodh-fin, there reigned over the Picts the great Ungus, who died in 761; Bredei, who died in 763; and Ciniod, who governed till 775 A.D.; but with all the vigour and superiority of Aodh-fin, there still ruled, according to the Irish polity, which has been already noticed, a regulus in Argyll, and a prince in Lorn. In 746 A.D. died Dunlaing Mac-Dunchon, the chief of the tribe of Ardgaiill, say the Ulster Annals. Dunlaing was plainly the son of the illustrious Duncha-beg, who died in 721. At the end of more than half a century, Fiangelach, the son of Dunlaing, was slain in a civil war between the rival tribes of Argyll and Loarn (*f*). These facts evince that this enfeebling polity continued to distract and ruin the Dalriadinian kingdom, till the final period of its wretched existence.

Fergus, the son of Aodh-fin, who was of the Fergusian race of Gauran, succeeded his father in 769 A.D., and reigned three years (*g*). His character was unessential. The shortness and unimportance of his reign left no events for history to narrate, and no instruction for ethics to inculcate.

Selvach II., the son of Eogan, who was of the ambitious race of Loarn, succeeded Fergus in 772 A.D. The want of events during his inefficient government, cast obscurity and unimportance on his reign of four-and-twenty years (*h*). He ceased to govern in 796 A.D., when his sceptre was assumed by a prince of a different lineage and of greater fame.

Aodh. Aodh is a proper name both among the Irish and the Scoto-Irish. O'Brien, Macdonald, Gaelic Vocab. In English this name is Hugh, which is nearly the pronunciation of the Irish appellation. The Irish princes seem to have affected the name of Aodh. No fewer than five of the supreme kings of Ireland from 572 to 820 A.D. were called Aodh. This name is latinized Aeda, and Aidus. Usher Prim., p. 947; Ogygia, p. 431-3. It was improperly latinized by Ware Edanus. *Antiq. Hibern.*, p. 20-22.

(*f*) *Annals of Ulster*, sub An. 799.

(*g*) See the Chron. Table. All the chronicles agree in giving Fergus II. a reign of three years. Innes, in his MS. *Eccles. Hist.*, states his death in 772 A.D. The Ulster Annals, indeed, state the death of Fergus Mac-Echach, the king of Dalriada, in 780. If the annalist meant Fergus II., who was king of the Dalriadæ in Argyll, he certainly mistook the true epoch of his demise. There is, in fact, no Eachach in the whole series of the Dalriadinian kings. Perhaps this Fergus Mac-Eachach of the Ulster Annals was one of the reguli of Dalriadæ in Ireland. In 791 A.D. the same Annals record the death of Duncorcai, the King of Dalriadæ. Now, the whole Scottish chronicles reject such a king; yet this Duncorcai, who was obviously one of the reguli of the Irish Dalriadæ, is thrust by the violence of system into the series of the Scottish kings. *Enquiry*, 1789, v. ii., p. 126-7.

(*h*) See the Chron. Table. All the chronicles agree that he reigned four-and-twenty years from 772 A.D. Innes, in his MS. *Eccles. Hist.*, places the demise of Selvach II. in 796 A.D. Yet system, for its own purpose of anarchy, supposes that this Selvach II. may be Selvach I.

Eocha'-annuine, the son of Aodh-fin, who was of the Gauran race of Fergus, succeeded Selvach II. in 796 A.D. The Chronicle in the Register of St. Andrews, gives him the soubriquet of *annuine*, and the Colbertine Chronicle the epithet *venenosus* (*i*). Thus *annuine* is probably a corruption of the Irish *nimhneach*, which, when applied to plants, signifies *poisonous*, but when applied to persons, means *peerish* or *passionate* (*k*). Eocha' IV. is the *Achaius* of the Latin annalists. As the clans were seldom at rest, he found probably, on his accession to the Dalriadinian throne, a civil war raging between the tribe of Argyll and the tribe of Loarn, which had perhaps proved fatal to his predecessor, Selvach. These rival and exasperated families indulged their spirit, and tried their strength in 799 A.D. Fiangelach, the son of Dunlaing, fell on the bloody field; Conal, the son of Neill, and Congalach, the son of Aongus, triumphed over the tribe of Argyll (*l*). The feuds of the rival families could neither be pacified nor restrained. Aongus, the son of Dunlaing, also met the usual fate of savage strife in 812 A.D. (*m*). Eocha', the superior king, looked with indifference perhaps on those enfeebling feuds, which he probably foresaw would end in the degradation of the two emulous tribes of Argyll and Loarn; and his interposition is never mentioned, because it was never felt. Of Eocha, the Achaius of Fordun and Buchanan, fiction has feigned that he was ambitious of foreign alliances. He is said by fablers to have courted the connection of his great contemporary, Charlemagne, which was consolidated by a treaty of doubtful existence. This fable was related and received in the last century as a fact. In our own times it has been discussed and derided as a fiction, though the fact may have applied to the reguli of a neighbouring region (*n*).

who died in 729 A.D., who may possibly have been misplaced by all the chronicles. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 133, where the *genuine chronology* is called a *childish falsification*. The Chron. Elegiacum, in the Chronicle of Melros, which is reprinted in the same Enquiry, p. 330, confirms the three chronicles in Innes as to Selvach II. Thus the whole chronicles, which were early compiled by different pens, are charged by system with "this *pitiful forgery*." The chronicles have assigned to Selvach the various names of Selvac, Sealvane, Sealuhane; by Wyntoun he is called Sewald; by Fordun, Selwathius; by Buchanan, Solwathius; by Tigernach, Selvachus. The proper Irish name is Sealbhach; and *Sealbhuigh* in the Irish signifies a proprietor or owner. O'Brien's Diet. *Sealbhuigh* means abounding in cattle, or having many possessions, from *Sealbh*, signifying *cattle*, *possession*. Id. We must always recollect that (bh) in the Irish grammar is pronounced like the English (v).

(*i*) Innes's Appendix, No. 4 and 5.

(*k*) O'Brien's Diet.

(*l*) Ulster Annals.

(*m*) Id.

(*n*) The late Lord Hailes published in 1773 "Remarks on the History of Scotland," wherein he shows the supposed alliance of Achaius with Charlemagne to be a positive fiction. He was fol-

Fable also attributes to this alliance the origin of the well-known *double tressure*, which ornaments the Scottish arms. To Achaius is moreover attributed, by heraldic fallacy, the institution of *the most ancient order of the thistle* (*o*). The obscurity of the age of Achaius, and the deficiency both of record and of annals, left a commodious field for fiction to occupy while in quest of adventures, which might be embellished with any attributes and transmitted in any fable. It was reserved for recent times to affiance criticism with history, which is enabled by the union, not only to record events and to inculcate morals, but to examine notices and appreciate characters. Achaius entered into a real league, which was of more importance to him, to his children, and to his country. He married Urgusia, the daughter of Urguis, and the sister both of Costantin, who ruled over the Picts from 791 to 821 A.D., and of Ungus, who reigned from 821 to 830 (*p*). This natural alliance enabled Kenneth, the son of Alpin, the son of Achaius, to claim and acquire the Pictish sceptre as the grandson of Urgusia. Achaius died in 826 A.D., after a prosperous reign of thirty years. (*q*).

lowed in the same year by the late Lord Elibank with counter remarks, wherein he says, "It would be hard to strip the Scots of the ostentation of this alliance, because that silly declaimer, Hector Boece, has made it the groundwork of fable." Neither of those writers seems to have known that the very learned Schoepflin had already decided this controversy against the pretensions of the Scottish Achaius in favour of some Irish reguli, and had incidentally freed the Scottish kings from the scandal of obeying the will of the munificent Charlemagne for money. *Commentationes Historice*, 1751, p. 392. As system, by following the foolish fictions of the Gaelic poem, had excluded from the true series of the Scottish kings this Achaius IV., the same spirit of innovation has assigned over this diplomatic fable to Achaius III., who died in 733, though Charlemagne died in 814 A.D. Such is the absurdity of system while in pursuit of something new, either for the purpose of theory or for the ends of anarchy! See the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 123.

(*o*) Nisbet's Heraldry, v. ii., p. 114. The order of the Thistle was probably established by James V. in 1534, obscured by the reformers, and re-established by James VII. in 1687. *Histoire des Ordres Religieux et Militaires*; Paris, 1719, tom. 8, p. 388. The double tressure of the Scottish armouries is probably of modern origin. See the *Works of Armorie*, 1597, p. 41. See, however, the title-page of Bellenden's Boece, 1541, which consists of the armorial bearings of Scotland most heraldically displayed. Herein may be seen the *double tressure*, with the fleurs de lis, the collar of the order of the Thistle, with St. Andrew on his cross appendant.

(*p*) Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist.; and Crit. Essay, p. 141; and for this curious fact he quotes the Scottish historians, from Fordun and Boece to Lesley and Buchanan. Probability and events establish the fact with more conviction than the mere assertion of uncritical historians.

(*q*) See the Chron. Table. All the chronicles concur in saying that Eocha'-annuine was the son of Aodh-fin; that he succeeded Selvach II. in 796, and reigned thirty years. O'Flaherty has given Eocha' IV. his appropriate place in the series of the Scottish kings; and from Irish authorities he shows him to have been the son of Aodh-fin. By giving Eocha' IV. this filiation, he confirms the Scottish chronicles, which he had never seen. Usher mistakingly states the demise of Eocha' IV., on the authority of Boece, in 819, instead of 826 A.D. Primord., p. 715, 1173.

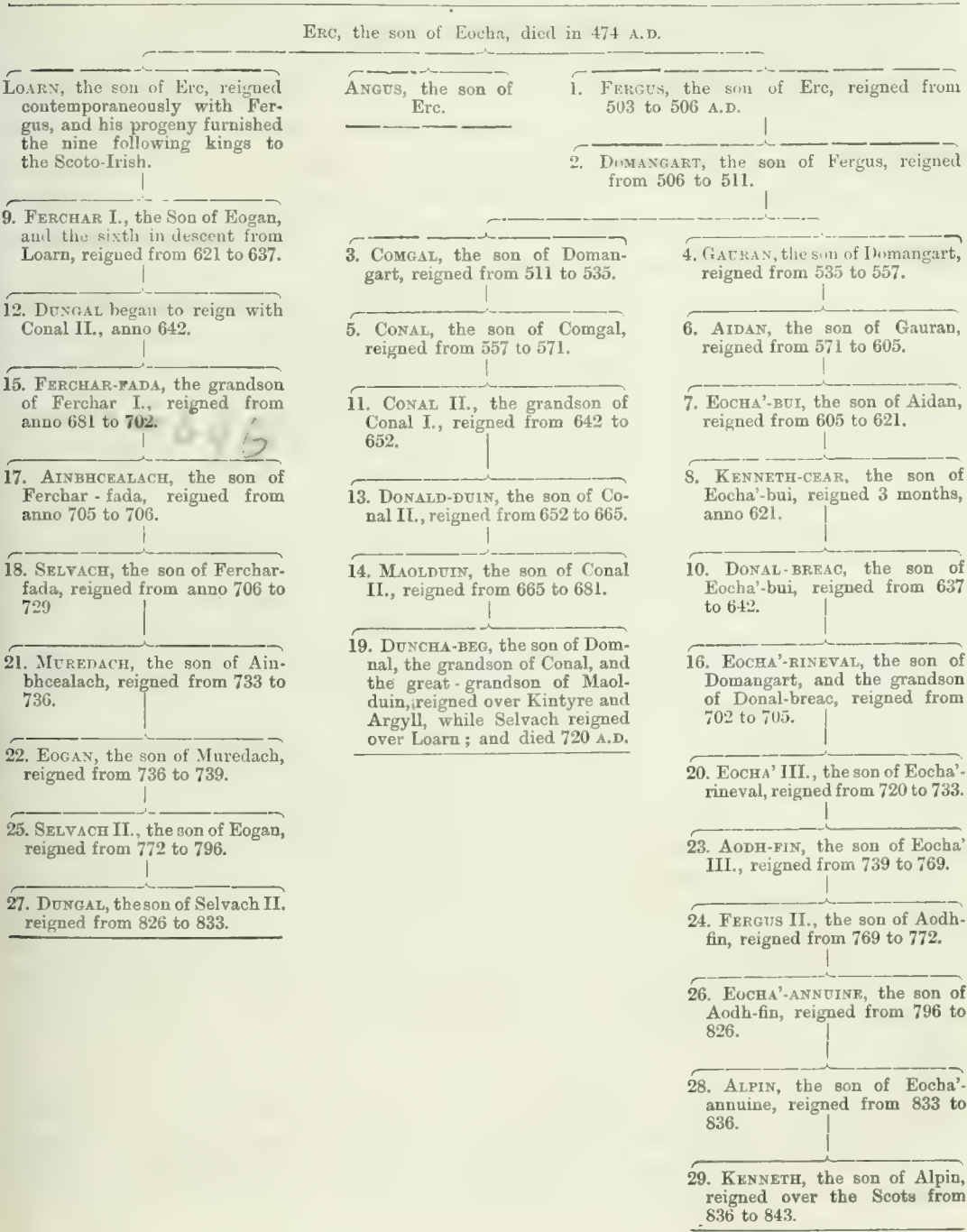
Dungal, the son of Selvach II., who was of the race of Loarn, succeeded Eocha IV. or Achaius. Dungal is the last of this powerful family who governed the Dalriadinian territories. The unimportance of his reign, arising from the insignificance of his character, has bequeathed no events to history, nor any instruction to government. He relinquished his sceptre to a different race in 833 A.D., after a feeble reign of seven years (*r*). The Gaelic bard has spoken of this prince, as *flaith Dungal den*, King Dungal, the *brown*; but *Den* is probably a mistake for *Donn*, which would, indeed, signify in the Irish *dun*, or brown complexioned. If we might suppose what is more likely, that the bard applied to Dungal the epithet *Din*, this would convey the idea of *pleasant* or agreeable.

Alpin, the son of Urgusia, and of Eocha'-annuine IV., who was of the Fergusian race of Gauran, succeeded Dungal in 833 (*s*); yet has the filiation of Alpin been recently disputed against the clearest evidence by system, for the purpose of innovation. The undoubted descent of Alpin may be traced, however, from Fergus, the son of Erc, on the obvious information of the whole genealogical authorities. The annexed Table will exhibit to the eye, and impress upon the understanding of the reader, the true genealogy of the Scoto-Irish kings, as well those of the race of Fergus, which separated into the two families of Comgal and Gauran, as those of the race of Loarn, who came into the succession in the sixth descent.

(*r*) In the epoch of the accession of Dungal and the length of his reign, all the chronicles concur as well as the Gaelic poem; and this concurrence is adopted by Innes, by O'Flaherty, who misplaces him after Muredach, and by the Enquirer, 1789, who mistakes his filiation, as if he could be the son of Selvach I. that died in 729 A.D. But system again interposes in order to promote its own objects. For this unlawful end it accuses the veracious chronicles of making this Dungal, the last of the Loarn kings, the same as Dungal the son of Selvach I., who was put in chains in 739 [736 A.D.], Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 134. But the chronicles make no such interpolation as the charge against them supposes. They do not so much as mention Dungal the son of Selvach I., because this Dungal was never king.

(*s*) All the ancient chronicles concur in stating that Alpin the son of Eocha'-annuine succeeded Dungal in 833 A.D. Innes's App. The filiation and descent of Alpin, which are so distinctly stated in the ancient chronicles, is expressly confirmed by O'Flaherty, who had not the lights of these chronicles, and drew up his genealogical series from the Irish authorities. Ogygia, p. 481; and Ogygia Vindicated, p. 117. Thus the genuine chronicles evince Alpin to have been the son of Eocha'-annuine IV., the son of Aodh-fin, the son of Eocha' III., the son of Eocha'-rineval, the son of Domangart, the son of Donald-breac, the son of Eocha'-bui, the son of Aidan, the son of Gauran, the son of Doman-gart, who was the son of Fergus.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE, showing the several descendants of Erc, the common progenitor of those princes who held the Scoto-Irish sceptre from A.D. 503 to 843; and exhibiting the three distinct races who ruled over the Dalriadinian territories during that long period.



Alpin probably derived his name, which has obscured history and misled inquiry, from his mother Urgusia, a Pictish princess (*t*). Over the Picts reigned contemporary with Alpin, Drest the son of Constantin, his cousin, and Talargan, who disputed Constantin's authority. Alpin would naturally support his relation, who appears to have prevailed over his antagonist. The sagacity of Alpin seems to have perceived the weakness of his neighbours beyond the Clyde, and his ambition appears to have prompted a desire to reign over richer people and more extensive domains. In 836 A.D. he set sail from Kintyre, and landed on the coast of Kyle within the bay of Ayr. According to the odious practice of a savage age, he laid waste the country between the Ayr and Doon, before the people and their chiefs could meet him in conflict. Following the course of those rivers he penetrated to the ridge which separates Kyle from Galloway, and here he met his appropriate fate, during a sharp struggle, from the obscure weapon of an enraged chief near the site of Laicht-castle, which derived its singular name from the stone of Alpin. His grave-stone was still known and recognized three centuries and a half after he had finished his career, and left his claims to his more fortunate successor (*u*). Yet is Alpin

(*t*) In addition to the Scottish chronicles and Irish authorities before mentioned, the filiation of Alpin is confirmed by the genealogy at the end of the Colbertine Chronicle, in Innes's App., p. 795; and by the genealogy which was repeated by the bard, at the Coronation of Alexander III., in 1249. Major, p. 151. The same filiation is confirmed by another genealogy, which was drawn up in the reign of David I., who died in 1153. Malcolm's Col., p. 3. The Chronicon of Dunblane, which is quoted in Innes's MS. Col., concurs with all these authorities. O'Flaherty intimates, indeed, that the genealogy of David I. up to Fergus the son of Erc, is still to be found in the well-known book of Lecan, in Trinity College, Dublin. Ogygia Vindicated, p. 141-147. The Scottish historians, from Fordun to Buchanan, agree in making Alpin the son of Eocha'-annuine, the son of Aodh-fin: and see the *stemmas*, or Genealogical Trees, No. iii. and iv. in Lesley's Hist., Rom. Edit. Add to all those invincible authorities the Chronicon Elegiacum, in the Chronicle of Melrose, which concurs with them, in Gale, v. i., p. 595, and republished in the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 330. Yet the author of this Enquiry asserts that "the name of the father of Alpin, the father of Kenneth, is lost beyond all recovery." *Ib.* p. 132. Here system again interposes to annihilate, by a stroke of theory, the obvious genealogy of Alpin, in order to let in the novelty of a Pictish succession. For this perversion all authorities are hewn down by the magic of prejudice; all history is by it perverted; events are displaced, and facts perverted; and, by this overpowering necromancy, the veracious chronicles are transformed into *childish falsifications*, and the real genealogies into *pitiful forgeries*. *Ib.*, p. 133-35.

(*u*) With regard to the time, place, and circumstance of the death of Alpin, the last of the Scoto-Irish kings, two accounts have been given: one of fact, and another of fiction. (1.) That Alpin died in 836 A.D., after a reign of three years, the ancient chronicles seem generally to agree. (2.) The Register of St. Andrews is the most ancient voucher for the death of Alpin in Galloway, after much devastation: "Alpin fil. Heoghed-annuine 3 an: Hic occisus est in *Gallowathia*,

supposed by Scottish history, to have fallen in asserting his title to the Pictish

“postquam eam penitus destruxit et devastavit.” Innes’s App., p. 798. The Chronicon of Dunblane, which belonged to Professor Ker of Aberdeen, and which is recited by Innes, in his MS. Collections, says: “Alpin fil. Heoched-annuine 3 an. regnavit rex; et occisus est in *Galwithia* postquam eam penitus devastavit: Et tunc translatus est regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.” Wyntoun, who had plainly his eye on the Register of St. Andrews, says of Alpin:

“He wan of ware all *Galloway*;

“There, was he slayne, and dede away:

“Aught hundyr wynter fourty and thre

“Aftyr the blyst nativitie.”

Fordun, book iv., ch. ii., mentions the death of Alpin, but not the place where that event happened. Major also mentions the death of Alpin, but not the place of his interment. 4to ed., p. 18. We come now to the evidence of record. The foundation charter of the town of Ayr by William, in 1197, when describing the limits of its exclusive trade, calls for *Lacht-Alpin*, the stone or grave of Alpin, as one of the distinguishing boundaries. *Lacht-Alpin* gave rise to the name of an estate, after the Scotch-Irish language, in which *Leacht-Alpin* signifies the grave-stone of Alpin, was no longer understood in Ayrshire; and hence the names in Bleau’s map of Ayrshire, No. 19, of *Laicht-castle*, *Over-Laicht*, and *Nether-Laicht*, in the parish of Dalmellington. These most significant names were left out of the late map of the same shire by Armstrong; but upon inquiry at the place, I find that those expressive appellations, which will never be forgotten, are now perfectly known. A letter, from an intelligent friend in Dalmellington, informs me: “There are still the remains of an old castle at a place called *Laicht*, in this parish, about two miles north-north-west of this village: It was much demolished by the proprietor in the year 1771, in order to enclose some ground: It stands on the brink of a very deep glen, and was of great strength; and the workmen had much difficulty in demolishing it: There are two farms there that still bear the name of *Over*, and *Nether, Laicht*.” The same intelligent friend remarks that there is in the parish a tradition of a battle having formerly been fought in that vicinity. The late Mr. Macmyne, the minister of Dalmellington, relates, in his Statistical Account, “that there are some cairns, or *tumuli*, in the parish, which indicate that a battle had been at some time there fought.” Another very intelligent friend has assured me that there is, near the village of Dalmellington, a remarkable barrow of a very perfect form. Thus the Register of St. Andrews, the Charter of Ayr, which calls for the grave-stone of Alpin as a well-known boundary, the old castle of *Laicht*, the tradition of a conflict, the remaining *tumuli*, all concur to show the remarkable place where Alpin, the father of Kenneth, found repose from the turmoils of savage life, and left a grave-stone to perpetuate the remembrance of the fact. (2.) On the contrary, *fiction*, in the person of Boece, recounts a very different tale. Bellenden’s Boece, fo. 89. The death of Alpin is said to have happened in a battle with the Picts near Dundee, where he was taken and beheaded. This story is retold by Buchanan, and by the other perverters of the Scottish history, down to Guthrie. The Statistical Account of Liff parish, wherein the battle is supposed to have been fought, near a place called *Pit-alpin*, and in former times *Bas-alpin*, gives its additional testimony. The *Bas-alpin*, we are to understand, signifies, in the Irish language, the death of Alpin. Now the fact is, that Elpin reigned along with Drest over the Picts, from 725 to 730, when a civil war raged with great violence among that people. To this warfare Drest fell a victim in 728; and

throne after the death of his cousin Uven, in right of his mother Urgusia (*x*). But this supposition is inconsistent with events, and is rejected by chronology. The succession to Uven did not open to Alpin, as he fell in 839, three years before the demise of Uven in 839 A.D.

Kenneth, the son of Alpin, succeeded his father in 836 A.D. The Gaelic bard characterizes this prince as *Chionaoith Chruaidh*, Kenneth, the *hardy*. His enterprize evinces that the vigour of his mind was properly supported by the hardihood of his body. His several invasions on the south of the Clyde, show what probability suggests, that he severely avenged the fate of his father (*a*). He seems to have depressed to their proper level the races of Argyll and Loarn, which were already weakened by civil war. Nor was he inattentive to the conflicts among the Picts beyond Drum-Alban. While oppressed by their feebleness, the natural effects of their civil conflicts, the Pictish people were at this period harassed by the invasions of the Danish Vikingr (*b*); and the demise of Kenneth's relation, Uven, the Pictish king, after a distracted reign of three years, opened the prospect of his succession in 839 A.D. The view, however, of Kenneth, to the succession of his grandmother Urgusia, was obstructed by Wred, the son of Bargoit, who retained the Pictish sceptre during three disastrous years (*c*). But the enterprize and power and valour of Kenneth wrested that ancient sceptre from the feeble hand of Wred, the last of the Pictish kings, in 843 A.D., after Kenneth had reigned over the Scots seven active years (*d*). Yet has system supposed that the Picts rather subdued the Scots than were subdued by their Scoto-Irish rivals. For this theory tradition is contradicted, history is opposed, and truth is outraged. There are two *moral certainties* which forbid the adopting of this theory, or the believing

after several bloody battles, in which Elpin and his party were worsted, he at last fell before the superior force of Ungus, in 730 A.D., at a place in the parish of Liff, in Forfarshire, which, from that circumstance, has been named Bas-elpin, and Pit-elpie. See the Hist. of the Picts, ch. i., p. 196. It is thus apparent that Boece, Bellenden, Buchanan, and other fablers, have confounded the Pictish Elpin, who fell in 730 A.D. at *Bas-Elpin*, in Forfarshire, with the Scoto-Irish Alpin, who fell, more than a century afterwards, at *Laicht-Alpin* in Ayrshire.

(*x*) Innes's Crit. Essay, p. 141.

(*a*) The Colbertine Chron. in Innes's Crit. Essay, p. 783; Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 160.

(*b*) Ulster Annals. And see Book iii., ch. i.

(*c*) The Pictish Chronicle, in Innes's Crit. Ess., p. 781-2, 801; Register of St. Andrews, in Innes, p. 798; Chron. Ryth. in Innes, p. 812-13.

(*d*) Chron. Table. The ancient chronicles concur in this length of reign; and Innes has followed them, in his *Chronica Accurata*. The Gaelic Poem extends the reign of Kenneth over the Scots and Picts to thirty years. O'Flaherty restrains this elongation to twenty years; to four

of that system; it is morally certain that the language which was spoken by the people on the north of the Clyde and Forth was Cambro-British, till the close of the Pictish period in 843 A.D.; it is also morally certain that the prevailing language within the same country, throughout the Scottish period from 843 to 1097 A.D., was the Scoto-Irish, the speech of Kenneth and his people (*e*).

Such is the genuine history of the Scoto-Irish kings of Kintyre, Argyll, and Loarn! It is a sort of historical miniature of the annals of their Irish progenitors; and the events which compose the history of both, are the necessary consequences of the polity that had governed the people of both from the most early period of the Scottish history. The sovereignty of the kingdom of Ireland was subdivided into a *pentarchy*, which left four provincial kings to dispute the monarchy of the fifth (*f*). This pentarchy existed, certainly, before the epoch of the Irish emigration to North-Britain. From such a form of government, during savage times, what could be the consequences but civil war, frequent assassinations, and perpetual anarchy (*g*)! The Scoto-Irish colonists appear to have introduced within the Dalriadinian kingdom, a similar constitution. The *flaiths*, or princes of three races, constantly contended with the general sovereign for superiority or exemption; and the Dalriadinian history is little more than the instructive narrative of their contests and changes, of their bloody conflicts and their wretched confusions. In the succession, both of the kings and of the chieftains, the *dlighe-tanaiste*, or law of Tanistry, ap-

over the Scots, and sixteen years over the Picts. The name of this powerful prince is Kinedus in the Chronicle No. 4 in Innes's Appendix, Cinacha in the Genealogy No. 4 in the same Appendix, Kinath in the Chron. No. 5, Kinadius in the Pictish Chronicle, Chionaoith in the Gaelic Poem. Kenethus in Fordun; and Kennethus in Buchanan. This is obviously the same name as Kenneth-ear before-mentioned, though system supposes them to be different. This name, under different forms, is both Pictish and Scottish; yet system, in support of an absurd theory, maintains this appellation to be *Gothic*. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 163.

(*e*) See Book iii., ch. xi., for proofs of those moral certainties. The Scots I have found, while searching the chartularies, in the very act of changing the Pictish language within the Pictish dominion. When we see the Scots substitute their own *Inver* for the British *Abur*, both the words signifying the same thing, it is a demonstration that the Cambro-British speech preceded the Scoto-Irish.

(*f*) Leland's Hist. Prelim. Dis., p. 7. *Coige* in Irish signifies the *fifth* part of any thing. Hence *Coige* became the term for *province*, because Ireland was divided into five territories or provinces, so "*Cuig coige na Heirion*," the five provinces of Ireland. O'Brien, in Vo. *Coige*. The subsequent fact of there being five provinces till recent times evinces the previous policy of ancient ages, which we see confirmed in the very language of the old Irish people: so also *Coige-adhach* means a provincial. O'Brien, in Vo.

(*g*) See Cox's Apparatus to the History of Ireland.

pears to have been generally followed. The person in the family, whether a son or a brother, who seemed best qualified, either from abilities or experience to exercise authority, was fixed upon by the tribe for the succession to the sovereign or the chief. It is apparent, however, from the history both of Ireland, and of Argyll, that during the life of the reigning king an heir presumptive was chosen under the name of *Taniste*, who commanded the army during the monarch's life, and succeeded him after his demise, according to the established law (*h*). Much of the dignity of the monarch was supported by the voluntary contributions of the princes and chiefs, which were paid in cattle, in clothes, and utensils. The monarch was obliged to purchase the support and service of the princes and chiefs by similar presents. For these they entertained the sovereign in his journeys, and served him in his wars, at least, during a stated period (*i*). In civil compacts, which were so feeble and admitted of so much cavil, we may perceive what the history of the two people evinces—the imbecility of the sovereign, and the weakness of the society; the king could scarcely enforce domestic quiet, and the people were hardly able to repel foreign invasions (*k*).

A similar polity appears to have pervaded all ranks among the Irish people, from the king to the prince, and from the prince to the chieftain, both in Ireland and in Scotland. The toparch governed his district as the monarch governed his kingdom, and the chieftains ruled their territories and their raths, or fortified villages, upon the same principles of mutual dependence of the higher on the lower ranks, and of the subordinate on the superior (*l*). Such brittle ties were easily broken, and during rude times, when the voice of law was but faintly heard, the performance of those reciprocal duties could only be induced by assassination, or the breach of them punished by the sword.

In the meantime, such was the law of *Gavil-kind*, which the original planters had carried with them from Britain, that the tenure of lands throughout the

(*h*) Ware's Antiq., p. 70; O'Brien's Dict. in Vo. *Tanaiste*. Sir Richard Cox indeed asserts that the kings and chiefs did not succeed either by descent or election, but by force; so that the title of most of them is founded on the murder of his predecessor. Hist. Apparatus. See Holland's Camden in Ireland, p. 120, wherein it appears that, according to the law of Tanistry, the possessor could not resign his rights or his name, which he possessed only during his own life, without the consent of the tribe; that a man at full years was to be preferred before a boy, and an uncle before that nephew whose grandfather survived the father. The custom of Tanistry was the common law of Ireland before the conquest by Henry II. Davis's Reports in the case of Tanistry, p. 101. These principles were insisted on by John O'Neal, the famous rebel, before Sir Henry Sydney, the Lord Justice of Ireland. We see also much of such notions and practices in the history of the Dalriadinian kings and princes.

(*i*) Lel. Prelim. Disc., xxvi.

(*k*) Ib., xxvii.

(*l*) Ib., xxviii.

country, determined with the life of the possessor (*m*). This law, under various modifications, continued to distract and barbarize the Irish till the late period of king James's settlement (*n*). A similar custom may be traced among the Scoto-Irish people of Argyll till more recent times.

The Irish women, of whatever rank, seem not to have been entitled even to the slightest possession of land under the Brehon law (*o*). They were assigned a certain number of their father's cattle as their marriage portion, which, in the Irish speech, is called *Spre'*, that literally means *cattle*; *crodh* also signifies both *cattle* and *dowry*, which, in those times and in those countries, were synonymous (*p*). We shall see in our progress a very notable instance of this *Brehon* doctrine as to women among the Scoto-Irish. The Galloway-men universally rose in support of the pretensions of a bastard-son, in opposition to the claims of three legitimate daughters of their late lord, and it required all the power and all the valour of Alexander II., to enforce his opinion of law and right against the custom, and, perhaps, the privilege of the men of Galloway (*q*).

The herds of the Irish were so frequently within their contemplation, because, during a rude state of society, their flocks supplied so many comforts, that the Irish terms, *Sealbh* and *Seilbh*, which signify *possession*, a *field*, also convey the idea of a *herd* or *drove* (*r*). The Irish had another law term, *Toich*, which at once signified territory, land, property, and natural right; whence we may infer that the Irish jurisprudence did not much arise from positive institute. This intimation may be further strengthened by a consideration of the Irish word *Gnath*, which signifies equally a *manner*, a *custom*, a *statute* (*s*). Yet such is the copiousness of the Irish language, that it has a great variety of terms which convey the notion of a law (*t*); but we may infer from those law terms, with their several modi-

(*m*) *Id.*, O'Brien's Dict., in Vo. *Gabhail-eine*.

(*n*) Sir John Davis's Reports, the case of Tanistry: Cox's Hist. the Apparatus: wherein he well explains the material differences between the custom of gavel-kind in Kent, and the same custom in Ireland. Vallancy has been studious to show that the practice of gavel-kind, or the Brehon-law, extended to several other countries. *Collectanea de Reb. Hibern.*, v. i.

(*o*) It was found by the Jury, in the case of Tanistry, that by this law the lands ought to descend to the *eldest* and most worthy of the blood and name of the Tanist: but that the daughters were not inheritable to such lands. *Davies's Reports*, p. 78.

(*p*) O'Brien's Dict., in Vo. *Spre'*, and *Crodh*.

(*q*) Lord Hailes's Ann., v. i., p. 152. It is a well known fact, in the municipal law of Scotland, that in those times Galloway was governed by *its own proper laws*. See Skene's old laws. Such being the law it follows that the Galloway men were right, and Alexander II. was wrong; the bastard son having a more legal title.

(*r*) O'Brien's Dict. in Vo.

(*s*) *Ib.* in Vo.

(*t*) *Ib.* Sub. Adh: Dlighe: Dleachd: Reachd: Foras: Dior: Bann: Iris: Airilleadh: Dual: Achter Achd: Adhailgne, the law military.

fications, that the Irish people had little of positive statute or written law, their whole body of jurisprudence consisting almost entirely of traditionary customs and local usages (*u*). It was *no written law*, saith Cox, it was only the will of the *Brehon* or the lord (*x*); and it is observable, he adds, as their Brehons, or judges, like their physicians, bards, harpers, poets, and historians, had their offices by descent and inheritance, we may be sure, said he, that these *hereditary judges* and *doctors* were but *very sad tools*. The Brehon or judge, when he administered justice, used to sit on a turf or heap of stones, or on the top of a hillock, without a covering, and without clerks, or, indeed, without any formality of a court of judicature (*y*). This state of law and condition of manners may be traced among the Scoto-Irish in Scotland till recent times. Every Baron had his motehill, whence justice was distributed to his vassals by his baron-bailie. Under the Brehon system all crimes were commuted. Theft, rapes, and murder, were punished by a fine, which was called *Eric*. This term of Brehon law signified an amercement, a fine, a ransom, a forfeit, and also a *reparation*; this last meaning is probably the original import of the word, as the principle of this rude jurisprudence was directed to the reparation, rather than the prevention of crimes (*z*). The mulct or *Eric* was among the Albanian Scots, called *Cro'*, saith Ware (*a*). The *Regiam majestatem* of the Scottish law hath a whole chapter setting forth "the *Cro* of ilk "man, how mikil it is." (*b*)

It was an ancient custom of the Irish, which was called the custom of *Kincogish*, and which is, that every head of every sept, and every chief of every clan, should be answerable for every one of their sept or kindred, when he should be charged with any crime (*c*). This also was an ancient custom among the Scoto-Irish;

(*u*) Cox's Apparatus to his History.

(*x*) The case of Tanistry might have shown Cox that this was the *common law* of Ireland before the conquest.

(*y*) Ib. Harris's Ware, p. 70.—In North-Britain the baronial courts used to be held, till late times, on motehills and bridges.

(*z*) Harris's Ware, p. 70; Cox's Apparatus; *Lel. Pref. Disc.*, p. 29.

(*a*) Harris's Ware, p. 71; and see Skene, *de Verb. Significatione*, in Vo.

(*b*) Lib. iv., cap. xxiv.: Skene hath grossly interpolated this chapter. He begins it by saying "It is statute be the king;" whereas, in the Bern MSS. of the age of Ed. I., instead of this purview, the law sets forth *the Cro of the King himself*: "Pro le Roi d'Ecosse est mille vaches, u treis mill ores c'etaseavoir, tres ores chaque vache." The *cro* of the king of Scots is a thousand cows, or three thousand *oras*, that is to say, three *oras* for every cow; and this was undoubtedly the law of the ancient Irish and Scoto-Irish. Even by a statute of William the lion: "Give ane slaies anie man, he shall "give twenty-nine kye, and ane young kow; and make peace with the friends of the defunct, *conforme* "to the law of the countrie." Skene's Stat. of King William, ch. vi.

(*c*) Spenser's View of Ireland.

and it is remarkable that both in Ireland and in Scotland, this ancient custom was adopted into the statute book of both those countries, from the usefulness of the custom to the end.

The protection of bees was a great head of the Brehon law. Ireland was very fully peopled by this industrious race, and their honey supplied abundance of *mead*, the peculiar beverage of the ancient Britons, while the Irish husbandry did not yet provide corn for the distillery of *aqua vitæ* (*d*). North-Britain still produces *heather-honey* for the breakfast of the rich as well as for the physic of the poor.

In vain do the Irish antiquaries give us splendid pictures of the learning, the opulence, and the refinement of the ancient Irish. The laws of every people are the truest histories of their domestic affairs. While we see that the wealth of the Irish tribes consisted of their bees, and their cattle, we may certainly infer that they had only advanced from the first to the second stage of society, from being hunters to being feeders of flocks (*e*). In this unrefined state the Scoto-Irish long continued, as we may learn from their rent-rolls.

Were the lives of saints, during the period of saints, searched for traits of manners, several intimations might be found that would exhibit many new modes of thinking, and many novel habits of life. The biography of St. Columba, the abbot of Iona, has been ransacked with these views. It is apparent that more of wretchedness arising from penury than of comfort, prevailed throughout the Dalriadinian districts in every rank of society. Their best houses were built of wattles, and of these slight and rude materials was built the abbey of Iona, whence issued for ages the precepts of instruction and the habits of austerity to a rude people. The kings, and perhaps some of the chieftains, had strengths wherein they lived and whence they tyrannized. During the sixth and seventh centuries they had in Lorn, Dun-olla, Duna, and Creic, which were besieged and burnt. Buildings of lime and stone, either among the Irish or Scoto-Irish, were therefore late works of more intelligent times (*f*). The clothing even of the monks were the skins of beasts, though they had woollen, and linen, which they knew how to obtain from abroad by means of traffic. The variegated plaid was introduced in later times. Venison and

(*d*) *Lel. Hist. Prelim. Disc.*, p. 30; *Vallency's Col. Hibern.*

(*e*) *Cox's Apparatus*. "Even since the conquest," saith this historian, "the Irish paid the king's revenue in *cows* for want of money." In North Britain the king's revenue was also paid in cows as low down as the accession of Robert Bruce. Neither Celtic Ireland nor Celtic Scotland had coins of their own mintage, and very few indeed of any mintage.

(*f*) *Cox's Apparatus*; *Ledwich's Antiquities*; *Transactions Edin. Roy. Society*.

fish, and seals, and milk, and flesh, were the food of the people. The monks of Iona, who lived by their labour, had some provision of corn, and perhaps the chiefs, who lived in strengths. But it is to be recollected that the monks were everywhere for ages the improvers themselves, and the instructors of others in the most useful arts. They had the merit of making many a blade of grass grow where none grew before. Even Iona had orchards during the rugged times of the ninth century, till the Vikingr brutishly ruined all. Whatever the Scoto-Irish enjoyed themselves, they were very willing to impart to others. The most unbounded hospitality was enjoined by law and by manners as a capital virtue (*g*). Manufactures the Scoto-Irish had none; and every family had its own carpenter, weaver, tailor and shoemaker, however unskilful and inadequate to the uses of civilization (*h*). The division of labour and of arts takes place only during periods of refinement.

Of shipping, every age must have had the benefit of some kind. The float was the most obvious. The Britons and their immediate descendants both in Scotland and in Ireland, used canoes, as we have seen. The next step in the art of ship-building was the making of currachs both in Britain and in Ireland. These were formed by covering a keel of wood and a frame of wicker with the skins of cattle and of deer. The currachs were, by experience, improved into roomy vessels either for transport or war. In currachs the first colonists must have emigrated from Ireland to Kintyre. The enterprising Aidan performed his various expeditions, either of negotiation or hostility, in currachs. In them the fate of the kingdoms of Kintyre and Loarn was decided in a naval action during the year 717, as we have seen in the history of their civil wars.

From that history it is apparent that every chieftain exercised, by whatever power, the right of making war and peace. Hence sprung the civil feuds which desolated for ages, and barbarized the Scoto-Irish territories. From their mutual enmities proceeded perhaps the custom which existed among the Scoto-Irish as well as the old Irish of giving a *nickname* to every person of any note. But it was only the chief of the clan who enjoyed the privilege of being called O'Neal, O'Brien, Macdonald, Macleod (*i*). Much of this practice we have perceived in the epithets which were uniformly annexed to the names of the Scoto-Irish kings.

(*g*) See *Lel. Hist. Prel. Disc.*, xxviii. : *Martin's Western Islands*, *Pennant's Tours*, *Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands*.

(*h*) See *Adarnan's Life of Columba*, and the Reverend Dr. Smith's collection from it in *Stat. Account*, vol. x., p. 543.

(*i*) *Cox's Apparatus*; *Harris's Ware*, p. 55-9.

Of the various practices of the ancient Irish, the custom of *fosterage* has been regarded as a subject for particular speculation (*k*). By this singular custom, which equally prevailed among the Scoto-Irish till recent times, children were mutually given, from different families, to be by strangers nursed and bred. The lower orders considered this trust as an honour rather than a service, for which an adequate reward was either given or expected. The attachment of those, who were thus educated, is said to have been indissoluble; for there is no love in the world comparable, saith Camden, by many degrees, to that of foster-brethren in Ireland (*l*). From this practice arose connection of family and union of tribes, which often prompted, and sometimes prevented civil feuds (*m*).

The sons of Ere, with their Dalriadic colonists, were undoubtedly christians, at the epoch of their emigration to North-Britain. They seem not to have been actuated by motives either of religion or superstition. The saint of their idolatry, however, was Ciaran, a person of great note, who founded the abbey of Clonmacnois on the Shannon, in 548 A.D., and died here in 549 (*n*). The tenor of his life attests that he did not accompany the children of Ere, who acted under the legendary influence of St. Patrick's blessing. The disciples of St. Ciaran may probably have administred to their religious needs; and there was certainly a chapel and burying-ground dedicated to the influential Ciaran, on the site of Campbeltown in Kintyre, where the enterprizing Aidan was buried. But of religious establishments we hear nothing, till half a century had elapsed from the epoch of the Scoto-Irish colony. The illustrious Columba arrived from Ireland in 563 A.D., founded the abbey of Iona, the instructive school of North-Britain, and died in 597, after converting the Picts by his precepts, and meliorating the Scots by his example. Archbishop Usher has proved, with a profusion of learning, that the religion of the Columbans "was for substance the same which the protestants now profess" (*o*). The Columbans had zeal, but not without knowledge and discretion. Within the ample range of modern Argyll they founded many chapels, which they dedicated to Brigid, to Colman, to Modan, to Ninian, and to Ccivan, and which perpetuate in their names the piety of the Scoto-Irish, though it did not always regulate their lives nor moderate their passions. The miracles which are attributed to Columba and to other saints, can only be regarded as traits of manners during

(*k*) Leland's Hist. Prel. Disc., p. 31.

(*l*) Holland's Camden, Ireland, p. 116.

(*m*) Harris's Ware, p. 72-3.

(*n*) Harris's Ware, v. i., p. 165-179.

(*o*) Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, 1631; Cox's Apparatus.

barbarous times, when neither chieftains nor kings could be diverted from the evil of their ways by other than supernatural means. Let us not think lightly, however, of *the saints* of Iona, who were the instructors of our fathers while they were yet ignorant, and the mollifiers of our progenitors while they were still ferocious. The learning, I was going to say the *charity*, of those ages centred all in Iona. It received the persons of living kings who retired from unstable thrones, and it equally admitted dead kings from the bloody field (*p*). From this seminary went out the teachers of the Caledonian regions. To this school were sent the princes of Northumberland, who acquired the lights of the gospel from the luminaries of Iona (*q*).

(*p*) In 765 A.D. Neill, who was surnamed Frassach, king of Ireland, abdicated his kingdom, and retired to Iona, where he died. In 777 A.D. Aslgal, the son of Cutald, the king of Connaught, became a monk of Iona, where he died. Colgan's Triad. Thaum. App., p. 5; Innes's MS. Col. Adamnan, the learned successor of Columba, with true charity, opened the sacred soil of Iona, to receive the *poor corpse* of the vanquished Egfrid, the Northumbrian king. Yet did not this charity protect Iona from the enmity of the Vikingr. In 797 A.D., it was ravaged by the Pirate Northmen. Ann. Ult. In 801 the abbey, with some of the monks, were burnt. Id.

(*q*) Bede, l. iii., c. 3-6. Colgan has collected a "Catalogus Alphabeticus Sanctorum Virorumque et illustrium qui in Hyensi insula obierunt, vel in ea floruerunt." Triad. Thaum. App., v. § 5. Innes has copied this alphabetical catalogue, with some additions, into his MS. Collections. Of those illustrious men, during the darkest period of the North-British annals, there is much in Harris's Account of the writers of Ireland, from the earliest times. The *Scotorum Scriptorum Nomenclatura* of Dempster is not to be trusted.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Introduction of Christianity.

THE similarity of the superstitions which prevailed on the neighbouring continent and in the British island is emphatically mentioned by Julius Cæsar as a strong proof of the common origin of the Gaulish people of both. The Druidism of the ancient Britons obviously derived its source from the practices of the most early times (*a*). The barbarous sacrifices of human victims, however, were too general in the first ages to be peculiar to the British priests. The most usual objects of their worship were woods and waters, fires and rocks (*b*). The same natural objects were equally the gods of their idolatry in North-Britain as they had been in the most southern districts of our island (*c*).

The priests and the people equally assembled in the sacred groves, and within the circles of stones, to perform their unhallowed rites (*d*). The stone monuments which still remain in North-Britain are indubitable proofs of the similarity of the worship which was practised there as well as in South-Britain; and the superstitious observances which yet continue are supplementary evidence of the sameness of the British tribes. Within the Pictish territories there long remained the sacred groves and stone circles, the area whereof the superstitious vulgar called holy ground, which they refused to convert to any civil use. Some of the first Christians converted those sacred enclosures into chapels; and hence

(*a*) *Mona Antiqua*, ed. 1766, p. 39-53; Borlase's *Cornwall*, book ii., p. 53; and see before, book i., chap. ii.

(*b*) Borlase, p. 55-66.

(*c*) *Aboriginal Remains*, which are altogether conformable to the British superstitions and usages, may be seen in every part of Scotland. See b. i., ch. ii.

(*d*) On the introduction of Christianity, the term *Cil*, which originally signified a covert, a recess, a retreat, as it had been appropriated to the groves of the Druids, was applied to the cells and chapels of the first Christian missionaries and saints, and to the consecrated cemeteries which were attached to them; and hence the *Cil* came to be a very common prefix in the names of churches, chapels, and parishes, both in Britain and in Ireland, having the name of the patron saint as an adjunct, as Kil-morie, Kil-bride, Kil-patrick, Kil-colum-kil, and so of others, as may be seen in the *Topographical Dictionary*.

the *Llan* of the Cambro-Britons and the Picts signified a small enclosure, a place of gathering together, a church, a town having a church (*e*).

As the Scoto-Irish, who came in upon the Picts after the epoch of 843 A.D., had long been Christians, none of those Druid monuments can be attributed to their unsullied hands. None of the Gothic tribes either erected such stone monuments or practised such superstitions; nor do we see any such remains in Shetland, which was undoubtedly settled by the genuine Scandinavians; and those stone monuments are, therefore, the durable work of Pictish hands (*f*). The paradoxical writers who can find no evidence that there were ever any Druids in North-Britain, merely turn away their eyes from the satisfactory proofs of monumental records, which attest the long residence and powerful influence of the Druids among the British people in North Britain.

The era of Christianity and the epoch of the declension of Druidism may be considered as the same (*g*). Augustus proscribed the Druid rites to the Roman citizens; Tiberius enforced the prohibition of his predecessor; and Claudius abolished the religion of the Druids within the ample extent of Gaul during the year 43 (*h*). As the Romans extended their conquests in Britain, the practices of the Druids were either proscribed by power, or were disused by neglect. Yet in Wales, in Ireland, and in Caledonia, Druidism continued to maintain its influence, till the lights of Christianity penetrated into its darkest recesses (*i*).

The religion of Christ gained upon the world in defiance of persecution, during three centuries of adversity. With the accession of Constantine in 306 A.D. it may be said to have been established within the Roman empire, though not with all the temporal rights which it afterwards acquired. In Britain it appears to have very soon assumed the same form of policy as it had naturally acquired within the other districts of the Roman state, and as early as 314 A.D. three bishops actually appeared from Britain at the Council

(*e*) Owen's Dict. in vo. Hence in Wales and in Cornwall *Llan* is a common prefix in the names of churches and parishes, and even in North-Britain there are some instances of the prefix *Llan*, as in *Llan bride* and *Llan-morgan*. The Druid temples in North Britain were called, by the Scoto-Irish missionaries who propagated the gospel in that country during the sixth century, *Clachan*, which literally signified *stones*. Hence the term *Clachan* came to denote a place of worship from the epoch of Christianity to the present times: and from the same application of this term the Kirk-towns in the western parts of North-Britain are even now called *Clachan*.

(*f*) See before, book i., chap. ii.

(*g*) Borlase's Cornwall, p. 152.

(*h*) Fleury's Eccles. Hist., vol. i., p. 43.

(*i*) Usher's Eccles. Prim., ch. v.

of Arles, the representatives of three dioceses, which were probably commensurate with three of the Roman provinces in this island (*k*).

Yet is there reason to believe that the benign influence of christianity had been felt in those parts of North-Britain, which were inaccessible to the Roman power, as soon as the beginning of the third century. The Romanized Britons of Valentia, who are called the Southern Picts by Bede and the contemporary writers of the middle ages, were converted from their ancient superstitions at the commencement of the fifth century. This reformation they owed to Ninian, who was born about the year 360 of noble parentage, in the country of the Novantes, near the *Leucophibia* of Ptolomy. Ninian was ordained at Rome; was instructed in Monastic discipline by Martin of Tours; and returning before the year 397, he freed his countrymen from superstitious errors, and taught them the most important truths. He founded a monastery at Whithorn, which supplied the country with successive teachers, and erected a church, which is emphatically mentioned by Bede as the first that was built of stone, and as having from this circumstance obtained the appropriate name of *Candida Casa*. Ninian died on the 16th of September, 432 (*l*); and on that

(*k*) Lloyd's Ancient Church Government, p. 72. There accompanied those Bishops to that council, according to the practice of that age, one Presbyter and one Deacon.

(*l*) Bede, ed. Smith, book iii., ch. iv.; Usher's Eccles. Primord., p. 1100; Lloyd's Hist. Account of the British Churches, p. 50; Innes's Eccles. Hist. MS. in my library, § 34; Britannia Sancta, vol. ii., p. 130-3; Keith's Bishops, p. 233; and Dempster's Menologia. His fame will be still longer preserved by the number of churches which in North-Britain have been dedicated to his name. Kil-Ninian parish, in Mull island; Kil-Saint-Ninian, in Colmonell parish, Ayrshire; St. Ninians parish, near Stirling; St. Ninians, in Alyth parish; St. Ninian's chapel, which has been converted into a cemetery, in the Enzie, Banffshire; St. Ninians, in Inverness-shire—all owe their ancient names to the worthy Ninian. There were other local objects in North-Britain which equally derived their names from the respected Ninian. There was None-kil, or St. Ninian's chapel, in Kiltearn parish. There was a chaplainry of St. Ninian attached to the cathedral church of Ross; and there was a chaplainry of St. Ninian attached to the cathedral church of Moray. There was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian on the Castle-hill of Aberdeen; and there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian at the west port of Linlithgow. In the parish of St. Vigeans there were a chapel and a burying-ground dedicated to St. Ninian, and near them is St. Ninian's well, which was formerly in great repute for curing many maladies. Stat. Account, v. xii., p. 183. In the isle of Bute there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian, which stood on a promontory called Runa-Ringan, the point of St. Ninian. In one of the Shetland isles, on the west coast of Dunrossness, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian, and this islet was called Ringan isle, or St. Ninian's isle. Sibbald's Shetland, p. 15. In different maps it is called Ronan's isle, or Ringan's isle. As *Ringan* is the Irish name of *Ninian*, we may easily suppose that this name has been applied, and this chapel erected, by some of the zealous Columbans who may have visited *Thule* for the worthy purpose of instructing the pagan Shetlanders in the religion of Christ. Thus St. Ninian

day his festival was for ages celebrated in remembrance of a prelate who had spent a long life in instructing the intellects and refining the manners of a rude people.

Ninian had probably the province of Valentia for his diocese (*m*). The Roman citizens who lived within its ample limits had been generally converted to christianity before the abdication of the Roman power. The firmness of their faith was somewhat shaken, however, during the fierce contests which followed that great event for the possession of the Valentian country, rather than for the abdicated power. Kentigern, the deserving disciple of Servan, appeared among the Romanized Britons about the middle of the sixth century. Under the protection of Marken, the petty king of the Strathclyud Britons, Kentigern fixed his residence at Alcluyd, the capital of the Cumbrian kingdom; but the authority of Marken, and the jurisdiction of Kentigern, were soon regarded as inconsistent with each other; and from the wrath of the king the prelate was obliged to flee for safety into Wales. He was not long after relieved from the enmity of his persecutor by the death of Marken. He was now recalled to the seat of his usefulness by Rederech the bountiful; but he died on the 13th of January, 601, after performing, for the improvement of the people, all that zeal could suggest or perseverance could execute. Such were the religious labours of Kentigern, which induced his votaries to consider him as the founder of the diocese of Glasgow, to whom its cathedral was dedicated under the endearing name of Mungo, as his meritorious services were still remembered at the end of six centuries of obscure recollection (*n*).

appears to have been venerated in every district of North-Britain, in the northern as well as in the western isles. Tradition repeats that Ninian occasionally inhabited a cave, which is still shown with veneration, on the sea shore near the house of Physgil, in Wigtonshire. Stat. Account, v. xvii., p. 594.

(*m*) Bede, Hist. 1. i., cap. ii.

(*n*) Usher's Primord., 8vo ed., p. 708, 1154; Innes's Eccles. Hist. MS. in my library; the Inquest of David, Prince of Cumbria, 1116 A.D., in the Chartulary of Glasgow. For the parentage of Kentigern, see the Welsh Archæology, v. ii., p. 34, among the genealogies of the *British* saints. The Rev. Thomas Maccourty, in his Stat. Account of the parish of Penicuik, v. x., p. 419, says *Mungo* in the *Norwegian* language signifies *dear friend*. If he had substituted *British* for *Norwegian*, he would not have been far wrong; for the word *Mungo* has nearly that signification in the Welsh. *Mwyn* in the British is kind, gentle, courteous, affable. Owen's Dict.; and *Mwynu* or *Mynogan* signifies a courteous or mild person. Owen. To Kentigern, or Mungo, many places in North-Britain owe their names. On the winding shore of the Forth, near the town of Culross, there is the ruin of St. Mungo's chapel, which legend states to have been built near the place of his birth. According to it, Kentigern was the son of Eugene III., the king of Scots,

During the first ages of christianity, before the christian votaries had yet been formed into a regular church which could afford protection to its pastors, their most early teachers were obliged to seek shelter in caves from the heady rudeness of half-informed followers. A cave upon the sea shore of Glasserton, in Wigtonshire, furnished such a retreat to the worthy Ninian (*o*). In the vicinity of Campbeltown, in Kintyre, there is a remarkable cave, which is said by legend to have been the retreat of Ciaran, the apostle of the Scoto-Irish, and which still bears his name in the tradition of the country (*p*). We may thus trace to its origin the cause why so many of the names of parishes in North-Britain and Ireland have in them the prefix Kil, from the British *Cil*, a *retreat*, a refuge; and the Irish *Kil*, signifying, secondarily, a church. Near the chapel of Cove, in Knapdale, there is a consecrated cave, which gives a name to the farm, where the altar and font still remain, with a cross that is cut in the solid rock above (*q*). At St. Andrews, the ancient retreat of St. Rule and St. Andrew, there are several caves, which were anciently dedicated to religious uses by sanctimonious men (*r*).

by an illegitimate intercourse with Thamit, the daughter of Loth, the king of the Picts; and he was educated, according to it, under St. Serf at Culross, in a hermitage, which was converted into a religious house. The chapel of St. Mungo at Culross had two established chaplains, who were supported by an endowment of some lands in Strathearn, which were at the Reformation bestowed by the king on the college of Glasgow. Stat. Account, v. xviii., p. 649. The parish church of St. Mungo in Annandale, obtained its present name, no doubt, from its connection with the see of Glasgow. In the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116 A.D., this parish was found to belong to this diocese under the British name of *Abermelc*. The parish church of Pen-y-cuik in Edinburghshire, was dedicated to St. Mungo; and a spring in the minister's garden is still called St. Mungo's well. Stat. Account, v. x., p. 419. In Auchterarder parish, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Mungo, the remains of which may still be seen. Ib., vol. iv., p. 44. The spring, which is the source of Ruthven water in Blackford Parish, is called St. Mungo's well. Ib. v. iii., p. 205. In the parish of Huntly in Aberdeenshire, there is a hill named after St. Mungo, from which issues a fine spring, which is called St. Mungo's well. Ib. v. ii., p. 469.

(*o*) Stat. Account, v. xvii., p. 594. This retreat is still called *St. Ninian's Cave*.

(*p*) Ib. v. x., p. 534. The most ancient church at Campbeltown was dedicated to St. Ciaran, and hence it had the name of Kil-kerran. From him was derived the name of Kil-kerran in Ayrshire.

(*q*) Stat. Account, v. xix., p. 314.

(*r*) Ib. v. xiii., p. 202. At St. Andrews, between the castle and the harbour, there is an artificial cave, nearly round, about ten feet diameter and the same in height. On the east side of it the rock is shaped into the form of a table or altar; and on the west side of it, there is an aperture of the size and shape of a door, which leads into a small closet that faint tradition recounts to have been the *cell* of a hermit. The access to this curious cave is now very difficult. There is also a similar excavation or cave in the face of the rock whereon the castle stands, the lamentable monument of ecclesiastic pride and of reforming fury.

Ireland, which was destined to furnish religious instructors to the Caledonian regions, was herself converted by British missionaries as early as A.D. 432 (*s*); and the Irish colonists who were conducted to Kintyre by Fergus in 503 A.D., were thus enabled to bring christianity with them, and to interweave it with their polity. The religion which was professed by those founders of the Scottish monarchy, “was for substance the same with what is now by public “authority maintained against the foreign doctrine of later times (*t*).” The ecclesiastical patron of the Irish emigrants was Ciaran, a prelate of great fame, to whose name several churches in Argyll and Ayrshire were dedicated (*u*); but the Irish colonists seem to have been too much occupied with their own temporal affairs, to allow them leisure for making converts beyond the narrow extent of their little kingdom.

The converting of the Northern Picts was reserved for a greater personage. As he came not to destroy but to save, and not to conquer but to civilize, Columba will always be remembered as the disinterested benefactor of North-Britain. Born of a family of the highest rank in Ireland, the cousin of Scoto-Irish kings, Columba early dedicated his life to religion during a religious period: and being involved in the troubles of a tumultuous people, he departed from Ireland for the colony of his kindred in A.D. 563, at the age of forty-two, after founding several monasteries in his native land.

The year 305 may be considered as the epoch of Monkism. Then it was that Anthony of Egypt thought it meritorious to retire into the depth of the desert from the enjoyments of the world, for the practice of austerity. As early as A.D. 341 his follies were admired, and his perseverance was imitated at Rome. In A.D. 360 Basil propagated his fame, and imitated his example in Pontus. The merit of Monkism now found its way into Western Europe; and Martin laid the foundation of a monastery at Tours, which exhibited a strict regimen to

(*s*) Lloyd's Hist. Account of Church Government, p. 50.

(*t*) Archbishop Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and Scots, p. 2.

(*u*) Ciaran, the patron saint of the Scoto-Irish, as he was the son of a carpenter, was nicknamed Mac-Iteir [MacCheaird], the son of the artificer. He was born in 516; he founded the abbey of Clonmacnois on the river Shannon in 548; and within this house he died in the subsequent year, on the 9th of September, the day of his festival. Harris's Ware, v. i., p. 165-179; Monast. Hibern., p. 380. Keith, though right as to his festival, calls him St. Queran, an Abbot in Scotland, A.D. 876. List of Bishops, p. 233. The ruins of Kil-kerran, a church dedicated to Ciaran, is still to be seen in Campbeltown in Kintyre. At Kil-kieran in Islay, Kil-kieran in Lismore, and Kil-kerran in Carrick, there were chapels dedicated to Ciaran, from whom the names are derived. An islet on the coast of Lorn also bears the name of Kieran.

admiring zealots, and taught new rules to similar establishments. So agreeable were the spirit and practice of monkery to the temper of those times, that the monastery of Banchor contained two thousand brethren at the commencement of the fifth century, and thence was sent out a numerous colony among the congenial tribes of the sister island (*x*).

With this spirit Columba seems to have been greatly tinctured, while he was actuated by the best intentions. For the site of the monastery which was designed by him to be the school of the Caledonian people, he cast his eyes on a solitary isle lying in the Scottish sea near the south-west angle of Mull (*y*). Whether the investiture of Hy was conferred on Columba by Conal, his relation, the Scottish king, or Bridei, the Pictish sovereign, is a question which has been disputed between the Irish annalists and the Anglo-Saxon historian. Probability has decided in favour of the first. It was doubtless considerations of security which dictated the choice of such isles near the shores of Ireland, of Scotland, and of England as the safest situations for religious establishments during barbarous times. The foresight of the founders was ill placed. When the savage Danes became, during the eighth and ninth centuries, the most powerful navigators of the northern seas, such monasteries were only the objects of their avarice.

In Hy Columba settled with his twelve disciples. *They now neither sought nor loved any thing of this world*, as Bede relates (*z*). They laboured two years with their own hands in erecting huts and building a church of very slight materials. The Columbans, though they were called *monks*, were a body of regular clergy, except those who were chiefly employed in corporal labour, and

(*c*) See an Historical Account of Monkism in Gibbon's Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp., 8vo. ed., vol. vi., p. 241-6; Camden's Brit., v. i., p. 666-7; Lloyd's Ch. Government, p. 156.

(*y*) The name of the chosen spot was simply the Irish *I*, signifying an island. The *I* of the Gaelic was soon aspirated by the Saxon Bede into *Ily*. From the troublesome surf which constantly beat upon its shores, it was naturally called by the Irish *I-thon*, the island of waves, and this being pronounced I-on, was by the monks easily latinized *Iona*; and we may see it written by Adamnan, one of the successors and the biographer of Columba, *Hyona*. Yet may we hear mythologists talking of *Iona* in its pure form as being a Phœnician word. It soon became known by the name of *I-columb-cil*, the isle of Columba's retreat or cell. This isle, which is now two miles distant from Mull, was anciently separated from it by a much narrower frith, as we may infer from the information of contemporary writers, who tell us that passengers used to speak across the strait from Mull to Hy. This islet is at present two miles long and one broad, and is fertile in all that a rugged climate produces. See the Stat. Account, v. xix., p. 314, wherein there are some intimations to show that Columba first landed in Knapdale, an event which is quite improbable.

(*z*) Bede, l. iii., ch. v., p. 26; Adamnan, l. i., ch. xxxii., lib. ii., ch. xxxix.

those who were consigned to public penance. They lived under the strict discipline which Columba had established as the rule of his monasteries. Amidst all their labours, both bodily and intellectual, they employed much time in reading and transcribing the *Scriptures*, not indeed in the *Hebrew verity*, but in the *Latin translation* (z).

After thus forming his establishment, Columba undertook the difficult enterprise of converting a people, those Picts who dwelt northward of Drum-Albin. The power of prophecy, the gift of miracles, which were arrogated by Columba, and are related by his biographers, are proofs of the ignorance and simplicity of the age. The Picts consisted of clans who had advanced little from a savage state, and who were governed by Bridei, the son of Mailcon, a prince of great influence, but of little civilization (a). The patience and perseverance of Columba converted the king; and the prince, by his persuasion and authority, converted the people. Columba and his disciples now journeyed, for the useful end of instruction, through every part of the Pictish territories, and even penetrated into the Orkney Isles. They at length established monasteries within every district of the Caledonian country while parishes did not yet exist, with the design of sending out a succession of adequate instructors for the uninformed people (b).

Such were probably the cells which were subject to the abbey of Hy, and were situated throughout the western islands, as well as on the shores of the

(z) "As for the *edition* of the *Scriptures* which was used in those parts in those times," says Archbishop Usher, "the *Latin translation* was so received into common use among the learned, "that the principal authority was still reserved to the original fountains." *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 6.

(a) Bridei, the son of Mailcon, began to reign in A.D. 556, and died in 586. Bede speaks of Bridei as the powerful king of the Picts. "Venit autem Britanniam Columba, regnante Pictis "Bridio filio Mailochon, Rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus, gentem que illam verbo et "exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit." Lib. iii., ch. iv.; Innes's *Eccles. Hist.* MS. in my library, § 43.

(b) Innes's *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, § 44; Bede, lib. iii., ch. iv.; Adamnan, lib. ii., ch. xlvi. The numbers and distances of the churches which were dedicated to Columba are proofs in confirmation of Bede, and Adamnan, and Innes of the extent of his authority, and of the influence of his name. There are Kilcolmkill, the oldest church and burying-ground in Morven; Kilcolmkill, in South Cantire; Kilcolmkill, in Mull; Kilcolmkill, in Islay-Island; Kilcolmkill, on the north-west of the same isle; Kilcolmkill, in North Uist; Kilcolmkill, in Benbecula; Kilcolmkill, in Skye; Kilcolmkill, in Sutherland; Colmkill, in Lanark; there are Columbkil-isle, in Loch Erisport, in Lewis; Columbkil-isle, in Loch Columbkil, whereon there are the remains of a monastery dedicated to St. Columba; Inch Colm, in the Frith of Forth, on which a monastery was founded by Alexander I. A.D. 1123, and dedicated to St. Columba; Eilean Colm, a small

eastern sea, and even in Orkney (c). Columba, as abbot of Hy, acquired an unusual jurisdiction within his island, whereof he was proprietor, and perhaps within the various cells whereof he was superior. From an intimation of Bede, it has been supposed by prejudice that the abbot of Hy was even superior to a bishop. A prelate, living on Iona, was no doubt subordinate to the abbot, though only a presbyter, as chief of the monastery and as lord of the soil, in the same manner as the bishop of Oxford, while he resides within the jurisdiction of the University, is subordinate to the vice-chancellor (d). Yet neither Columba nor his successors could perform the functions of a bishop, while they continued obedient to ecclesiastical authority, as it was established at the Nicene Council in A.D. 325, and confirmed by universal practice. For the performance of such functions, as the power of a prelate alone could execute in that age, a bishop is said to have resided within the abbey (e). The settled laws of a community are its truest history; and it is from this genuine source of information that zealous episcopalians are led to believe the existence of

island in Tongue parish; there was formerly St. Colm's Kirk, in the island of Sanday, in Orkney. See the Map of Orkney in Blaeu's Atlas. There is St. Colm's Isle in the Minch, on the south-east of Lewis, which, with St. Mary's Isle and some other islands, are called the *Shiant* Isles, and in Gaelic *Eileanan Sheanta*, which means the blessed or consecrated islands. The parish church of Lonmay, in Aberdeenshire, was dedicated to St. Columba. There is the parish of Kirkcolm in Wigtonshire. In the parish of Caerlaverock there was a chapel dedicated to St. Columba; to him was dedicated one of the chaplainries which was attached to the cathedral of Moray. The original church of Dunkeld, which was built by Kenneth MacAlpin for the reception of the relics of St. Columba, was dedicated to St. Columba, who became the patron saint of the see, and of the town of Dunkeld. Keith, under the 9th of June, has St. Colme an abbot and confessor in Scotland A.D. 605. List of Bishops, p. 232. But St. Columba certainly died in 597 on the 9th of June. Indeed, Keith has another St. Colm, a bishop and confessor in Scotland A.D. 1000, under the 6th of June. Id. In Dempster's Menologia, under the 6th of June, there is "Kirkue Colmi oreadam apostoli;" and in Dempster's Nomenclature of Scottish Writers there is St. Colmus Epis. Orcad. 1010 A.D. The St. Colm's Kirk in the isle of Sanday, in Orkney, was perhaps named from this St. Colm, who was the apostle of the Orkneys at the end of the tenth century. In the *Vetera Analecta* of Mabillon, v. ii., p. 669, there is an *Anglican Litany* of the seventh century, according to the judicious opinion of the learned editor. We may see in it St. Patric, St. Brendan, St. Gilda, St. Guinwaloc, St. Munn, St. Servan, St. *Columelle*, and the virgins St. Columba and St. Briged. But there is in it no *St. Colm*, nor indeed any of those respectable persons who were sainted after the seventh century.

(c) There is in Orkney, Eglishay Isle, containing a very ancient church, which obviously derived its name from the Irish *Eaglais*, a church. These coincidences confirm the intimations of Adamnan, that Columba sent his disciples into Orkney to convert the pagan Scandinavians.

(d) Bede, lib. iii., ch. iv.; Lloyd's Hist. Account of Church Government, ch. vii.

(e) Usher indeed informs us, from the Ulster Annals, that not only an abbot, but a bishop, resided in Hy. Eccles. Primord., 8vo. ed., p. 701. Colgan's Collections confirm this position as a fact.

bishops among the Scots and Picts, to have been coeval with the introduction of Christianity (*f*). Ternan is declared by tradition, and stated by history, to have been the first bishop of the Picts, and to have resided at Abernethy, the Pictish capital, as he had the Pictish kingdom for his appropriate diocese (*g*).

Columba, during four-and-thirty years of active benevolence, continued to send out his pastors to inform the ignorant, to superintend the cells which his policy had established, and to compose the hasty disputes of rugged chieftains. The contemporary princes often felt the influence of his councils, and sometimes profited from the interposition of his authority. Conal, the fifth king of the Scots in Argyll, to whom, as a relation, Columba owed the reception of a friend, and the gift of Hy, died in 571. Aidan, the successor of Conal,

(*f*) Innes gives from a MS. Kalendar and Missal of the diocese of St. Andrews, which belonged to the Viscount Arbutnot, and from the printed breviary of Aberdeen, 1509, the following list of the earliest bishops: "S. Nachtan or Nathalan, a bishop, January 8th. at Tulich in Mar; "S. Wollock or Macwollock, a bishop, January 29th, at Logy in Mar; S. Glascian, a bishop, "30th January, at Kinglass, etc.: S. Modock, a bishop, 31st January, at Kilmodock; S. Mar-
"nan, a bishop, 1st March; S. Duthack, a bishop, 8th March, who was famous in Ross: S.
"Ronan, a bishop, May 22nd, at Kilmaronack, in Lenox; S. Colmack, a bishop, June 6th; S.
"Molock or Molonach, a bishop, June 25th, at Lysmore in Argyle; July 1st, S. Servan or
"Serf, a bishop; August 10th, S. Blan, a bishop at Dunblain; August 24th, S. Yrchard, a
"bishop at Kincairn-O'neil; September 1st, S. Murdach, a bishop; September 22nd, S. Lolan,
"a bishop; September 25th, S. Bar or Finbar, a bishop at Kilbar, in the Isle of Barra and in
"Cathness; September 28th, S. Machan, a bishop; October 16th, S. Colman, a bishop; October
"28th, S. Marnock, a bishop; October 30th, S. Talurican or Tarkin, a bishop; November 13th,
"S. Devenick, a bishop at Banchory-Devenick; November 18th, S. Fergusian or Fergus, a
"bishop; December 2nd, S. Ethernan, a bishop; December 18th, S. Manir, a bishop; Decem-
"ber 22nd, S. Ethernase, a bishop." But Innes was unable to reduce this list to any chronology, which was doubtless impossible, or to give any of them a diocese, which did not in that age exist. Yet the Topographical Dictionary will show that there exists in Scotland various names of churches which were undoubtedly dedicated to several of those bishops as sincere tributes of thankful recollection. Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist., § 25. It was altogether consistent with the universal practice of the church in the earliest ages to consecrate bishops who did not enjoy distinct jurisdictions.

(*g*) Innes asserts in his MS. Eccles. Hist., § 24, that Ternanus is recorded as the first bishop of the Picts in the only copy which he had met with of the MS. missal of the metropolitan church of St. Andrews, and is named both in the kalendar and in the collect, "S. Terrenanus archipre-
"sul & archiepiscopus Pictorum." His festival was on the 12th of June. The parish of Ban-
chory-Ternan, in Kincardineshire, was no doubt named from the Pictish Bishop. One of the two annual fairs, which are held near the church, is called S. Ternan's Market, and a small fountain at no great distance is named S. Ternan's Well. S. Ternan must not be confounded with S. Ethernan whose festival was celebrated on the 2nd of December. Innes quotes the Book of Paisley for the intimation that Abernethy was the seat both of the Pictish kings and the Pictish bishops.

thinking that the solemnity of inauguration might contribute to the stability of his power, passed over to the sacred isle for obtaining his object, whether of policy or religion; and here in 574 was the king *ordained* and *inaugurated* by the abbot, according to the ceremonial of the *liber vitreus* (*h*). Bridei, who owed to Columba his own conversion and his people's civilization, died in A.D. 586, after a reign of thirty years. Gartnaich his successor, who was also indebted to Hy for the teachers of his subjects, died in 597. With Columba was also contemporary Ryderech the king of Stratheluyd, who partook of the abbot's councils for the benefit of his country. Columba died on the 9th of June 597, leaving his monastery firmly settled, a people converted by his labours from Paganism to Christianity, and a name for the celebration of every age (*i*).

(*h*) Adamnan, lib. iii., ch. v. F. Martene, a learned Benedictine, observes in his book, “*De Anti-quis Ecclesie Ritibus*,” that this inauguration of Aidan is the most ancient account that, after all his researches, he had found in respect to the *benediction* or *inauguration* of kings, which are the names that Adamnan gives to this royal ceremony. The cover of the *Liber Vitreus* is supposed to have been encrusted with crystal. Innes's MS. Eccles. History, § 49.

(*i*) Yet does Mr. Faber, by a plastic stroke of his mythological wand, convert Columba from being a real man to be a fictitious dove. Dissertation on the Cabiri, 398, 403. Happy! if our mythologists, while they cannot illustrate the dark if they would not darken the clear. I will here subjoin from Colgan's Triad. Thaum. App. v. § 4. an enumeration of Columba's successors throughout the present period, as I find the document in Innes's MS. Collections :

1. Baithan, the son of Brendan, and Columba's disciple, succeeded him as Abbot of Iona, and died the 9th of June 600 A.D.
2. Lafren, the son of Ferndach, died in September 601 A.D.
3. Fergnan, who was surnamed Britannicus, a Bishop and abbot of Hy, died the 2nd of March 622 A.D.
4. Segenius, who founded the church of Rechran, died in 630 A.D.
5. Segenius, the son of Fiacre, died in 651 A.D. : his festival was the 12th of August.
6. Suibnie, the son of Curthrie, died in 654 A.D.
7. Cumineus died in 668 A.D. : his festival was on the 24th of February.
8. Feilbei died on the 22nd of March 677 A.D.
9. Adamnan, the son of Ronan, died the 23rd September 703 A.D.
10. Conain, the son of Falbei, died the 11th September 708 A.D.
11. Ceudei, the bishop and abbot of Hy, died the 24th October 711 A.D.
12. Dorbonei, who had the cognomen of Conei, died the 28th of October 713 A.D.
13. Dunchad died the 25th of May 616 or 617. Bede, l. v. ch. xxiii.
14. Foelcho, who was instituted at the age of 74, died in 720 A.D.
15. Kilian, who had the cognomen of Long, died the 14th or 19th of April 725 A.D.
16. Kilian, who had the cognomen of Droich, died the 3rd of July 747 A.D.
17. Feiblei died at the age of 87, the 10th of March 757 A.D.

The institutions of Columba were not only beneficial to the northern Picts, but they were also advantageous to the northern English. The monastery of Hy furnished an asylum and instruction to those princes of Northumberland who were forced to seek for shelter from the revolutions of their country. Oswald, who had fled from the power of Edwin, found protection in Iona. Here was he instructed in the religion of Christ, and taught the Gaelic language of the Scoto-Irish monastery.

Oswald was carried from exile to a throne in A.D. 634. He had scarcely assumed the government of Northumberland, when, pitying the ignorance of his people, he wished for their instruction. He was induced by this motive to desire the abbot of Hy to send him a bishop who might teach the Northumbrians the enlivening truths of Christianity. A prelate was sent, who, as his temper and knowledge were unfit for the difficult task of converting an irascible people, soon returned to the obscurity of Hy. Aidan, a monk of the same learned establishment, who possessed better habits and more useful accomplishments, now offered himself to the desires of Oswald. Aidan was thereupon consecrated for the Northumbrian mission. The king marked his approbation of him, by giving the prelate for his episcopal seat the isle of Lindisfarne on the Northumbrian coast, which is now known by the appropriate name of *Holy Island*. The Scottish Aidan, as he did not perfectly understand the English language, found some embarrassment in preaching to the people of Northumbria, which was wholly inhabited by the Anglo-Saxons in that early age; but Oswald, as he understood the Gaelic, was prompted by his zeal to act as interpreter between the preacher and his people (*k*). Aidan was soon followed by other teachers from the same school. The subjects of the pious Oswald were universally converted by the Scottish missionaries, and churches were

18. Sleibnie died the 4th of March 762 A.D.

19. Suibnei II. died in 767 A.D. : his festival was on the 22d of June.

20. Muredach, the son of Huagal, died in 777 A.D.

21. Bressaliei died in 786 : his festival was the 18th of May or 30th September.

22. Conmaec, the abbot, and a learned writer, died in 797 : his festival was the 10th of May.

23. Kellach, the son of Congal, died in 810 A.D. : his festival was the 1st April.

24. Diarmid died in 816 A.D. : his festival was the 12th or 20th September.

25. Blathmac, the son of Flan, was slain by the Danes in 823 : his festival was the 19th January.

26. Cellach, the son of Abldi, died in 863 A.D. : his festival was the 18th July.

(*k*) Caxton in his *Chronicon*, 1482. tells this story from Bede, l. iii., cap. iv., in the following manner : "Kinge Oswald axed of the Scottes : and had it graunted that bisshop Aidanus scholde come " and teche his people : thenne the kyinge yave him a place of the bisshops see in the Ylonde Lynde-farn ; there men might see wonder : for the bisshop prechid in Scottishe, and the kyinge tolde forth " in Englyshe to the people what it was to saye, or meene." See fo. ccxvi.

built in many places for the ecclesiastical accommodation of a people, who displayed the usual fervour of recent converts (*l*).

The foundation of the monastery and episcopate of Lindisfarne, has for its epoch A.D. 635. The northern limits of this bishopric extended far into Roxburgh and Lothian during the middle ages (*m*). Melrose also owes its original foundation to Aidan. Coldingham, Tynningham, and Abercorn, were probably founded under the reign of Oswald, which extended from 634 to 643 A.D. Those religious houses possessed certain lands, with their labourers, during a period when parochial rights seem to have been unknown in North-Britain. The language that was commonly spoken in those times, throughout the extensive bishopric of Lindisfarne, was the Anglo-Saxon, which, on the subduement of the Romanized Ottadini, succeeded to the British tongue (*n*).

(*l*) Bede, ed. Smith, lib. iii., ch. iii., 5, 6.

(*m*) The boundaries of Lindisfarne, according to an ancient book which is quoted in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. ii., p. 366. extended *beyond* the Tweed from its distant source, comprehending the country lying between the Leader water and the Adder, from their rise to their confluences, with the whole lands that belonged to the monastery of St. Balthar at Tynningham, together with the country extending from Lammermoor to Eskmouth. By a grant of the Northumbrian Ceolwulf, who reigned from 729 to 738 A.D., there were annexed to the same bishopric the monastery of Abercorn and other places lying on the west of Edinburgh. On the *south* of the Tweed the same bishopric enjoyed Jedworth from the donation of Bishop Ecgredius, its founder, during the same age. *Lel. Col.* vol. iii., p. 181; *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii., p. 698. Simeon of Durham, and Brompton both concur with this specification.

(*n*) That interesting fact will appear with sufficient certainty when to the previous history we add the curious circumstance that Cuthbert, the celebrated founder of the bishopric of Durham, who was born on Tweedside and bred in the monastery of Melrose, often travelled from the Tweed to the Forth, and always instructed the people by means of their peculiar language. *Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist.*, sub an. 664. Bede has left us an intelligent life of Cuthbert from the information of those who knew that celebrated personage. Yet has the Scoto-Saxon Cuthbert been claimed by the Irish antiquary as an Irishman. *Ledwich's Antiq.* Cuthbert died on the 20th of March, 687. *Smith's Bede*, p. 256. We may judge of the influence which was annexed to the person of St. Cuthbert from the ancient churches which were erected in the southern districts of North-Britain under the shelter of his name. The West Kirk of Edinburgh, which is certainly one of the oldest, was dedicated to St. Cuthbert. Kirkcudbright, in Galloway, derives its name from St. Cuthbert, to whom the oldest church of that town was dedicated. In Glencairn, Dumfriesshire, there was a church dedicated to the same patron saint, and named Kirkcudbright. The old parish church of Ballantrae, in Carrick, was dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and was named Kirkcudbright. In the parish of Sorn, Ayrshire, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and the field where it stood is still called St. Cuthbert's-Holm. From those notices we may even trace the obscure colonization of the Saxon invaders.

At the end of seventeen years of useful labours, in conveying to the Northumbrians the comforts of Christianity, Aidan died in A.D. 651. He was followed by the worthy Finnan, another monk of Hy, who, during ten years, copied the meritorious example of Aidan. In A.D. 661, Colman, who also owed his instruction and his principles to Hy, succeeded to Finnan as bishop of Lindisfarne. His repose was still more disturbed than the quiet of his predecessor had been, by the disputes concerning the true time of celebrating the Easter Festival, and the proper mode of cutting the clerical tonsure. An attention to the public tranquillity required that such debates, whatever might be their importance should be settled. For this salutary end, Oswy called an ecclesiastical council at Streanshal in A.D. 664 (*o*). Questions which had formerly exercised the talents of the ablest divines of the Roman empire were now debated by Colman and Wilfrid. The bishop of Lindisfarne defended the ancient mode of the Scoto-Irish, from the practice of their fathers. The presbyter, Wilfrid, who having travelled to Rome, knew the customs of the continental churches, insisted that the calculations whereon the Columbans as well as the Britons, proceeded in the celebration of Easter, were neither consistent with just theory, nor agreeable to the universal usage (*p*). The tonsure of the British and Scottish ecclesiastics was declared by him to be a Jewish, rather than a Christian mode. Oswy decided in favour of Wilfrid. Colman, finding his opinions contested and his usefulness contemned, relinquished his bishopric, and retired with his disciples to Hy. On the retreat of Colman, Bede is studious to remark that the whole time of the Scoto-Irish episcopacy, within the Northumbrian territories, extended to thirty years (*q*).

Changes of greater importance, were now at hand. Theodore, a Grecian by birth, and a scholar by profession, was consecrated at Rome in A.D. 668 the archbishop of Canterbury; and to him, for the first time, submitted all the churches of England, as he seemed to be worthy of such a trust, from his knowledge and prudence. In conformity to his direction, the first general council of the church of England was held at Hethfield in 673 A.D. It was on this occasion, and in that assembly determined, that each bishop should have his distinct district, and that the number of dioceses should be in propor-

(*o*) Bede, lib. v., ch. xxii.; Usher's *Eccles. Primord.*, p. 93.

(*p*) The rule for the celebration of Easter, which had been fixed by the Council of Nice in the year 325. is that it be held on the Sunday which falls upon or next after the full moon that happens next after the 21st of March; or in other words, the Sunday which falls upon or next after the first full moon after the vernal equinox.

(*q*) Bede, lib. iii., ch. xxvi., xxvii.

tion to the diffusion of Christianity. It was in obedience to this resolution that the diocese of the southern Picts was erected in 681 A.D., and that Trumwine was appointed the bishop of the new establishment, whose seat was at Abercorn on the Forth (*r*). Here he established, agreeably to the practice of the age, a monastery, whence he sent out his presbyters to perform the various functions which the practice of Christianity required. But the exercise of this salutary jurisdiction did not long continue. On the defeat and death of Egfrid, in A.D. 685, Trumwine found it necessary to retire with his monks from Abercorn to Whitby. The former authority of the episcopate of Lindisfarne, from that epoch, appears to have shed its beneficial influences over the relinquished people of the Saxon Lothian.

The same disputes about the time of celebrating Easter, and the mode of the ecclesiastic tonsure, which had agitated the ablest men of civilized countries, now disturbed the quiet of the northern Picts, the wisest of whom were but little instructed, while the weakest were very ignorant. Nechtan, their king, who reigned from A.D. 710 to 725, applied to Ceolfrid the learned abbot of Jarrow, for instruction and assistance. The abbot wrote the king an elaborate epistle upon those difficult topics, which the zeal of Bede has preserved (*s*). When the Saxon document of Ceolfrid was translated into the Pictish language, it appears to have made a great impression on Nechtan, and to have convinced or silenced the most learned of his ecclesiastics; and he was induced by his conviction of truth or his zeal of proselytism, to command that the Roman modes, with regard to both those points of discipline, should be learned and observed throughout his dominions (*t*). But ancient customs do not easily give way to legislative regulations; and many of the Columbanus, who officiated among the northern Picts, and adhered to their ancient practices, were expelled by the zealous Nechtan. Bede delights to tell, at the close of his history, that the nation of the Picts was at peace with the English people, and rejoiced in being made partakers of the Catholic verity with the universal church.

Nechtán, like the great Constantine, was also induced by his own temperament and the ignorance of his people, to request of Ceolfrid, the successor of Benedict Biscop, the improver of the Northumbrian regions, to send him ar-

(*r*) Bede, lib. iv., ch. xii.: Innes's MS. Eccles. Hist., sub. an. 668. 671. 681. Trumwine appears to have been a very active member of the Council of Twyford in A.D. 685, the proceedings of which he signed by the name of "Trumwine Pictorum Episcopus." Monast. Anglican, v. i., p. 46: Wilkins's Concilia, v. i., p. 56.

(*s*) Bede, lib. v., ch. xxii.

(*t*) Id.

chitects, in order to build a church after the *Roman manner*; he promised, indeed, to dedicate the sacred edifice to Saint Peter, and to follow the edifying mode of the apostolic worship. The architects were certainly sent (*u*), but whether any church was built, history and tradition are silent (*c*). In an age when Saint Andrew, the celebrated patron of North-Britain, was unknown, Saint Peter appears to have been little regarded. To his name, notwithstanding the assurances of Nechtan, few churches were dedicated either by the Picts or Scots, whatever there may have been to the more renowned Patrick, who owed his birth to the first people, and his celebrity to the last.

It is a singular event, which Bede considers as wonderful, that the Columbans who converted the Northumbrians to Christianity, should, by the Northumbrians, be converted to the *catholic rites of life*. At the end of eighty years from the mission of Aidan, Ecgberht had the eloquence to induce the monks of Hy, with their abbot Dunchad, to *rejoice in the certain knowledge of the catholic time of celebrating the Easter Festival* (*y*).

The zeal of the Northumbrians in that age, induced them to revive the neglected bishopric of Ninian at *Candida-Casa*. In A.D. 723, under the reign of Osric, and during the Episcopate of Wilfrid in York, was Pecthelme con-

(*u*) Bede is positive upon the point. Lib. v., ch. xxii.

(*c*) At Abernethy, in Strathearn, the supposed capital of the Picts, there is a very ancient church, which was built in an age that is beyond memory; but while its origin defies conjecture, it was certainly dedicated to Saint Brigid by the command of the zealous Nechtan. There is here also, as well as at Brechin, a *round tower* of great antiquity, and of very remarkable proportions, being eight feet two inches in diameter and seventy-two feet in height; but there are no such towers in Northumberland, while there are many such in Ireland. Ledwich's *Antiq. of Ireland*, p. 300. By those circumstances I am induced to think with Pennant that the tower at Abernethy was built by the Scots during the Scottish period. Pennant's *Tour*, v. ii., p. 166-183. The common Irish name for the *round towers* in Ireland is *Clogha*, which in the Gaelic literally signifies a *belfry*, from *clog*, a bell. Collect. Hibern., v. iii., p. 308; Lhuyd's *Arch.*; O'Brien. Many of those towers have for several centuries been used as belfries. Collect. Hibern. The fact is that the *round towers* are everywhere found adjoining to churches; and from all those circumstances it is more than probable that they were originally constructed for the purpose of belfries soon after the introduction of Christianity. It is certain that bells were in common use at every religious establishment in the British islands during the earliest ages of Christianity; and where there were bells there must have been belfries. Columba appears plainly to have introduced a bell into the monastery of Iona. Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, lib. i., cap. viii. They were thence, no doubt, introduced into all the Columban churches of the Caledonian regions. The use of bells was equally carried into Northumberland by the Columban bishops who taught the religion of Christ to the Northumbrian people. See Whitaker's *Hist. Manchester*, v. ii., p. 416, 4to edit.

(*y*) Bede, lib. v., ch. xxiii.

secrated bishop of Whithorn for the spiritual government of a confiding people (*z*). Pecthelme was succeeded during the eighth century by several prelates of equal prudence and greater energy (*a*). The anarchy which, in the Northumbrian territories, succeeded the assassination of Æthelred in A.D. 794, seems to have deprived Whithorn of its episcopal authority. From the commencement of the ninth century the people of that diocese appear to have submitted to the inconvenient jurisdiction of the bishop of Man, amidst the intrusions of various tribes and the confusions of disputed authorities.

Such was the introduction of Christianity into North-Britain, and such were the forms which it everywhere assumed during illiterate ages. On the continent *the church* had long acquired a complete establishment, and was generally governed by known canons, which, as they had been settled by universal consent, every Christian community was bound in the opinions of those times to obey. The greater authorities appear in the earliest times to have gone before the less. The apostles preceded bishops, bishops preceded presbyters, and presbyters went before deacons. Christianity existed before bishoprics, and bishoprics before parishes. Of this order we see the appearances in North-Britain during those ill-informed times; but at the end of the Pictish period, in 843 A.D., we neither perceive any parishes laid out nor observe any establishment settled; yet of the *Culdees*, who are supposed by polemics to have governed the churches in that period, inquiry cannot find the smallest trace (*b*).

With the introduction of Christianity is connected the practice of sepulture. The burning of the dead was an universal practice during Pagan times. This earliest usage was relinquished as Christianity prevailed. This change became general among the Romans during the age of the Antonines;

(*z*) Saville's *Chronologia*, ap. *Scriptores post Bedam*.

(*a*) The following is a chronological list of the earliest bishops of Whithorn: (1.) Pecthelme was appointed in 723, and died in 735. (2.) He was succeeded by Frithwald, who died in 763. (3.) He was followed by Pectwine, who died in 777. (4.) To him succeeded Æthelbert, who attended the council of Calcluth (*Spelman's Councils*, p. 289); and died in 790. (5.) He was succeeded by Eadwulf, who is said by Saville to have been the last of the bishops of Whithorn. (6.) Usher, however, has given Eadwulf a successor in Heathored, during the year 800. *Saville's Chronologia*, *Usher's Primord.*, p. 666. After this epoch, and during the anarchy in Northumberland, the Scots, coming from Ireland into Galloway, submitted themselves to the bishops of Man. *Usher's Primord.*, 666-7, 1172.

(*b*) The *Culdees* are not mentioned by Adamnan in his *Life of Columba*, nor by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*. The Scottish *Culdees* were first mentioned by Fordun in his *Scoti-chronicon* during the fourteenth century. *Lloyd's Church Government*, ch. vii. Boece improved on the Culdean fables of Fordun.

and the decent ceremony of burial had universally obtained in the time of Macrobius, who flourished under Theodosius, at the end of the fourth century (c). In A.D. 402 St. Chrysostom says there was not a Christian city, town, nor village in the world which had not a cemetery connected with them (d). In this fact the other fathers of the church agree with him, though it must be understood that the cemetery in those times of Christianity lay without the towns. The connection between cemeteries and churches seems to have been as early in this island as the building of such sacred edifices. The Christianized Britons had their cemeteries thus connected. The converted Saxons had their burial places equally conjoined with their churches soon after the arrival of Augustine with his missionaries; and we may easily suppose that the Christianized people of North-Britain in the same manner adopted the common practice by dedicating the church yards to the holy purpose of burying their deceased relatives (e).

In speaking of the topics in this chapter, we may perceive how much it is the business of history to follow mankind whatever may be their pursuits, either of colonization or warfare, of legislation or anarchy, of religion or fanaticism; to relate the events which were the consequences of their efforts, and to offer the instruction that results from their actions.

(c) See Dr. Woodward's letter to Sir Christopher Wren, 1712, 8vo; and Sir Thomas Brown on urn burial.

(d) Douglas's *Nenia*, p. 126.

(e) Whitaker's *Hist. Manchester*, v. ii., p. 411-12; Douglas's *Nenia*, p. 125. In fact, the Cambro-British term *Llan* was applied to the churchyard as an enclosure before it was appropriated to the church. Owen's *Dict. in voce*.

B O O K I I I .

THE SCOTTISH PERIOD. 843 to 1097 A. D.

CHAP. I.

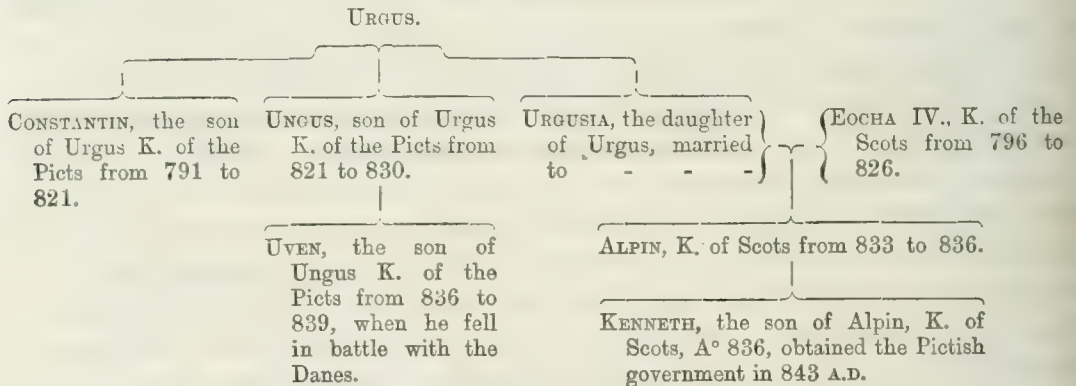
Of the Union of the Picts and Scots.

THE *Scottish Period* of this *Account of North-Britain*, extending from the accession of Kenneth MacAlpin in A.D. 843, to the demise of Donalbane in 1097, however dark, will be found to contain several events of great importance in the North-British annals. The union of two separate nations into one monarchy, as it augmented the power of both, and by the ascendancy of the Scots, gave at length their name to their common country, must be peculiarly interesting to rational curiosity. In this period we shall perceive the Strathclyde kingdom of the ancient Britons merge in the Scottish nation. We shall see, meantime, the ancient territories of the Selgovæ, the Novantes, and Damnii, colonized by successive emigrants from Ireland, who gave their settlements the name of *Galloway*; and who, by a strange fortune, became known under the appropriate appellation of the ancient Picts. Cumberland will be found to have sunk, after the suppression of its reguli, into an appendage of the Scottish crown by the doubtful ties of an obscure title. After some bloody struggles throughout this period of more than two centuries and a half, Lothian we shall see annexed to Scotland, by the lasting connection of rightful cession and mutual advantage. We shall behold the circumjacent isles to be at length felt as neighbours, and feared as opponents. It must be the business of this period then, to trace the history of all those countries and people from different sources; to illustrate their singular laws from new principles; to investigate their manners and customs from analogous proofs; and to ascertain their antiquities and language from a temperament of philology with interspersions of history.

Soon after the commencement of the ninth century, events occurred which led to the suppression of the Pictish government, and thereby effected the union of the Picts and Scots. sDiputes were indeed to be expected in a barbarous

age between irascible tribes, who having many motives of enmity, were often engaged in conflicts. In the eighth century, as we have seen, a civil war broke out among the Picts, which lasted with various fortune throughout a dozen years, and which proved fatal to their chieftains and princes, either in open battles or from deliberate assassination. These destructive conflicts were succeeded at intervals by civil contests among themselves, or by foreign wars with the Scots, which at once enfeebled and in the end annihilated the Pictish government. Those hostile collisions between the Picts and Scots were at length mitigated by the gentler ties of marriage. Eocha IV. the king of Scots, married Urgusia, the sister of the Pictish kings, Constantii and Ungus II. (a). Alpin, the issue of that marriage, did not live long enough to claim the Pictish sceptre in right of his mother on the disastrous, yet honourable demise of Uven in 839 A.D. He left a son, however, who knew his rights, and had spirit and power to enforce them (b). Kenneth, the son of Alpin, an enterprising warrior, found the Pictish people involved in domestic and in foreign war. After the expulsion and deaths of Drest and Talorgan in 836, Uven ascended their shattered throne; but he honourably lost his life and sceptre in a bloody conflict with the Danes, who had invaded his unhappy people in 839 A.D. (c).

(a) The genealogical sketch which is subjoined will explain the family connections of the two royal families much more distinctly than any narrative :



(b) Innes' Critical Essay, v. i., p. 141; and we must on this occasion recollect what Bede relates, a contemporary writer, who knew what he states to have been the Pictish constitution in his own time, "that as often as the succession was in doubt, they should choose their king rather of the next of the "house of the woman than of that of the man." Lib. i., cap. i.

(c) In 839, saith the Ulster Annals, a battle by the Gals (Danes) upon Fortren men (the Picts), wherein fell Owen MacAongus and Bran Mac-Angus (Uven the son of Ungus, and Bran the son of Ungus), Aod Mac Bran, and a multitude of their followers.

It was the death of Uven, the male heir of the Pictish crown, which opened the prospect of the succession to Kenneth, a grandson of Urgusia. The Pictish Uven, the Owen of the Irish chroniclers, was succeeded in the government of a distracted people by Wrad, who, at the end of three years of disturbed administration, died in 842. He was followed both in his government and misfortunes by Bred, who was slain at Forteviot, the seat of his power, in 843. In the quick succession of those events we may easily perceive the distraction of the Pictish affairs, which led on to the annihilation of the Pictish authority by the overpowering efforts of the enterprizing Kenneth.

During such confusions amidst a rude people, whose forms of government were little fixed and whose laws were less regarded, the loss of a battle or the death of a king was an adequate cause of an important revolution. Of all those events Kenneth dexterously took advantage, and finding no competitor, he easily stepped into the vacant throne. In his person a new dynasty began. The king was changed, but the government remained the same. The Picts and Scots, who were a congenial people, from a common origin, and spoke cognate tongues, the British and Gaelic readily coalesced. Yet has it been asserted by ignorance and believed by credulity, that Kenneth made so bad an use of the power which he had adroitly acquired, as to destroy the whole Pictish people in the wantonness of his cruelty. But to enforce the belief of an action which is in itself inhuman, and had been so inconsistent with the interest of a provident sovereign, requires stronger proofs than the assertions of uninformed history or the report of vague tradition (*a*). The Picts continued throughout the present period to be mentioned by contemporary authors (*b*), because they still acted a conspicuous part, though they were governed by a new race, and were united with a predominant people.

Yet is it doubted by modern scepticism whether the Scots conquered the Picts or the Picts overcame the Scots (*c*). Doubts may be entertained indeed as to the particular circumstances which are supposed to have attended that important revolution; but whether Kenneth, the Scottish king, overturned the Pictish government and united the two people as the two families of the

(*a*) Innes has employed upwards of twenty pages of erudite investigation to refute that absurd story of systematic writers. *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 145-166.

(*b*) Asser. Ap., Gale, fol. 165, sub an. 875; Sax. Chron., ed. Gibson, p. 83; Ethelred Ap., Savill, cap. iii.; and the Appendix to Nennius, Tigernac, and the Ulster Annals, as quoted by Usher. Primord., fol. ed., p. 375.

(*c*) Enquiry into the History of Scotland, 1789, vol. ii., p. 149-174. The late edition of Sibbald's *History of Fife* upon the doubtful authority of the Enquiry.

kings were already united, there can be no reasonable question. The ancient chronicles, the constant tradition, and a thousand facts all uniformly speak of those events as certain; as indeed the consequences would demonstrate by the interesting union of two hostile nations, who in future formed one people that inhabited a common country (*d*).

(*d*) The *Chronica Pictorum* which Innes published in the App. to his Crit. Essay, No. ii., from the Colbertine Library, mentions Bred, who was slain at Forteviot in 843, as *the last king* of the *Picts*. The ancient Chronicon of the Scottish kings from Kenneth, the son of Alpin, to Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, which Innes has published in his App. No. iii. from the Colbertine Library, also asserts that the son of Alpin reigned sixteen years over *Pictavia*. The Chronicle in the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews (Inn. App. No. v.) speaks of the translation of the Scottish kings into the kingdom of the Picts. The *Chronicon Rythmicum* (Innes' App. No. vi.) asserts the same fact in other language. The document (Innes's App. No. i.) *De Situ Albanix*, in the same manner, states the same event in terms equally explicit. Fordun may be safely called as a witness to *the same tradition*. Hearne's ed., lib. iv., cap. ii. iii. Wyntoun also speaks to the same point in the language of his age:

“Quhen Alpyne this kyng wes dede,
 “He left a sowne was cal'd Kyned:
 “Dowchty man he wes and stowt;
 “All the Peychtis he put owt
 “Gret Bataylis, than dyd he
 “To pwt in fredume his cuntrè.”

Wyntoun goes on to show that “Kyned browcht the Scottis owt of Ergyle; and quhare that “the Peychtis had before than thair dwellyng he gert thame dwell, and wes thair king, in “A.D. 843.” But the maps of Fife, Perth, Forfar, the Mearns, and Aberdeen, which were the appropriate countries of the Picts, are *the records* which have transmitted *the thousand facts* that are mentioned in the text. They prove that the greatest number of the names of places in those eastern shires are significant in the Scoto-Irish language which was ingrafted on the Cambro-British, and in no other tongue, as the dictionaries both of the Celtic and Teutonic demonstrate. The *thousand facts*, then, are decisive with regard to the doubt whether the Scots overcame the Picts or the Picts conquered the Scots, for those places could only have received their Scoto-Irish names after the Scots overran those countries subsequent to the epoch of 843 A.D.

CHAP. II.

Of the Extent and Names of the United Kingdoms.

THE union of the Picts with the Scots in A.D. 843 necessarily conjoined the separate dominions of both, and led on to the annexation of other territories.

The Picts had been confined for ages before that epoch by the Forth on the south and Drumalban on the west, and by the German Ocean on the east and north. Their southern limits had been early fixed by the prevalence of the Roman power. They were induced probably by the long continuance of that power to consolidate the distant districts of the various tribes which had from the earliest times divided their country by their spirit of independence, and enfeebled their strength by their desires of revenge.

We may trace up to those ages of disunion and disaster the tradition which came down to the twelfth century that *Pictavia* had once been separated into six kingdoms (*a*). The first was supposed to extend from the Forth to the Tay having *Athrin*, one of the Ochil hills, for its eastern boundary, as indeed the name of Aith-rin imports, signifying the *pointed* mount. The second was said to comprehend Fothreve and Fife, having the Forth, the sea, and the *Hilef* for its confines (*b*). The third kingdom was, according to that tradition, bounded by the Hilef and the Dee, comprehending the fine countries of Angus and Mearns. The fourth realm extended from the Dee to the Spey, comprising Aberdeen and Banff. The fifth kingdom had for its narrow limits the Spey and Drum-alban; and to the sixth realm were given the

(*a*) See the Document, *De Situ Albanie*, in Innes's App. No. i. The information from which Giraldus Cambrensis formed that description of Albany, he acknowledges to have derived from Andrew, the bishop of Caithness, who died A.D. 1185.

(*b*) The *Hilef* was plainly the Isla which joins the Tay, and which was called *Yliffe* in the *Taratio* of 1175 (Chart. of Arbroath), and gave a name to the parish of *Glen-Yliffe*. This appellation may be found in the British *Y-lif*, the flood, or inundation, and is very descriptive of the qualities of that mountain stream.

extensive regions of Muref and Ross. Those fictitious monarchies had long ceased to exist before the memorable Union of the Picts and Scots, except in the natural divisions of the country, as they had been named by a Celtic people.

The Scots at that epoch possessed the whole western coast from the Clyde to Loch-Torridon with the adjacent isles. We have seen the Scoto-Irish settle on the *headland* of Kintyre, as the name imports, at the commencement of the sixth century. As colonists arrived and population increased they gradually extended their settlements to the bordering continent and to the neighbouring islands. In two centuries of active enterprize they made an extensive progress. In the days of Bede their colonies extended from the northern margin of the Clyde along the shores of the Irish sea far into the north (c). During the effluxion of another century they occupied the ample extent of Argyll, from the river Clyde on the south to Loch-Ew and Loch-Maree on the north, and from the sea on the west to Drumalban on the east (d).

By the voice of fiction, and indeed by the recitals of history, the *seventh* kingdom of North-Britain was declared to be *Arregaithel* (e). The limits of this celebrated country have not occasioned so much contest as the etymology of its appellation. "*Iar-ghael* is said not to be the name of the country but "of those who inhabited it; signifying the *Western* Gael in opposition to the "*Eastern* Gael or the Picts that inhabited the shore of the German ocean (f)." Yet both the fact and the principle of this explanation have been controverted, and *Argathel*, or *Iar-gael*, or *Argyle*, is said to signify nothing more than *the Irish* (g). There is indeed reason to believe that this name was imposed on that region by a Gaelic people in an age when the geographical distinc-

(c) Bede, lib. 1, ch. 1.

(d) Innes, p. 769. From its great range, Argyll in its extreme parts, came to be known by the names of the Southern and Northern Argyll. The charter which Robert I. granted to Randolph in 1312, for the *Comitatus* of Moray, describes its boundaries to run "per mare usque "ad marchias boreales Ergadiæ, et sic per marchias illas, usque ad marchias Rossiaë." Lord Kame's Law Tracts, p. 102; Shaw's Moray, App. No. i.; Robertson's Index to the Records, p. 49, which quotes Hadington's Collections. In 1342, David II. granted the lands of *Kentaile*, in Northern Argyll, to Reginald the son of Torkil. MS. in the Pap. Off. In 1366, William, Earl of Ross, granted the district of *Gerloch*, "infra partes Ergadiæ," to Paul Mactyre. Hay's Vindic. of Eliz. More, p. 18; and Robertson's Index, 98-114. From those documents and the maps, it clearly appears that Loch-Ew and Loch-Maree in Ross, formed the northern boundary of Argyll during the fourteenth century.

(e) "*De Situ Albanie*," Innes's App. No. i.

(f) Macpherson's Introduction, p. 148.

(g) Whit. Genuine History of the Britons, p. 287.

tions of the east and west were little understood (*h*). Ear-gaidhal or Ear-gaoil, signified merely the limit or boundary of the Irishmen or Gael (*i*); and the appropriate appellation of the people, who inhabited this region for ages after their settlement in 503 A.D., was obviously applied to the country, as the Picts gave their name to *Pictavia*, and the Scots communicated the lasting appellation of Scotland to North-Britain in a subsequent age (*k*).

Such were the dominions which the Scots brought with them, when, by overpowering the Picts, an Union was effected between them, both of authority and territories. Modern writers, indeed, have formed for both those people claims which they never formed for themselves. It appears not that the Picts ever claimed the Orkneys, the Hebrides, Galloway, or Lothian. Of historians, it is the common fault to apply the prevailing prejudice of their own times to

(*h*) The Irish word *Iar* signified, merely in its original import, *after*, *behind*; and secondarily came to signify the *west*, relatively to persons facing the east at public worship. O'Brien's Ir. Dict., sub. *Iar* and *Eirin*.

(*i*) See the Dict. of O'Brien and Shaw, sub. *Earr* and *Gaidhal*. This exposition corresponds with the etymology of Andrew, the Bishop of Caithness, who told Cambrensis. "Arregathel" "*dicitur quasi margo Scottorum, seu Hybernensium.*" Innes's App., No. i. This form of the word agrees nearly with the old spelling, and in the Irish pronunciation corresponds well with the name of *Argyle*.

(*k*) The name of Argail, Ardgaill, or Arregaithel was originally applied to the middle district of that country which lies between Kintyre and Knapdale on the south, and Lorn on the north. In the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries it formed the middle division of the Scoto-Irish territories, and was inhabited by a particular tribe, who are frequently mentioned in the Annals of Ulster as the sept of *Ardgaill*. This district may probably have derived its appellation from the name of its inhabitants, for in the topography of Ireland during the middle ages we see that most of the petty divisions were named from the clans who occupied them, or from their chiefs. Ware's Ant. Hibern., ch. vii. The custom of our ancestors, says O'Flaherty, was not to take names and creations from places and countries, as it is with other nations, but to give the name of the family to the seignior by them occupied. O'rygia Vindicated, p. 170. So the district of Lorn got its appellation from Loarn, one of the sons of Ere. Considering the name as borrowed by the *district* from the *tribe*, the meaning of the appellation as applied to the tribe is not very obvious. The name *Ard-gail*, as in the Annals of Ulster, would signify the *noble Gael*, or *Ard-gaoil* would signify the *noble family* or *kindred*; and the names of Earr-gail and Earr-gaoil would convey the same meaning. O'Brien and Shaw's Dicts. in vo. *Ard*, *Earr*, and *Gaoil*. *Arigh-gael* would signify the *chiefs* of the *Gael*. Ib. *Eirc-gael*, or *Eire-gaidhal*, would denote the *Irish Gael*, or the *Gael* of *Ireland*. If, however, the name was local, the most probable derivation would certainly be *Earr-gaidhal*, or *Earr-gael*, the *limit* or *border* of the *Gael*. As the names of Alban and Caledonia were extended to the whole of North-Britain, so the name of Ardgaill or Arregathel, was in the middle ages extended to the whole country on the west coast from the Frith of Clyde northward to Loch-Ew and Loch-Maree in Ross, as we have seen.

past events. They do not consider that nations must exist before they can enjoy rights, either to retain or relinquish. England, any more than Pictavia, could neither form pretensions nor enjoy privileges, till the dissolution of her octarchies gave her the animation of existence with the energies of unity.

The several districts of Britain appear to have acquired various names during the successive ages of their devious progress. The nearest parts of South-Britain to Gaul were called Albion from a view of its *heights*. It was denominated by the Britons themselves, in their own language, *Ynys-Prydain*, the beautiful isle; and it soon obtained from its native designation the classical name of *Britannia*, which was early given by the Roman writers, and which it will late retain as the distinguishing appellation of the mistress of the ocean. North-Britain was equally called in the earliest language, *Alban*, or the upper region; and it was sometimes recognized by this ancient name as late as the recent period of the twelfth century (*l*); but from the nature of the country, which was covered with woods, and from the speech of the inhabitants, that was obviously Celtic, North-Britain was called by Tacitus, as we have seen *Caledonia*. The sister island had also its classic names, which were superseded during the middle ages by the well-known appellations of *Hibernia* and *Scotia*, the Ireland and Scotland of Ælfred (*m*).

The Scots, who emigrated to Kintyre in 503, not only carried with them their language, their manners, and their laws, but the name of their original country. Yet, during the subsequent century, Adamnan, who died in 704 A.D., and who was acquainted with Ireland as well as with Britain, applied the name of *Scotia* to Ireland (*n*). Bede, however, though he speaks of *Britannia* and *Hibernia*, never mentions *Scotia*, though he speaks of the Scots in Britain; but the venerable and intelligent monk calls the Scoto-Irish countries of Kintyre, Argyll, and Lorn, "*Septentrionalis Scottorum provincia* (*o*)."

(*l*) In the Irish Annals the name of *Alban* continued to be used even long after the twelfth century. Indeed, the Irish people have continued this name to the present time; and they call the Scottish people *Albanaich*.

(*m*) Ælfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius, by Daines Barrington, p. 14. See before, book ii., ch. iii.

(*n*) The biographer of Columba, in speaking of the departure of his predecessor from Ireland to Britain, says that Columba sailed "*de Scotia ad Britanniam*." Vit. Columb. 1789, p. 58-60. Orosius, as we have seen, equally applied the same name of *Scotia* to Ireland three centuries before. Barrington's edit., p. 3.

(*o*) Bede, l. iii., cap. iii. The Irish antiquaries and their followers have mistakingly applied the expressions of Bede to the northern division of proper Ireland. Ware's *Antiq.*, cap. iii., and Harris's *Ware*, p. 50. In the age of Ælfred the northern parts of Britain were known to the navigators of that period by the apposite name of *Ireland*. Barrington's Orosius, p. 15-256.

While the whole coast of Argyll was thus the province of the Scoto-Irish, the more eastern districts of North-Britain acquired the name of *Pictavia*, owing to the residence of the Picts. From these intimations it is sufficiently obvious that the name of *Scotia* was not applied to North-Britain till the union of the Scots with the Picts gave a real cause for its application (*o*). After that epoch the united kingdom was not mentioned under the Latin designation of *Scotia*, or the Saxon name of *Scotland* till another age had elapsed, and the Picts became completely mingled with the Scots. In 934 A.D., the Saxon Chronicle inform us that Athelstan invaded *Scotland* by sea and land (*p*). From this period the Saxon Chronicle frequently mentions *Scotland* as the well known name of North-Britain (*q*). As early then as the tenth century, the prevalence of the Scoto-Irish people conferred their appropriate appellation on the country which Kenneth had acquired, as much by his valour and address as by his descent and right. Such were the different names which the British islands adopted, relinquished, and retained, during many ages of their various fortunes; and North-Britain acquired the title of *Scotland*, and her inhabitants the name of Scots, which the many changes of new people, new laws, new conjunctions, and new manners have not been able yet to efface.

(*o*) See the Document, No 1, in Innes's Appendix, "*De Situ Albaniae*;" it is herein said during the twelfth century, "*Pictavia nunc vero corruptè vocatur Scotia*." In the same Document the name is variously spelt *Pictinia*.

(*p*) Gibson, p. 111; the Chronicle of Melrose, under the same year, records that "*Rex Athelstanus vastavit Scotiam usque Dunfeoder*;" and Flor. Wig. 349.

(*q*) Gibson, 153, &c.

CHAP. III.

Of the Orkney and Shetland Isles.

IT was soon after the year 875 that Harald-Harfagre, having united the several provinces of Norway by a naval victory, pursued the fugitives into Shetland and Orkney, subdued the islanders, and there established the authority of his vigorous government. His whole power the conquerer delegated to Sigurd, the son of Eystain and brother of Rognwald, who is praised by Wormius as a poet (*a*). Him Harald created the first Earl of the Orcadian dynasty (*b*); and after him a long succession of Earls ensued, who, amid their dissensions and piracies, probably yielded but slight subjection to the Norwegian kings (*c*). It was an age of barbarism, when protection could only be gained by slavery, and wealth could be most easily obtained by plunder. Torf-Eyner, who ruled the Orkneys about the year 930, first taught them the use of turf for fuel during the scarcity of wood (*d*). In 980 the Orkney men were converted to the Christian faith, which had been early intimated to them by the zealous Columbans, and at length perfected by Saint Magnus (*e*). At length Sigurd, the son of Laudver and the fourteenth Earl, succeeded his father in 996 A.D. (*f*). He appears to have been a personage of great vigour, much enterprize, and many possessions. He enjoyed the Orkneys, Caithness, and Sutherland, with a tribute from the Hebride isles; and he also for a time established his power on the coasts of Ross and Moray. He was of the blood of the vikings, and he did not disparage the race by his adventures. The eastern shores of North-Britain felt his frequent piracies. Yet about the year 1006, he married for his second wife a daughter of Malcolm II. the king of Scots (*g*). Sigurd was at length engaged by those motives which

(*a*) *Literatura Runica*, p. 195.

(*b*) *Torfæus's Orcades*, p. 10, 11; *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 1.

(*c*) See the "*Catalogus Comitum Orcadensium, Ordine Chronologico*," in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 558.

(*d*) *Orkneyinga Saga*; *Torfæus's Orcades*, 19.

(*e*) *Torfæus's Orcades*, ch. ii.

(*f*) *Gunlach-Sagan*, p. 102. Note 69; *Torfæus Orc.*, p. 27.

(*g*) *Snorre*, t. i., p. 532-3; *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 5-87; *Torfæus Orcades*, p. 33.

were most seductive among vikingr, to aid Sigtrig, the sea king of Dublin; and in April 1014, the potent Earl of Orkney and Caithness, fell in the bloody field of Clontarf, fighting against the renowned Brien Boromhe, the illustrious king of all Ireland (*h*). Sigurd by his first wife left four sons, Einar, Sumerlid, Brusi, Rognwald; the eldest of whom succeeded to the Orkneys. By the daughter of Malcolm, Sigurd left a son, Torfin, who, as he was born in 1009, was five years of age at the death of his father. When Sigurd set his ill-omened sails for Dublin, he left his infant son in the parental care of the Scottish king (*i*). When the fate of Sigurd was known, Malcolm put his grandson in possession of Caithness, and such other territories as still remained to Sigurd, after his many conflicts on the Scottish shore (*k*). Torfin resembled his father in his stature of body, vigour of mind, and ambition of enterprize. At the age of fourteen, Torfin commenced his career as a vikingr. His sails often disquieted the coasts of Scotland during the reign of his grandfather. He refused the usual tribute to the gracious Duncan, who marched into Moray to enforce its payment. He engaged in avowed warfare with the Scottish king; and he had the honour, during this revolt, to engage in hardy conflicts with "*brave Macbeth*, who well deserved that name." Torfæus claims for Torfin, in a doubtful tone, the success and the advantages of the war; but Shakspeare bestows with poetic praise, the victory and the reward on "*peerless Macbeth* (*l*)."
Yet was not the power of Torfin crushed, nor his ambition lessened. He engaged in hostilities with his father's sons in Orkney. One of them he slew in battle, another he obliged to flee, and from his elder brother he wrested several islands. He compelled the Hebrides to yield him tribute. He emulated the Scottish kings in splendour, and equalled them in power. It was the fleets of the vikingr which gave them such superiority over the Celtic kings, their contemporaries, who never engaged in naval affairs. Wearied at length with savage grandeur, and feeling "the compunctious visitings of nature," he went to Rome for remission of his crimes (*m*); and returning from the seat of pardon with mitigated feelings, Torfin died about the year 1074, aged 65 years (*n*). He left by his wife Ingiburga, two sons, Paul and Erland, who enjoyed his possession both in

(*h*) Id. Ware's *Antiq.*, 8vo. ed., p. 114-15.

(*i*) For the history of this great Earl, see Torfæus's *Orcades*, c. x.

(*k*) *Ib.* c. xii.

(*l*) The whole of this war, which is interesting from the contending parties and the Drama of Shakspeare that is partly founded on it, is related darkly by Torfæus, *Orcades*, c. xiii.; and see the *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 5-29, 35, 71, 74, 87.

(*m*) Torfæus, *Orc.*, p. 64-5.

(*n*) *Ib.*, p. 65; *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 87.

Orkney, and in Caithness, and who died about the year 1090. But the time was at hand when the Orkneys were to submit to a new master. In 1098, Magnus Barefoot, the powerful king of Norway, reduced to complete subjection both the people and their rulers. From this event those islands enjoyed some repose, and some traffic rather than adventurous piracy, under one sovereign in the place of many tyrants (*o*).

The Scandinavian people who settled, as we have seen, in the Orkney and Shetland islands, in Caithness, Sutherland, and the Hebrides, during the ninth century, built many stone forts of rude construction for the purpose of defence against the desultory attacks of their piratical countrymen, who so frequently scoured those coasts in quest of prey during the ninth and tenth centuries. The strong towers which the Scandinavians thus erected they called *Burghs*, which in their language signify *strengths* or places of defence; and most of those stone forts still retain their original appellations. By the Scoto-Irish people in the Hebrides, in Caithness, and Sutherland, these stone forts are called *Duns*, which in the Gaelic is synonymous to the Scandinavian *Burghs*; and several of those strengths are pleonastically called *Dun-borghi*, but tradition uniformly states them to have been erected by the Scandinavian settlers on those inhospitable shores.

During late times many of those edifices in the Orkney and Shetland islands, and in Caithness, have been erroneously called Pictish castles, Pictish towers, and Picts houses, from a fabulous story that attributes to Kenneth MacAlpin the impolicy of driving many of the Picts into the northern extremity of our island, whence they fled to the Orkney and Shetland isles, where they found shelter and settlement. But those appellations have never been given to any of the Scandinavian *Burghs* in the Hebrides, nor even to those in the western part of Sutherland.

That the whole of these *Burghs* or strengths were erected by the Scandinavian settlers in the Orkney and Shetland islands, in Caithness, and in the Hebrides, and not by the Pictish or British people, may be certainly inferred from the following considerations:

Those *Burghs* or strengths only exist in the countries where the Scandinavian people effected settlements. They are only seen in the Orkney and Shetland islands, in Caithness, on the coast of Sutherland, and in the Hebrides, with a few on the west coasts of Ross and Inverness. The original and proper name of those strengths is *Burgh*, which is the Scandinavian term for

(*o*) Sim. Dun. 223; Chron. Mailros, sub an. 1098. Snorre relates the adventures of this king in the sentiment of mythology and the language of romance.

a fort, and most of them still retain this appellation, and have communicated this name to the places where they are situated (*p*). But not one of these strengths bears any appellation from the *Pictish* or British language. The recent appellation of Pictish castles or Picts-houses, has only been given to those in Orkney and Shetland, in Caithness, and in Sutherland; but none of those westward of Strath-Naver have ever been called Pictish castles or Picts houses, though the same kind of strengths equally exists along the west coasts of Sutherland, throughout the Hebrides, and the west coasts of Ross and Inverness. In all those countries tradition uniformly states them to have been built by the Scandinavian settlers.

Those strengths in the Orkney and Shetland islands, in Caithness, and in Sutherland, which have been recently called Pictish Castles and Picts Houses, are in every respect similar in their form, structure, materials, and situation, and appear to have been constructed for similar purposes as those on the west coasts of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness, and in the Hebrides, which tradition uniformly assures us were erected by the Scandinavian people, and to which the names of Picts castles and Picts houses have never been applied (*q*).

(*p*) Stat. Acco., v. i., p. 401. Even some of the lochs. in which they are placed upon islets, have got from those erections the name of Burgo-water. *Ib.*, v. xx., p. 112. It is therein stated that there are eight Pictish buildings, called *Burghs*, in the parish of Walls and Sandness. A number of them in North Mavor are called Burghs or Picts-houses. *Ib.*, v. xii., p. 365. Near Dunbeath in Caithness, says Pennant, there is an entire *Picts* castle, called the *Burgh* of Dunbeath. *Tour in Scotland*, v. i., p. 176.

(*q*) Those strengths in the Orkney and Shetland islands and in Caithness, as well as those in the Hebrides and on the west coasts of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness, are situated generally on rising grounds along the sea coast, two or three and sometimes more of them being in sight of each other. They are all constructed of stones, without any kind of cement, and many of those stones are of an extraordinary large size, but in general they are very well fitted together in the building. Those buildings are all of a circular or somewhat elliptical form, and are of different sizes. The larger ones appear to have been from 20 to 40 feet high, forming three or four storeys of apartments between the outer and inner walls; but the tops of most of them have been more or less demolished. The smaller ones vary from 10 to 20 feet high, forming one or two storeys. The interior area of the larger ones varies from 30 to 50 feet diameter, and of the smaller ones from 17 to 30 feet diameter. They have two walls, one within the other, having an open space between them all round from four to five feet wide. In those which are most entire this space appears to have been divided off into a number of separate apartments. A few of the smallest had only one wall. The walls gradually contract in the circumference from the foundation upwards, and the outer wall appears to have been joined to the inner one at the top. The larger ones are now open at the top, but whether they were originally so is not certain, as the tops are somewhat demolished. Some of the smaller ones still exhibit a covering at the top of long flat stones, which are overlaid with sods. The entrances are in general low and small, most of them being no

Some of those *Burys*, which are called Pictish Castles in Shetland, are placed on islets in small lochs, having a causeway leading to them somewhat under water for the purpose of concealment. In the same manner some of the Scandinavian Burys in the Hebrides, which are of a similar structure, are also placed in a similar situation, on islets in small lakes, having in the same manner, a causeway under water leading to them (*r*).

Those *Burys*, which are called Pictish castles and Picts houses in the Orkney and Shetland islands, and in Caithness, have no similarity to any of the strengths or places of security of the genuine Picts or British tribes in North-Britain. The British strengths were formed by fortifying the tops of eminences with fosses and ramparts of stone and earth (*s*). The Pictish tribes never reared any such stone towers or forts in North-Britain as those burys which have been erroneously called Picts castles in Orkney and Shetland; and it must be remembered that the British Picts never were in Shetland, and consequently could not have erected those buildings to which their names have been improperly applied.

The secondary appellations of Picts castles and Picts houses which have been given to those burys in the Orkney and Shetland islands, and in Caithness, have entirely sprung from the fabulous story before mentioned. But it is certain that the Union of the Pictish and Scottish governments produced no such effects as to drive the people out of the country; and it must be recollected that the Scandinavians were at the same time in possession of the Orkney and Shetland islands, which were of course not open for the Pictish settlements.

From the foregoing intimations, it is sufficiently apparent that neither the Picts nor Scots had any pretence of right over the Orkney and Shetland isles. The contemporary inhabitants of both were of a different lineage as we have seen, and owed their obedience to their original country. The Picts and Scots, far from subduing them, were often harrassed by those enterprising

more than three feet high and two feet and a half wide. The remains of these strengths exhibit on the outside the appearance of a cone having its top cut off. The largest ones are somewhat like modern glass-houses. Gordon's Itin. Sept., p. 166-7, and pl. 65; Martin's Western Islands, p. 8, 153, 270; Pennant's Tour, v. i., p. 171, 176, 319, v. iii., p. 219, 292, 337; and the Stat. Account of Scotland. In the MS. description of those of Glenelg, by the Reverend Mr. MacIver, which he sent to me in March, 1799, he observes "that Professor Thorkelin, who visited the Hebrides in 1787 and saw several of these strengths, said that similar edifices are still to be seen in Norway "and Denmark."

(*r*) Stat. Acco., vol. v., p. 200; *Ib.*, v. xii., p. 365; *Ib.*, v. xix., p. 271; *Ib.*, v. xx., p. 112.

(*s*) See b. ii., ch. i., § 2.

islanders (*t*). We shall find in the course of our inquiry, that the Scottish kings acquired by negotiation those many Islands which they were unable to obtain by conquest (*u*).

(*t*) *Sagan of Gunlaug*, p. 169.

(*u*) When the Hebude isles were transferred in 1266 by Magnus IV. to Alexander III., the Orkney and Shetland isles were excepted. See the Treaty in Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 199; Torfæus *Hist. Norway*, v. iv., p. 343; and see Robertson's *Index*, p. 101, for a confirmation in 1312. By the marriage treaty between James III. and Margaret, the daughter of Christian, king of Denmark, in 1468, the Orkney and Shetland isles were rather pledged for her dowry than assigned to Scotland. Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 191-95. They were, however, soon after released for ever, and on the 20th of February, 1471-2, they were annexed to the crown by the Scottish parliament. In Anderson's *Chronological Deduction of Commerce*, v. i., p. 41, 73, 122, 253, there is much apocryphal history with regard to the Orkney and Shetland islands.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Hebrides or Western Isles.

THE conclusion of the ninth century is an epoch in the history of the Hebrides as well as of Norway. At that era the disjointed states of the Scandinavian peninsula were united by the successful valour of Harald-Harfagre (*a*). He followed the discontented fugitives into the Orkneys and the Hebrides, which had furnished them retreats, and enabled them to retaliate on his dominions. But neither the difficulty of the navigation nor the obscurity of the isles saved them from his vengeance. In A.D. 881 he pursued them into their fastnesses. Wherever his ships appeared victory attended their sails (*b*). His return to Norway was, nevertheless, the conspicuous signal for the re-establishment of the former authority of the Hebridean chiefs. Harald regarded the resumption of their privileges as an insult offered to his power, and he sent Ketel with a fleet and army to repress the presumption of the chiefs, and to re-establish obedience to his power (*c*). But Ketel only conquered for himself. This ambitious officer obliged the Hebridean leaders to acknowledge him for their prince by the payment of tribute. He confirmed them in their old privileges; he formed intermarriages with their daughters; and such was the efficacy of those measures, that Ketel remained master of the Hebridean isles during his life, notwithstanding the fame and the threats of Harald, who had other objects for his ambition to follow (*d*). Harald-Harfagre is said to have died in A.D. 933, aged ninety-one (*e*).

After the death of Ketel a new dynasty arose in the Isle of Man, which, in the days of Bede, contained only three hundred families (*f*); and from the

(*a*) Torfæus Hist. Norway, t. ii., l. ii., cap. 12.

(*b*) *Ib.*, p. 77.

(*c*) *Id.*

(*d*) Torfæus Hist. Norway, tom. ii., l. i., cap. xxix.

(*e*) *Ib.*, 66-72.

(*f*) Bede Hist., l. iii., cap. ix. From this fact we may infer that the people of the Western Islands in that age were not numerous.

narrowness of its dominions was thenceforth a dependent monarchy till it submitted to Alexander III., the Scottish sovereign, on the resignation of the Norwegian king (*g*). The Hebrideans and their chiefs were never from that period perfectly independent of Norway, though they were subject to the kingdom of Man and paid tribute to the earls of Orkney and Caithness. They acknowledged their vassalage during the subsequent ages, by receiving rulers from the Scandian peninsula, which could easily enforce obedience on the appearance of her fleets, and by paying tributes which they could not withhold; but to retain them in subjection was more difficult, from the distance of the power which was to engage their reverence and to command their submission. During a part of the tenth, and most of the eleventh centuries, Sigurd, the earl of Orkney, and his son Thorfin, treated the Hebrides as dependant territories (*h*). At length Magnus the barefooted, the Norwegian king, came into those seas with an irresistible fleet. He laid waste the Hebrides; he obliged the people to seek for shelter in Scotland; he compelled the chiefs to bow down to his power; and in the year 1098, he completely subdued the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and Man; avowing that he came to enforce ancient rights rather than to acquire a new authority (*i*).

It is not very easy to discover what right the Picts or Scots could claim over the western isles, either in their separate or united state. The Picts had not any jurisdiction over the British tribes, who, residing in those islands during those early ages, were as independent as themselves. The Scottish kings may have had, indeed, some authority over the Scoto-Irish colonists who inhabited the nearest isles. The conquest of Harald-Harfagre broke asunder the slight ties of connection which may have existed between the Celtic people who lived in North-Britain and the Hebrides. The irruption of Magnus during the civil contests of Scotland, confirmed the rights of Norway; and the Scottish kings acquired by treaty, during the happier age of Alexander III., the Western Islands, which, in the present period, they were unable to conquer by power or to retain by patronage (*k*).

(*g*) Camden, ed. 1753, vol. ii., p. 1439; Chronicle of Man, edit. Johnston; Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 199; Torfæus's *Hist. Norway*, v. iv., p. 343.

(*h*) See the *Orkneyinga Saga*; Torfæus's *Orcades*; *Sagan of Gunlaug*, p. 169.

(*i*) Torfæus's *Norw. Hist.*, tom. iii., cap. iv. v.; *Chron. Man*, ad an. 1098; *Chron. of Mailros*, ad an. 1098; *Simeon of Durham*, p. 223.

(*k*) From those facts we may see how groundless the imputations are which attribute the sale of those isles to the corrupt motives of Donal-bane; and how romantic the story of Snorro is, when he

The influence of this cession aided the zeal of the Scoto-Irish colonists in spreading into every islet of the Hebrides; and in the progress of colonization, they acquired such a complete ascendancy over the Scandinavian settlers, as to suppress the Gothic language and establish their own Gaelic speech, which was recently the common tongue in every part of those islands (*l*).

talks of Magnus having then obtained Kintyre by trick. The act of cession by Magnus to Alexander III., is in Torfæus's *Norw. Hist.*, v. iv., p. 343. This was confirmed by a deed that was executed between Robert I. and Haco V., king of Norway, the 28th October, 1312. Robertson's *Index*, p. 101. Torfæus passed over the story of Snorro as a romance.

(*l*) See the *Statistical Accounts* of the several parishes in the Hebrides.

CHAP. V.

Of Cumbria, Strathclyde, and of Galloway.

SECT. I.

THE north-east part of Cumberland, from the Dudden to the Kershope, was inhabited, as we have seen, by British tribes at the great epoch of the Roman invasion. The aboriginal people were subdued and civilized by their more disciplined invaders. After the Roman abdication, the Romanized Britons maintained a long and gallant but unsuccessful warfare with the North-umbrian Saxons, who appear to have over-run a great part of Cumbria before the demise of Oswy in A.D. 670. In 685, when the furious Egfrid was about to set out on his fatal expedition into Pictavia, he granted to St. Cuthbert, Carlisle, which yet preserved its Roman form, and still exhibited its Roman beauty, with the surrounding territory (*a*). The pagan Danes in subsequent times over-running this western region, deformed what was beautiful and defiled what they touched. Edward the Elder appears at various periods of his reign to have extended his power over Cumbria, and to have enforced the submission of the Cumbrian kings (*b*). Their notions of subjection in that age seem to have been very imperfect. They obeyed the power which during the season of hostility they could not resist. Thus the Cumbrian Britons either submitted or resisted as they felt the pressures of superiority. By this conduct Edmund appears to have been provoked to invade Cumbria, which Dunmail, its king, gallantly tried to defend; but he was overpowered on the bank of Raisbeck river, where a large *Carnedd* of stones was raised by his affectionate people to mark the disastrous site of his unhappy fall. The conqueror with savage rage, mutilated the two sons of the vanquished Dunmail, the last of the Cumbrian reguli (*c*).

(*a*) Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, c. 27; and Smith's Bede, p. 782.

(*b*) Flor. Wig., p. 336-347, under the years 901, 921; and R. Hoveden, p. 421-422.

(*c*) Flor. Wig., p. 351; R. Hoveden, p. 423; Mat. Westminster, p. 366. On the mountainous pass between Cumberland and Westmoreland, near the road which leads from Keswick to Ambleside,

Edmund now transferred the country which he had wasted and the people whom he had humbled, to Malcolm the Scottish king, on the condition of amity and aid (*d*). Indulf, the king of Scots, is said to have appointed in 953, Duff, the son of Malcolm I., *regulus* of Cumbria (*e*). Duff, the son of Malcolm, was presumptive heir of the Scottish crown as *tanist*. If we were to form an opinion from the fact, rather than the authority, we might presume that it was the office of the *tanist* of Scotland, as presumptive heir of the kingdom, to govern Cumbria as his right. Duff ceased to rule Cumbria when he became king of Scots in 961 A.D. Malcolm, his son, appears to have succeeded Duff as *regulus* of Cumbria (*f*). Duff was dethroned by Culen in 965. Yet Malcolm continued long to rule the Britons of Cumbria. He was one of the eight *reguli* who are said to have met Edgar at Chester in 973 (*g*). Meantime Kenneth III., the brother of Duff, succeeded to the Scottish crown during the year 970, according to the settled usage, in preference to his nephew, Malcolm the Cumbrian *regulus*. On his accession Kenneth III. renewed the appointment of Malcolm as *regulus* of Cumbria (*h*). The king of Scots may have exercised this power of naming the *reguli* of Cumbria without possessing the greater power of abrogating the ancient usage which regulated the succession to the crown. The fact seems to warrant this intimation. Ambition, however, too often vaulted over the usage, and by assassination or a battle, seized the bloody diadem. The death of Malcolm about the year 989 opened the succession for a new *regulus* of Cumbria. The ambitious Kenneth III. nominated his own son Malcolm, though he was

there is a large cairn of stones, called *Dunmail-wrays*, which tradition states to have been erected to commemorate the defeat of Dunmail by Edmund. Pennant's Tour, v. iii., p. 37; Burn's Cumberland, v. i., p. 149; with the map prefixed; and see Speed's Map of Cumberland, No. 45. In Wales there are similar cairns, with a similar name applied to them, signifying the stones of *cognizance*; whence we may infer that the *Dunmail-wrays* stones mean merely the *memorial* stones of Dunmail.

(*d*) Id.; Sax. Chron., p. 115; Fordun, l. iv., c. 26, intimates, indeed, that it was then agreed between Edmund and Malcolm, that every heir-apparent to the Scottish crown should hold Cumberland as a fief of England. This is the mere talk of Fordun's times. From the English chronicles we know that in fact there was no such stipulation; and that the notions of feudality were not thought of in 945 A.D.

(*e*) Fordun, l. iv., c. xxvii.

(*f*) Fordun, l. iv., c. 30, says, in the idiom of his age, that Duff appointed his son Malcolm as *regulus* of Cumbria; and he always speaks of the several successions of the *reguli* of Cumbria as *appointments* of the reigning king of Scots.

(*g*) Flor. Wig., p. 359; Sim. Dun., p. 129.

(*h*) Fordun, l. iv., cap. xxx;

still young (*i*). Kenneth III. was succeeded in the Scottish throne in 994, by Constantin IV.; and he was soon after followed by Kenneth IV., the son of Duff. During their disastrous reigns, Malcolm, the son of Kenneth III., ruled in Cumbria; but in 1003, after a violent conflict, he defeated and dethroned the gallant son of Duff, and he now assumed the gory sceptre under the name of Malcolm II. He appears to have been a prince, able, valiant, and ambitious. He refused Ethelred the demanded Danegelt, in 1000 A.D., because none was due; and the English king thereupon wasted Cumbria, which could not resist a conjoint attack both by land and sea (*k*). Malcolm II. appointed his grandson, Duncan, *regulus* of Cumbria (*l*). He appears to have governed it during the subsequent part of the long reign of his grandfather. But succeeding at length to the crown in 1033, he nominated his son Malcolm Ceanmore in his stead (*m*); and the son of Duncan continued to rule with the aid of his uncle, Siward, that dependency throughout the whole usurpation of Macbeth, without any apparent molestation. When he at length acquired the contaminated crown, he seems to have continued to rule Cumbria, having no son, probably, whom he could nominate to the government as *regulus*. At length William the Conqueror, after much contest with Malcolm Ceanmore, annexed Cumbria to England as a conquest, which he granted in 1072 to Ranulph Meschines, to be held by the tenure of the sword (*n*). Ranulph transferred many parcels of that disputed territory to his warlike followers, in consideration of military service (*o*). From that epoch

(*i*) Fordun, l. iv., c. xxxvi.

(*k*) Flor. Wig., p. 369; Fordun, l. iv., c. xxxviii.

(*l*) Fordun, l. iv., c. xlix.

(*m*) Fordun, l. iv., c. xlix. Flor. Wig., p. 416, intimates that Duncan, the father of Malcolm Ceanmore, was *regulus* of Cumbria; *rex Cumbriorum*, says he. Sim. Dun, p. 187, concurs with Florence. Dugdale indeed states that in 1042 Edward the Confessor committed to the charge of Siward the counties of Westmoreland, *Cumberland*, and Northumberland. Baronage, v. i., p. 4. The fact probably was that Duncan, having married the sister of Siward, may have been assisted by this powerful earl in the government of Cumberland, who may have overawed Macbeth.

(*n*) Flor. Wig., p. 438; Holland's Camden, p. 787; Gough's Camden, v. iii., p. 209; Dugdale's Monast.; v. i., p. 400; Hutch. Hist. Cumberland, v. i., p. 20; v. ii., p. 17-19.

(*o*) The limits of Cumberland were probably the same in that age which they have continued to the present times. What had been granted by Edmund to Malcolm in 945 A.D. was now given by the conqueror to Meschines in 1072. It is certain that the northern boundary of the *conventus Cumbrie* was the Solway, the Esk, the Kershope, and the mountains which send their kindred waters by those channels to the Irish sea; for it is a fact that Ranulph Meschines granted to his followers various districts which lie along the southern banks of those rivers, and which prove by their positions the

the whole economy of Cumbria was changed when the privileges of the ancient people were annihilated by a single stroke of feudism; and to that grant of the conqueror may be traced up a new race of inhabitants, who transmitted rights which are invariably recognised even down to the present day (*p*).

In this manner, then, was the Cumbrian territory separated from the Scottish kingdom. After the demise of Edgar, in 1107, David, the youngest son of Malcolm Ceanmore, became prince of the *Cumbrian* region, which lay on the north of that dividing line, but not of Cumbra-land, that was then possessed by Ranulph Meschines, though David, in 1136 and 1139 A.D., acquired it from Stephen by his warfare and negotiations (*q*).

northern extent of his Cumbrian possessions. Camden, ed. 1753, p. 1039-42, 1059-62; Dugdale's *Monast.*, v. i., p. 400; Burn and Nicholson's *Cumberland*, v. ii., p. 461-64, 486; and Hutchison's *Cumb.*, v. i., p. 20.

(*p*) There is a charter of David, after his accession to the Scottish throne, which is dated at Carlisle, and is addressed to his men: "*Cumberlandiæ, Francis, Anglicis, et Cumbrensibus.*" Dugdale's *Monast.*, v. i., p. 399. We thus see that *Cumbria* had now acquired the name of *Cumberland*, and that it was inhabited by Normans and English, as well as by the ancient Cumbrians. The sudden change in the ancient population of *Cumbria* is very remarkable. We may see the cause by adverting to an important notice in the *Saxon Chronicle*, p. 198: "This year, 1092, King William, "with a great army, went into the north, restored Carlisle, and built its castle. Returning into the "south, the king sent a great multitude of English, with their wives and flocks, to inhabit and cultivate that northern land."

(*q*) *Chron. Mailros.* It is seldom that history is able to produce such an authority for such a fact as the document which I shall submit for the deductions in the text. It is the "*Inquisitio Davidis Principis Cumbrensis de terris ad ecclesiam Glasguensen pertinentibus facta, A.D. 1116,*" which has been more than once published from the *Chartulary of Glasgow*. The original *Chartulary*, which was carried to France by Archbishop Beaton at the Reformation, is now in my library. The authenticity of this *Inquisitio* is unquestionable. It is, in fact, the inquest of a jury which, like other verdicts of juries, must be admitted as undoubted truth. By this *inquest* the Cumbrian region was declared to be situated "*inter Angliam et Scotiam.*" Now, the northern boundary of England on the west, as we have seen, was the Solway, the Esk, and the Kershope; and the *Scotia* or Scotland of that age lay on the northward of the Forth. This general intimation of the *Inquisitio* is still more confirmed, not only by its own facts, but also by several other documents in the same *Chartulary*, which attest that the *Cumbrian region* of Prince David extended from the Solway, the Esk, and the Kershope on the south, to the Upper Forth and Loch-Lomond on the north; and from the Irish sea and the frith of Clyde on the west, this region ranged eastward to the confines of Lothian and the Merse. The grants of Earl David to the monastery of Selkirk, in the *Chartulary of Kelso*, confirm the documents in the *Chartulary of Glasgow* as to the *eastern* extent of the Cumbrian region, by shewing that the territory of David, as Prince of Cumbria, extended into *Teviotdale*. The northern boundary of

Without such a document as the *Inquisitio* for our guide through the dark paths of the middle ages, and such certainty for our conviction, it would be vain to examine the chroniclers of the twelfth century, whose researches were feeble and whose expressions are loose when they speak of the Cumbrian region.

SECT. II.

THE congenerous tribes of Strathclyde felt, during the Scottish period, the same wounds of war, and partook of the same species of polity as the Cumbrian Britons on their southern limit; and the Strathclyde Britons remained, though some of them emigrated to Wales after the conclusion of the Pictish period, upwards of three centuries and a half a distinguishable people, under the appropriate name of *Walenses*, amid the English, the Normans, and Galloway Irish, who all settled during that long effluxion of changeful time throughout the Cumbrian territory (*a*). Yet whoever is ambitious of accuracy in historical research concerning those separate tribes, must carefully distinguish Cumberland from the Cumbrian region, which was undoubtedly distinct throughout the present period of the Scottish predominance.

After the death of Alpin in 836, the Strathclyde Britons were involved on their western border in the vigorous hostilities which enabled his son Kenneth to acquire the government of the Picts. During those hostile events

England, before David acquired Cumberland in 1136-9 A.D., is again referred to in his Charter of Annandale to Robert Bruce, which bounds his grant on the south by the limits of Ranulph Meschines.

(*a*) There remain three charters of David I., which are addressed appropriately, “Francis, Anglis, Scottis, et Galwensibus.” *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. xiv., and xviii.; *Dug. Monast.*, v. ii., p. 1054. There is a charter of Earl Henry, the son of David, which is also addressed, “Francis, Anglis, Scottis, et Galwensibus.” *Chart. Kelso*, No. 240. There are four charters of Malcolm IV., which are addressed in the same manner to those four races of men. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. xxii. and xxv.; *Chart. Antiq. Brit. Mus.*; *Chart. Glasgow*, p. 299. There is a charter of William the Lion, which is also addressed in the same manner to the same distinct lineages of men. *Ayloffe’s Calend.*, p. 348. There is one charter of Malcolm IV., and one of his brother William, which is addressed still more particularly, “Francis, et Anglis, Scottis, *Walensibus*, et Galwensibus.” *Chart. Glasgow*, p. 203, 205. These last charters we see were specially addressed to the people of the bishopric of Glasgow, which comprehended the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde.

the Britons appear to have carried their flaming torches to Dunblane (*b*). Ku, the *Cau* of the Welsh chronicles, seems to have been then the king of the Britons. His hostility with Kenneth appears to have ended by the marriage of Ku with the daughter of the Scottish king. From the epoch of this reconciliation, more intimate connections began between the two nations of Britons and Scots. As people of the same lineage, they furnished kings for each other. We shall find that the marriage of Ku with the daughter of Kenneth, produced Eochia, who held the Scottish sceptre for a while with Grig (*c*). This connection, however, did not protect Ku from the violence of Artga, who envied his pre-eminence and connection. His fall was avenged by Constantin II., who, in giving his protection to his sister and his nephew, Eochia, procured the death of Artga in 871 A.D. (*d*).

The time was now come when the Britons of Strathclyde were to feel other evils, and to partake of the misfortunes of the greatest nations, from the wretched manners of piratical times. The Vikingr, who had now settled on the Irish shores, found an easy course into the secluded Clyde. In 870 they besieged Alcluyd, which, after a blockade of four months, they sacked (*e*). The spoilers proceeded, without resistance, after the British capital had fallen, to plunder the surrounding country; and they returned during the subsequent year to Dublin, the seat of their adventures, with many captives, Britons, and Picts (*f*). The Strathclyde Britons were obliged to submit to the scourge of the Danish Halfdane, the Attila of Northern Britain in that age; and in 875, the Vikingr, sallying from Northumberland, wasted Galloway and Strathclyde (*g*). The Orchards of Lanark had no longer their former attractions for the harassed Britons (*i*). Many of them meditated an emigration to Wales, the congenial land of the ancient Britons, the safer country of a rude

(*b*) The Chron., No. iii. in Innes, states expressly that in the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin the Britons burnt *Dulblaan*.

(*c*) Chron. No. iii. in Innes; and the Enquiry, 1789, v. i., p. 493.

(*d*) Ulster Annals.

(*e*) Brompton says the Danes destroyed Alcluyd in 869 A.D., which may be the true date.

(*f*) Ulster Annals; Ware's Antiq., p. 108; Ogygia, p. 484; Usher's Primordia, p. 719; Caradoc.

(*g*) Sax. Chron., p. 83; Asser. edit. Wise, p. 27; Usher's Primordia, p. 719. Some other inroads are said to have been made into Strathclyde by the Saxons. Chron. Princes, A.D. 940; Welsh Archaiol., v. ii., p. 395; Welsh Chron. of the Saxons; Ib. 487. Caradoc states those events under 943 A.D. Ib., p. 489.

(*i*) Merthin, the Caledonian poet, delighted to sing of the *Avallenau*, or the apple trees of Lanark. Welsh Archaiol., v. i., p. 150.

age. In 890 the emigrants departed under the conduct of Constantin, their chief, who appears to have been encountered and slain at Lochmaben. His followers, however, seem to have repulsed the assailants, as they successfully forced their way into Wales. Anarawd, the king, who was hard pressed by the invading Saxons, assigned them a district, which they were to acquire by their valour and defend by their policy. This generous condition they performed by assisting the Welsh to defeat the Saxons in the battle of Cymrid, and to drive the odious intruders from the disputed land. The descendants of the Strathelydsian emigrants remain a distinguishable people in North-Wales even to this day (*k*).

The emigration of the bravest Britons of Strathclyde added nothing to the extent of their country, and conveyed still less vigour to their government. Their limits were daily narrowed by the Scoto-Irish on every side; they were overawed by the Anglo-Saxon princes, and they were dictated to by the Scottish kings. In 924 they were oppressed by Edward, the Elder (*l*). In 973, Dovenal, their king, gratified the pride of Edgar at Chester (*m*). Every event evinced either the dependence, or the fall of the aboriginal Britons of Strathclyde. About the year 920 they lost their king, Dovenal. Constantin III. had influence enough to obtain the election of his brother Donal, the son of Aodh (*n*). This prudent choice appears to have ensured many years of peace between the two congenerous nations. In the midst of this happiness the death of Donal transferred his unimportant sceptre to his son Andarch. This tranquility which was equally convenient to both the nations, was at length disturbed by the misconduct of Culen, who ascended the Scottish throne in 965. He had the wickedness to violate the chastity of his own relation, the

(*k*) Welsh Chron. of the Princes. Caradoc gives an interesting account of this migration. Welsh Archaiol., v. ii., p. 482; and see Lhuyd's Comment., ed. Williams, p. 41. The boundaries of the country, which the bravery of the emigrants won, would be tolerably well defined by a line drawn from Chester through Holt, Wrexham, Oswestry, and turning to Mold, by Ruthin and Denbigh, to the sea. The descendants of those emigrants who dwell in Flintshire and in the Vale of Clwyd are distinguished from their neighbours by a remarkable difference of person and speech. They are a people taller, slenderer, with longer visages: their voices are smaller and more shrill; they have many varieties of dialect; and generally their pronunciation is less open and broad than what is heard among the Welsh, who live to the westward of them.

(*l*) Saxon Chron., p. 110; Flor. Wig., p. 347.

(*m*) Flor. Wig., p. 359; Sim. Dunelm, p. 129. The British king is called by those chroniclers Dufnall.

(*n*) Chron. No. iii. in Innes; Fordun, l. iv., cap. xxi., alludes to this event, though he has mistaken the circumstances; and W. of Malmesbury makes the same allusion with more mistakes. Saville's Script., p. 150.

grand-daughter of Donal. This insult revived the native spirit of the Britons. They flew to arms under Andarch, their injured king. They marched into Lothian, where they were met by the Scots. A sharp conflict ensued between irascible combatants; and on this bloody field Culen lost his guilty life, with his brother Eocha, in 970 A.D. (*o*). Andarch, however, did not long survive the victory, which does honour to the descendants of those British tribes, who equally opposed Agricola in battle. He was succeeded by Dunwallon, who was doomed to be the last of the Strathclyde *reguli*. It was he who administered, under a different form, his name to the vanity of Edgar in 973 A.D. Kenneth III. seized the sceptre of Culen without any purpose of revenging his fall. He was of a different family, and converted the fate of Culen to a step for his ambition to vault into the throne; but finding the Scots engaged in war with the neighbouring Britons, his policy resolved to convert this incident to his own interest. He renewed the war of Strathclyde with vigour. Success attended his course. The fall of the independent state of the Strathclydensian Britons was decided on the gory field of Vacornar, where the victor lost many a warrior (*p*). In 975, Dunwallon, his gallant antagonist, retired to Rome, where he took the cowl, since he could not retain the diadem (*q*).

Dunwallon, which was the British form of the Irish Dovenal or Donal, was undoubtedly a descendant, perhaps a son of Dovenal, the son of Aodh, the brother of Constantin III. Nor must Dunwallon be confounded with Dunmail, the king of Cumbria, whose two sons were mutilated by the barbarous policy of Edmund in 945 (*r*). The ancient Britons of Strathclyde became now wholly mingled with the Picts and Scots; and Strathclyde, their congenial

(*o*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes; Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, in Innes's App. No. 5; Chron. Elegiacum; Ogygia, p. 487; Ulster Annals, sub an. 970.

(*p*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes.

(*q*) The Welsh Chron. of the Saxons, and Caradoc, state in 975, that Dunwallon went to Rome, took the cowl, and there died. Welsh Archaiol., v. ii., p. 489-494. The Welsh Chron. of the Princes relate this event in 970. *Ib.*, 394. But this chronicle is generally four or five years behind in the dates of its notices, as appears by comparing it with the Saxon Chron., with the Irish Annals, and with the Scots Chronicons. Williams, in his edition of Lhuyd's *Commentariolum*, states the abdication of Dunwallon in 974, from the Welsh Annals. But the above are the correct dates from the Welsh Chronicles as they are printed in the *Archaiology*; and the year 975 must be regarded as the genuine epoch of the final annexation of the Strathclydensian kingdom to the Scottish crown.

(*r*) Williams in his Note on Lhuyd's *Commentariolum*, p. 41-2, and Langhorn, have mistakenly supposed Dunmail and Dunwallon to be the same.

country, was for ever annexed to the Scottish crown by the successful efforts of Kenneth III., who long enjoyed the ripe fruitage of his conduct, which was as prudent as it was valorous.

SECT. III.

FROM the foregoing history, it is apparent that the vast peninsula which is formed by the Solway, the Irish sea, and the Clyde, was inhabited during the fifth century, by the descendants of the Selgovæ, the Novantes, and the Damnii. The Northumbrian Saxons, as we have seen, over-running the peninsula, retained the ascendancy which their superiority of character, more than their greatness of numbers had given them, during the two subsequent centuries. The anarchy, however, which prevailed in Northumberland at the conclusion of the eighth age, gave a fatal shock to the Saxon power, which was not supported by a numerous populousness within that extensive region. The Northumbrians had only mingled with the Romanized Britons who occupied the country after the abdication of the Roman government. Yet had the zeal of Osric, the Northumbrian king, established the bishopric of *Candida Casa* or Whithorn in 723 A.D., which came to a premature end with Eadwulf, who was appointed the last of the bishops of Whithorn in 790 A.D. (s). The Saxon population had always been scanty within those boundaries, and the Saxon authority was annihilated when the Northumbrian dynasty became extinct at the end of the eighth century, when that great peninsula was not yet known by the name of *Galloway* (t).

(s) Saville's *Chronologia Script.* post Bedam.

(t) Id. Bede, who gave the history of that episcopate, did not know the country by the name of *Galloway*. The notices of topography come in here usefully to illustrate the obscurity of history. The maps of Galloway exhibit but very few old Saxon names of places, which could have been applied as early as the eighth century, a sure proof that the first of the Saxon invaders of this country could have made few settlements in that early age. In the stewartry of Kirkcudbright we may trace a few Saxon names which correspond with the fewness of the Saxon settlers till recent times. The Saxon *Merse* is applied in some instances to fenny tracts, which had been previously denominated *Corse* by the Britons. The Saxon *Burg*, a fort or town, appears in a few names: as *Borg* parish, *Burgh* in Colvend, and *Dryburgh* in Crossmichael. There is only one instance of the Saxon *Berg*, a hill, which appears in its English form of *Berry*, in *Raeberry*-hill. There are only two examples of the Saxon *Wic*, in the names of *Rerwick* and *Southwick*. The Saxon *Bye* only appears in the name of *Bombie*; and there is only one instance of the Saxon *Ham*, in *Edingham* and *Twynham*. The Saxon *Cleugh*, a ravine, appears only in two names. There are a few instances of the Saxon *Hleawe* or *Law*, a hill: as *Law* in *Rerwick*,

An opening was thus made for a new colony within those ample confines (*u*). The *Cruithne* of Ireland, like their progenitors during the Roman period, had engaged, meantime, in frequent enterprizes against the opposite coasts of North-Britain, though without much success (*x*); and it was not till the end of the eighth century that the *Cruithne* made a more successful attempt near the Rims of Galloway on the westward, when the British Novantes had been weakened by the domination of the Northumbrian power. Here the Ulster-Irish commenced a settlement; and to this commodious shore they were successively followed by fresh swarms from the Irish hive during the ninth and tenth centuries, while the Danish sea kings insulted the sacred island; and the *Cruithne* were joined in their new settlements by the kindred Scots of Kintyre, who, crossing the Clyde in their currachs, had settled on the opposite shores of Cunningham and Kyle (*y*).

It is more than probable that the Irish *Cruithne* who thus colonized the ancient country of the Novantes, and Selgovæ, communicated to the Irish set-

Ward *law* in Balmacellan, Green-*law* in Crossmichael, *Law* in Minniegaff. The greater part of those names, perhaps, were applied to the sites of places in Galloway, subsequent to the Irish colonization of that country. Of this position the name of *Bar-macach-law* furnishes a plain intimation, as the Saxon *Law*, a hill, was obviously grafted, like some other names, on the Irish *Bar*, a *height*, which had been previously applied. The only river which appears in Galloway to have a Saxon name is the Fleet, from the Anglo-Saxon *Fleot*. The Saxons, who domineered in West Galloway or Wigtonshire during the 7th and 8th centuries, imposed very few names on places, because having a very inconsiderable population, they formed few settlements, and they became merged among the more numerous Britons. A few of the old Saxon names they did impose during those ages perhaps, such as *Whithorn*, *Cuning-ham*, *Craig-bottle*, *Apple-by*, *Les-walt*, *Mers-town*, *Brugh-ton*, *Wig-ton*, and *Craig-law*. Such, then, are the only names which can be pointed out as old Saxon appellations, that may have been probably imposed during the Saxon rule: and even some of those, as the *town*, *law*, and *burgh*, may have been applied in more recent times, as the Scoto-Saxon speech continued here in use through many subsequent ages. The remainder of the Scoto-Saxon names are merely English, which were undoubtedly applied, in some subsequent periods, to the Irish colonization of Galloway, after the fall of the Saxon government, at the end of the eighth century.

(*u*) Malmesbury, l. i., c. iii.; Usher's *Primordia*, 8vo, p. 667, 1172; Gough's *Camden*, v. iii., p. 330-1.

(*x*) In 682 A.D. Cathasao, the son of Maelodun, then Maormer of the Ulster *Cruithne*, sailed with his followers from Ireland, and landing on the frith of Clyde among the Britons, he was encountered and slain by them near Mauchline, in Ayr, at a place to which the Irish gave the name of *Rathmore*, or great fort. In this stronghold Cathasao and his *Cruithne* had probably attacked the Britons, who certainly repulsed them with decisive success. *Ulster An.*, sub an. 682. In 702 the Ulster *Cruithne* made another attempt to obtain a settlement among the Britons on the frith of Clyde; but they were again repulsed in the battle of Culin. *Ib.*, sub an. 702.

(*y*) Bede, l. i., ch. i.; Usher's *Primordia*, p. 612.

tlers there, the name of *Picts*, as we see it in the chronicles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Irish colonists were denominated *Cruithne* in their native land,—*Cruithneach*, in the Irish speech, signifying *Picts*; and it was as natural for those settlers to call themselves, and to be called by others, by the translated name of *Picts*, as it was easy for ignorant chroniclers to transfer to the Gaelic settlers from Ireland and Kintyre, the well-known name of the genuine *Picts* of North-Britain. The fact carries up conjecture to probability. It was undoubtedly owing to all those Gaelic colonists, within this vast peninsula, that the new colony obtained in recent times the characteristic name of *Gallwallia*, *Gallowidia*, *Gallowagia*, *Gallwadia*, *Galwegia*, *Galloway*, *Galloway* (*a*). The name of *Galloway* is not mentioned by Bede, though he knew the country. It is not noticed by the bishop of Caithness, when he wrote expressly "*de situ Albanie*," as we learn from the documents in Innes's Critical Essay; and the first authentic notice of this name is in Earl David's charter to the monks of Selkirk, before he acquired the crown in 1124. From all those intimations, we may conclude that this great peninsula did not obtain the name of *Galweia* or *Galloway*, till some time after the commencement of the *Scottish Period*.

The name, thus recent in its origin, and barbarized in its form, was probably derived from some *bay*, whereon some strangers settled. The capacious bay of

(*a*) Camden's Brit., 1604. p. 692; and after him Usher's Prim., p. 667; Ruddiman's Index to the Diplom. Scotiæ, p. 113. In a charter of David I. this country was called *Galwegia*. Sir J. Dalrymple's Col., 171; in a charter of William the Lion it is called *Galweia*. Dug. Monast., v. iii., p. 38. John granted certain lands in Ireland to Allan de *Galloway* an^o 1213. The same king gave lands in Ireland to Thomas de *Galway* an^o 1216. Pat. 14 Reg. Joh. Pat. 17 Joh. This name may be merely *Galliway* or *Gaelway*, the bay of the Gael or Irish. We may learn, indeed, from Wachter, that *Galli* signifies the Gael: "*Galli veteribus Gallwalliæ, non Franci dicti.*" W. Malmshury apud Saville's Script., 25. *Wage* in the Teutonic signifies *aqua, mare*. Wachter in vo. *Wage* was pronounced by the English *Way*, as *Leag* is *Ley*, and *Haeg* is *Hay*, etc. Lye's Sax. Dict. The Anglo-Saxon *Wæg* signifies *fluctus, unda, iter, via*. Somner. From these intimations we may discover, perhaps, the origin of the *Solway*. *Sole*, *Sol*, *Sal*, signify *sal fluidum*. Wachter in vo.; and *Wage*, *Wæge*, *Mare*, as in the well-known river *Med-way*. A Gaelic etymologist would probably derive the etymon of *Galloway* from *Gallbhagh*, which the English would pronounce *Gallwa* or *Gallway*, the estuary or bay of the strangers or foreigners. The Annals of Ulster, under A.D. 1200, call the people of *Galloway* *the Irish Gáls*. The Saxon Chronicle constantly calls the *Gael* of France *Galwalas*. See Gibson's Index, Nom. Loc. Explicatio, in voce. It seems more than probable that this difficult name was originally imposed by the Irish settlers, and afterwards Saxenized, from the coincidence of the name. The legends of the country, however, attribute the origin of the name to King *Galdus*, who fought and fell on the bay of Wigton. In his description of Wigtonshire, Sir Andrew Agnew

Luce would offer the migrants a commodious harbour; and the principal settlement of the new-comers would gradually communicate its significant name to the contiguous country, as the Shire-town conveys its appellation to the shire. In the effluxion of three centuries, the name of *Galloway* was applied loosely to the whole peninsula, lying between the Solway and the Clyde, including Annandale on the south, and Ayrshire on the north (*l*). In the long effluxion of three busy centuries, the Irish settlers completely occupied the ample extent of Galloway, mingling everywhere with the enfeebled Britons, whose speech they understood, and amalgamating with the still fewer Saxons, whose language they rejected as unintelligible and harsh. The names which the Scoto-Irish imposed on places, and which still remain within that country, evince at once the numbers of the colonists, and the extent of their settlements, more satisfactorily than the uncertain notices of ill-informed annalists (*b*). The Irish topography of Galloway corresponds more exactly with the topography of Ireland than with that of proper Scotland. This shade of difference concurs with the intimations which evince that Galloway was settled by a direct colonization, while proper Scotland, on the northern side of the two friths, was settled by the Scoto-Irish descendants of the first settlers of Kintyre during the ninth century (*c*).

says that “beside the harbour of Wigton stands the ancient monument of King *Galdus*, from whence “the shire has its name called *Gallawidia*.” This is the fabulous *Galdus*, who is said by Boece and Buchanan to have opposed the Romans, though conducted by Agricola. We may herein see a slight trait of history by connecting the fictitious *Galdus* with the real *Galgac* who fought Agricola at the foot of the Grampian.

(*l*) Sir J. Dalrymple’s Col., 171; Lord Hailes An., i., p. 106.

(*b*) See Blaeu’s Atlas Scotiæ, Nos. 13 to 23. The Scoto-Irish names of places in those several maps prove clearly that the Scoto-Irish came in upon the south-west, and that their colonization spread eastward and north-eastward over Galloway and Carrick into Dumfries-shire, into the upper part of Lanark-shire, and into Kyle. The Irish names which are so very numerous in Galloway proper and in Carrick, decline gradually in numbers as we proceed through Kyle and Nithsdale into the upper part of Clydesdale, and even into Annandale and Eskdale, where there are now but a small number of Irish names of places. In Kyle and in Clydesdale the Galloway-Irish, in their progress of settlement northward, appear to have met the Argyllshire-Irish in their progress southward.

(*c*) Take the following instances: *Currach*, a fen, a swampy ground, the same as the Currach of Kildare and others in Ireland, appears in Galloway as *Currach-more*, the great fen, etc.; so the *Currach* appears in Ayrshire and in Clydesdale, but not in proper Scotland. *Ald*, a rivulet, which is so frequent in the topography of the Argyll-Irish, very seldom appears in Galloway, where the *Pol* and the *Lyne* are the common terms for rivulets. *Bre* or *Bra*, which signifies a hill or acclivity both in the British and Irish, is very frequent in proper Scotland, while in Galloway it occurs but seldom. On the other hand, *Bar*, signifying a top or height, which is so frequent in Galloway,

It is indeed curious to remark how much the names of places within ancient Galloway correspond with the history of every people who have ever resided within its ample limits. In Dumfries, in Kirkcudbright, Wigton, and in Ayr, the appellations of rivers and of rivulets are chiefly British, the language of the original settlers (*d*). This fact evinces the first colonists to have been British tribes, as we know, as well from history as from geography, were the Selgovæ and Novantes. The names of the mountains, headlands, and of other places, are not unfrequently British (*e*). This fact confirms the former intimations, and supports the notices both of tradition and archæology. The paucity of Anglo-Saxon names, exclusive of the pure English appellations, in ancient Galloway, prove what has been already intimated, that the Saxons never settled there in numerous bodies for any length of years (*f*).

is much less common in proper Scotland. There are other topographic variances which mark the different settlements of those kindred people. In Galloway the Irish (*gh*) is frequently used for (*ch*), which is the pure orthography: as *augh* for *ach*, and *tough* for *loch*: and the *tough* has been converted into *low* by the English pronunciation in Ayrshire, Dumfries-shire, Kirkcudbright, and even in Ettrick Forest.

(*d*) In Dumfries, the *Annan*, the *Nith*, the *Esk*, the *Ewis*, the *Evan*, the *Ae*, the *Eden*; in Kirkcudbright, the *Dee*, the *Cree*, the *Ur*, the *Cargen*, the *Pilnour*, and the *Minick*; in Wigton, the *Ket*, the *Malzie*, the *Messen*; in Ayrshire: the *Irvine*, the *Ayr*, the *Stinchar*, the *Gelt*, the *Gourock*, the *Garnock*, the *Greg*, the *Glasdur*; all have their significant names from the Cambro-British speech.

(*e*) In Dumfries, there are the British *Cathur*-hill, *Pen*-agual hills, *Pen*-hill, *Pen*-law, *Pen*-pont, *Caer*-laverock, *Keir*, *Aber*-tock; in Kirkcudbright: the many *Carses*, or *Corse*, *Troqueer*; in Wigton there are the British *Ochiltree*, or *Uchil*-tre, and the Cornish *Heugh*, and the *Rhins* of Galloway; in Ayr there are *Ailsa*-rock, the *Troon*, or *Truyn*-point, *Dreghorn*, and *Cumnock*. There are, indeed, in proper Galloway, many other British words, the language of the Selgovæ and Novantes, which has been transmitted through every change of people to the present times: such as the *Pol* or *Pow*, the British *Pwl*, or Irish *Pol*, a water, or stream; the British *Cnol*, a hillock, *Kelly*, and *Kell*-ton, the British *Cell*, and *Celli*. *Frith*, and *Frie*, a forest, *Ceryn*, a ridge, *Collin*, hazlewood, *Ruy*-glan, the broad bank, *Lawn*, or *Lan*, a church, *Pebble*, and *Pebble*-hill, temporary habitation, *Terreagles*, *Troquire*, *Ross*, and other names with various compounds. The hill-forts, the hiding-places, the Druid remains, the ancient sepulchres, the canoes, the Celts, are all striking monuments of the British people.

(*f*) In Dumfries: along the Solway we may frequently find the old Saxon words. *Holm*, *Cleugh*, *Hope*, *By*, *Shaw*, *Shiel*, *Rig*, *Thwait*, or *Thet*. On the Locher-water, which was formerly covered with wood, may be traced the Saxon *Walt*, or *Wælt*, a forest, in *Mouse-wald*, *Ruth-wald*, *Tin-wald*, *Torthor-wald*; in Kirkcudbright; there are very few names of places from the old Saxon, yet the *Holm*, the *Cleugh*, the *Law*, the *Shaw*, the *Shiel*, the *Ham*, the *Burg*, may be traced; in Wigton there are not above half a dozen old Saxon names, the *Ham*, the *By*, *Wælt*, in *Les-walt*, may indeed be traced; in Carrick, there are only a few Saxon names mixed with the great body of Scoto-Irish appellations; in Kyle, the Saxon names are somewhat more numerous, but even there the number of

In that country there is only a sufficient number of Danish names of places to confirm the representations of history, which speak either of the irruption of the Danes into ancient Galloway from Northumberland, or of their incursions along its coasts during the ninth and tenth centuries (*g*). In that country the Scoto-Irish names of places predominate, though they have been much diminished by recent innovators (*h*).

In the before-mentioned mode was Galloway filled throughout its extensive range with a new and cognate race of people from Ireland. They did not

the Irish names is equal to both the Scoto-Saxon and the English names; and there are several pleonastic compounds of both those languages, indicating how much the two races of people mingled with each other. In Cunningham, the proportion of Saxon names is somewhat greater than in Kyle, and much greater than in Carrick; in Cunningham, the *Holm*, *Shaw*, *By*, *Cleugh*, *Ham*, *Wic*, *Threap*, are frequently seen in the names of places. Those facts throw great light on the comparative numbers and influence of the several colonies of the Saxons and the Irish, who poured into those countries upon the original British people.

(*g*) In Kirkcudbright, the river *Fleet* may be the Anglo-Saxon *Fleot* of Somner; in Kirkcudbright, in Wigton, and in Dumfries, the *Fell*, *Fial*, mons. of the Icelandic Dictionaries, but not of Somner, is applied to several hills. But the Scandinavian *Fell* is only to be found in the country along the Solway; it does not appear in Argyleshire, in Strathclyde, nor in the Lothians. There do not seem to be any other Scandinavian words which can be discriminated from the Anglo-Saxon.

(*h*) In the Southern tract along the Solway, in Dumfries-shire, there is but a small mixture of Scoto-Irish names of places; in the upper part of Eskdale and Annandale they appear more numerous, and the Anglo-Saxon fewer; and in the whole of Nithsdale, northward of Dumfries, the greatest number of the names of places is Scoto-Irish. It is a curious but obscure fact, that in the twelfth century Annandale was still called Strath-annan, and Nithsdale Stra-nith. See David's charter to Robert Bruce in the British Museum. In Kirkcudbright, the great body of the names of places is Scoto-Irish, even up to the bank of the Solway. On the west of the Nith the Scoto-Irish names abound much more than on the east of the Nith, where the Saxon names greatly prevail. In Wigton the Scoto-Irish names predominate greatly over the English, notwithstanding the modern innovations of surveyors. In Carrick, on Pont's Maps in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, which are chiefly used, the names of places are almost wholly from the Scoto-Irish. In Kyle, according to Blaeu's Map, the names of places appear to be of two classes—1st, the Scoto-Irish, and 2nd, the Scoto-Saxon and English; and those two classes are nearly in equal proportions with pleonastic denominations, which are composed of both those tongues. In Cunningham, on Blaeu's Map, the names of places appear, as they do in Kyle, to be of two classes—1st, the Scoto-Irish, and 2nd, the Scoto-Saxon and English; but in Cunningham the latter are more numerous, and the former somewhat less frequent than in Kyle. The Map of Ayr by Armstrong has made a great change in the names of places. Several of the old names, both in the Scoto-Irish and in the Scoto-Saxon, do not appear, and several English appellations are introduced. This observation applies to the modern maps of all those shires. The foregoing facts demonstrate that the assertions of those who say that "the whole names in Cunningham and Kyle are Gothic," are visionary.

enjoy, however, tranquility in the settlements which they had thus formed during three centuries of perturbation. The naval enterprises of the north-men who had settled on the coast of Ireland during those ages, the incursions of the Danes from Northumberland, the distractions of separate tribes, all inflicted on them the inveterate wounds of savage war (*i*); yet the Scoto-Irish retained their settlements as a distinct people, preserved the independence of their local system, and maintained their customs and defended their laws during the various changes of many ages (*k*). We see little, however, in those ages of rulers or lords of Galloway acting on the obscure theatre of their settlements in the progress of their afflictions, or in the gaiety of their felicities. If we may believe the English chroniclers, Jacobus, the ruler of Galloway, was one of the eight *reguli* who met Edgar at Chester in 973 A.D. (*l*). As early, if not earlier, than the age of David I., the boundaries of Galloway were confined within the narrow limits which have been assigned to that Celtic region in modern times (*m*).

The Galloway Irish appear to have been too intent on extending their colonization to attend much to the adventures of war, or even to the intrigues of policy.

(*i*) *Annals of Ulster*; *Sax. Chron.*, p. 83.

(*k*) By the statute of Alexander II., ch. ii., 1214, Galloway "has her own special and proper laws." *Skene's Auld Laws*, p. 14. Even Robert Bruce confirmed the ancient laws of Galloway, which Edward I. had attempted to abolish. *Robertson's Index to the Records*, p. lii. Galloway had her proper judges, who were always called in to decide when the persons or property of Galloway-men were to be affected. *Bern MS. of the Leges Scotiæ*.

(*l*) *Florence Wigorn*, 359; *Matthew of Westm.*, 375.

(*m*) David I. granted tithes to the church of Glasgow within Strathgryfe (Renfrewshire), Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick; but Galloway is not mentioned. *Fergus of Galloway* was a witness to this grant, which must have been made before the year 1142. *Chart. Glasg.* We thus see all those countries distinctly mentioned, and their rights clearly marked. In another grant of David I., in which Fergus of Galloway is also a witness, and which must equally have been made before 1142, the eighth penny arising from his pleas throughout *Cumbria* was given to the church of Glasgow. *Id.* His grandson William addressed a charter to his *Sheriffs and Bailiffs of Galloway, Carrick, and Levenachs*. In 1178 Pope Alexander III. confirmed by his bull to Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, the churches and other rights of the bishopric of Glasgow, in Thevidale, Twedale, Cludesdale, Eskdale, Ewisdale, Lidelesdale, Drivesdale, Annandesdale, Levenachs, Stratgrif, Meorns, Larges, Cunningham, Kyle, Carrick, Clenkarn, Strathnyth, and all the rights which the bishop had in *Galloway*. *Chart. Glasg.* In 1181 Pope Lucius granted a bull to Joceline in the same terms. *Id.* In 1186 Pope Urban confirmed to Joceline the same rights in similar terms. *Id.* From those several charters it is apparent that the notions entertained by Sir James Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, and more recent writers, that Galloway comprehended all those countries as low down as the reign of Robert Bruce, are unfounded. It is, however, certain that the judges of Galloway sometimes sat in judgment at Dumfries and at Lanark during the reign of William the Lion. *Bern MS. of the Leges Scotiæ*.

Of course, their history is barren of events. The Irish colonists of Galloway, like the Irish colonists of Argyll, brought with them from their parent country the Brehon law, and the law of Tanistry (*n*). They practised their own customs, and they long claimed and enjoyed *their own proper laws* (*o*). Under the Celtic polity, in every age and in every country the Celtic tribes of the same nation were but slightly connected. Of this disconnection we have seen fatal examples in Gaul and in Britain. The authority of the nation conjointly possessed and exerted but very slight authority over the tribes separately; for a body politic or national society was scarcely known, and the separate tribes were each supposed to enjoy rights and privileges which the nation, far less the king, could not abrogate or lessen. In such societies, and among a Gaelic people, the feudal law could not exist, because its fundamental maxims could not prevail against usages which had a quite different policy for their end. From those intimations we may infer that the connection between Galloway and Scotland, and the Galloway men and the Scottish kings, was but very slight; yet, however loose the tie may have been, we may certainly conclude that it was not of a feudal nature. Like the British tribes of old within South and North Britain, the Galloway men were of the same race with the other Scottish tribes, they spoke the same Gaelic tongue, they professed the same religion, they practised the same customs, and, above all, they obeyed the same king, as Gaelic kings were in those times obeyed by a Gaelic people. It is possible, indeed, that when Kenneth III. had subdued Strathclyde, he may have obtained additional power over those congenerous people in Galloway. Such, then, was the connection of Galloway with Scotland, and the obedience of the Galloway men to the Scottish kings throughout the Scottish period.

Yet was it the opinion of the late Lord Hailes, who ought always to be mentioned with just deference, “that Galloway, in its largest extent, acknowledged only a *feudal* dependence on Scotland” (*oo*). This notion, by more recent inquiry, is adopted as a *well-known* truth, and is enlarged by uncritical examination into an assertion “that the Gallowidian Lords were only *feudatory* “to the Scottish kings.” It is not logical in any lawyer to speak of *feudal* rights among a people who did not know the meaning of *feudal terms*, and resisted violently *feudal inferences*. The opinion of Lord Hailes is plainly con-

(*n*) See b. ii., ch. iii., § 3. In support of those laws they frequently broke out into insurrection during the reigns of Malcolm IV., William the Lion, and of Alexander II.

(*o*) See the statutes of Alexander II., ch. ii., and the statutes of Robert I., ch. xxxvi, in Skene's *Auld Laws*.

(*oo*) *Annals*, v. i., p. 106.

tradicted by records which he might have seen, and is strongly overruled by facts that he must have recognised. While Henry I. reigned in England, and Alexander I. beyond the Friths, Earl David exercised the essential rights of sovereignty over Strathclyde and Galloway, as his father had equally enjoyed the same authority (*p*). Malcolm IV., his successor, exerted his rights over Galloway by the sword; and William the Lion, who succeeded him, possessed in Galloway, castles and revenues, bailiffs, and perhaps sheriffs, which enforced formerly, and denote now, his sovereign power (*q*). The captivity of William the Lion was the signal for the Galloway men to expel his officers with impunity. The regaining of his liberty was the re-establishment of his power over Galloway (*r*). It was at the Battle of the Standard, in 1138, that we first observe the leaders of the Gallowidians, Ulgric and Dovenald, who both fell in that disastrous field (*s*). The Lord of Galloway who next

(*p*) Earl David granted to the monastery which he founded at Selkirk the tenth of his *Can* from Galloway. Chart. Kelso, No. 4; Sir J. Dalrymple's Col., 404. In consequence of this grant the monks received the tenth of the *Can* of cheese, of animals, and of swine, from Galloway, which was confirmed to them by David I., upon their translation to Kelso. Chart. Kelso, No. 1. This was also confirmed by Malcolm IV. and by King William. Ib., No. 2, 3; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 34. The Chartulary of Glasgow contains several grants of tithes to that episcopate by David, within Cumbria and Strathclyde. Both David I. and Malcolm, his successor, enforced the payment of tithes to the bishop of Glasgow, within the utmost limits of Galloway. William confirmed the charters of his brother and grandfather on this subject by a grant which he addressed to his *Sheriffs* and *Bailiffs of Galloway*, and which directs the payment of tithes to the bishop, "sicut servientes mei, *Cana*, et rectitudines meas ad opus meum recipiunt." Chart. Glasg., 213.

(*q*) See his grants in the Chartulary of Glasgow, which have been already quoted.

(*r*) Roland, the Lord of Galloway, with the judges of that country, assembled a jury, and held a court at the Shiretown of Lanark soon after the return of William from his captivity, and by an inquest found that the Scottish king had a right to the Gaelic payment of *Can* in Galloway. This curious adjudication, which is in the Bern MS. Col. of the *Leges Scotiæ*, must have happened between the year 1186, the epoch of the pacification of Galloway, and 1196, when Roland became constable. In the same Bern MS. there is an adjudication of the judges of Galloway, sitting at Dumfries: 1st, If any one should be convicted in Galloway, "per duellum sive alio modo," of a breach of the *king's peace*, shall forfeit twelve score cows and three bulls; 2dly, If any persons fight in the palace, except those who have the custody thereof, shall forfeit to the king x. cows. It appears this sitting at Dumfries happened soon after the peace of Galloway in 1186, under the reign of William. After this full exposition, I cannot concur with Lord Hailes that Galloway in those days "only acknowledged a feudary dependence on Scotland." Annals, v. i., p. 106. But his Lordship neither adverted to those charters nor knew anything of those adjudications on the very point of the king's sovereignty.

(*s*) Dal. An., v. i., p. 79, which quotes the contemporary writers, Aildred, 345, and J. Hagustald, 262.

appeared upon the stage of savage life was Fergus, the father of a long line of distinguished families; but having contemned the youth of Malcolm IV., he was obliged to follow the ignoble example of Dunvallon, by assuming the *cowl* in the monastery of Holyrood (*t*). In such darksome inquiries, retrospect and analogy must decide when the imitations of law and the recitals of history are silent.

(*t*) In the Chartulary of Glasgow, as we have seen, Fergus was a witness to several charters of David I.; but of his parentage there is not anywhere a single notice. He died in the monastery of Holyrood during the year 1161. *Anglia Sacra*, v. i., p. 162. He was born of course, as he was now old, during the reign of Edgar, at the end of the eleventh century; and he was consequently advanced to the manful age of forty at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, after which he probably became Lord of Galloway, either according to the custom of the country, or by the appointment of the Scottish king. The property and chieftainry of Fergus descended to his son by Elizabeth, the youngest natural daughter of Henry I. *Yorke's Union of Honour*, p. 9; *Sandford's Genealog. History*, p. 33. When the ambition of Henry II. induced him to interfere in the affairs of Galloway, under the reign of William, he recognized the two sons of Fergus, by that marriage, as his relations. *Hoveden*, 539. In 1234, we shall see, the Gallowidians apply to Alexander II. to appoint them a Lord, upon the death of Alan, whose rights descended to his three daughters. In after times, when the ancient usage and Gaelic people had greatly declined, the Scottish kings appointed the chiefs of Galloway. The Scottish kings seem not, however, to have been possessed, during the reign of Edgar, of Alexander I., or of David I., within Galloway and Strathclyde, of any lands in demesne; and having no such lands they equally appear to have had no *thanages*, which abounded so much on the east coast.

CHAP VI.

Of Lothian during this Period.

THE genuine Picts who possessed the country on the north of the friths, never enjoyed any part of the Roman province of Valentia. As a people they had no right to possess any portion of the territories, which were occupied either by the Romanized Britons in the west of that province, or by the Northumbrian Saxons, who came in, as we have seen, on the east of it. After many conflicts with those Saxons, the Picts remained without the possession of any part of Lothian, at the epoch of their union with the Scots, in A.D. 843 (*a*). This fine district derived its singular appellation from the Saxon policy of a Saxon people; and long before the age of Malmsbury, it was known by the vernacular name of LOUDIAN (*b*).

(*a*) Bede Hist., lib. iii., c. 3-6; lib. iv., c. 26, and App. No. 20 in Ed. Smith, evince that the Northumbrian state extended to the Forth, and that Bernicia was terminated by the Scottish sea when Bede closed his narrative. Simeon of Durham enumerates the very lands and towns which belonged to the bishopric of Lindisfarne in 854 along the shore of the Frith, comprehending *Abercorn* on the west, *Edwinesburg*, *Pefferham*, *Aldham*, *Tynningham*, *Coldingham*. Decem. Scrip. Col., 69-139; Hoveden, 418; Usher's Religion of the Irish, p. 115. The Scottish writers are continually speaking of the rights which the Picts had to the countries on the south of the Friths, without being able to make out any title. Robertson's Hist. Scot., v. i., p. 3; Innes's Crit. Essay; and, above all, the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 205-217, wherein the whole subject of Lothian is misconceived and mis-stated. The occupants alone had the natural and just right to the territories which they held after the Roman abdication. The Romanized Britons enjoyed their possessions from ancient inheritance; the Saxons of Lothian enjoyed what they held from conquest and occupancy; and those several rights are altogether valid against the unfounded claims which are idly made for the Picts. The important fact that Lothian was afterwards transferred by a Northumbrian earl to a Scottish king, proves by retrospect that the Picts and Scots had neither possession nor title before the epoch of this transfer in 1020 A.D., if we except, indeed, the fictitious donation of Egbert to Kenneth III., as we are told by William of Malmsbury, p. 376 of ed. 1570, and by Wallingford, p. 543-45. On this ideal transfer of Lothian our publishers of poetry are loquacious, while Turner, the Saxon historian, is silent. The fact is that Egbert died in 836 A.D., seven years before Kenneth acquired the sceptre of the Scots and Picts. Such is the fallacy of Wallingford.

(*b*) Malmsbury, as above, speaking of the before-mentioned gift of Egbert to Kenneth, the historian says: "Dedit preterea eidem regi totam terram quæ *Lau lian* patria lingua nuncupatur."

Soon after the union of the Picts and Scots, Kenneth made incursions into *Saxonia*, as Lothian was called by the chronicler, and burnt Dunbar, and wasted Melrose (*c*). But whatever he may have destroyed, he certainly retained not any part of the territory which he had over-run. It was an age of predatory expeditions, when the great object of adventurers was plunder rather than possession. In the absurd fictions of Scottish history, Gregory subdued Lothian, conquered England, and annexed Ireland to the kingdom which he had usurped. If we may believe the English chroniclers, Edward the Elder, in A.D. 924, obliged Constantin III., the Scottish king, to give him marks of submission (*d*). In 934, Æthelstan, a still more powerful prince than his father Edward, over-ran Lothian and spoiled Edwinesburgh, while he considered both as Northumbrian territories, and he is said to have obliged Constantin to renew his submission in resentment for the asylum which Godfrid, the Danish prince had received in Scotland (*e*). Constantin, in retaliation, joined the Danes in an inroad into England; but they were worsted by Æthelstan in the great battle of Brunanburgh, near the Humber, and Constantin returned to his country with the loss of his son, and with few of his army, in 938 A.D. (*f*). Such important facts prove more satisfactorily than the inaccurate deductions of ill-informed annalists, that the Scottish kings were not during that age in a condition to seize, far less to retain, such a district as Lothian, which was separated from their country by the Frith of Forth; they were opposed by a succession of English princes, who were distinguished by their personal vigour and for their national power. With the annihilation of

(*c*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes, p. 783; Higden's Polychronicon.

(*d*) Sax. Chron., p. 110; Hoveden, p. 421.

(*e*) Sax. Chron., p. 111; Flor. Wig., 349; O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 485.

(*f*) Sax. Chron., 113; Anglia Sacra, v. i., p. 212. On the decisive victory of Æthelstan, an ode was composed by a contemporary poet in the Anglo-Saxon language, which is still preserved in the British Museum, and has been often published. Take a few specimens from Michaeler's "*Monimenta veteris linguæ Teutonicæ*, 228-34 :

Scotta leode	-	-	-	Scottish lads
And scipflotan	-	-	-	And shipmen
Feoge feollon.	-	-	-	In fight fell.
Flotan and Scotta	-	-	-	The fleet and Scottish men
Thær geflymed wearth.	-	-	-	There to flee were forced.
Swilce thær eac se froda	-	-	-	So there eke the prudent
Mid fleame com on his clyththe	-	-	-	With flight came to his country
Nordh <i>Constantinus</i> .	-	-	-	The northern Constantin,

the Northumbrian kings in 954, Edwinesburgh, the *opidum Eden* of the chronicle, was evacuated by Osulf, the first of the Northumbrian Earls, during the reign of the Scottish Indulf (*g*).

Yet Indulf was too much occupied with the incursions of the Danes to seize Edwinesburgh or to conquer Lothian. Such an acquisition was reserved for a more fortunate prince in a happier age. Malcolm II. obtained Lothian by concession from a timid earl of Northumberland. It was during the reign of Canute A.D. 1020, that Eadulf-Cudel, dreading the vengeance of the Scots, made over to the Scottish king the whole territory of Lothian in just consideration of lasting amity (*h*). In this manner does archæology concur with history in establishing the previous probability with regard to this curious portion of Scottish topography. It is impossible, indeed, to satisfy the scruples of scepticism, but fair inquiry will yield full assent to the best evidence which the nature of the transaction allows.

Yet does incredulity withhold her assent till we discuss what country was intended by the term *Lothene*, though Simeon shows, by his reflection upon the fact, that he meant Lothian which adjoined to Scotland; but of such discussions there would be no easy solution, if they were more agreeable in their nature, and more satisfactory in their end (*i*).

(*g*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes, p. 787; and see Innes, 604.

(*h*) Simeon of Durham, Ap. Twisden Col., 81; "Hoc modo Lodoneium adjectum est regne Scottorum," says the historian, who was in a situation to know the fact, and who states emphatically what he knew to be true; and see Dugdale's Baron., v. i., p. 4, to the same fact, "by which means, says this antiquary, that territory came at first to be a member of Scotland." The recent authority of Wallingford. (Gale, v. iii., p. 545), ought not to be placed against the satisfactory information of Simeon, if the fact could admit the fiction of Wallingford.

(*i*) Bede, who does not notice *Lothian* on the Tweed, mentions *regio Loidis*. Hist. lib. ii., c. 14. The *regio Loidis*, which furnished subsequent chroniclers with a name for a different country, was undoubtedly the district of *Leeds*. The Saxon Chronicle says that Malcolm, in 1091, departed out of Scotland into *Lothene*, in England; in Provincia *Loidis*, says Florence; in provincia *Loudiensi*, says Brompton. Malcolm came out of Scotland, that was bounded on the south by the Forth, into *Lothene*, which then lay in England, on the north of the *Tweed*, as the writer of the chronicle supposed, as the English kings frequently insisted, and the English chroniclers generally contended; but their pretensions do not alter either the fact or the right! The Saxon Chronicle talks, in 1125, of *J. Bishop of Lothene*. There is a writ addressed by David Comes *Johanni* episcopo. Smith's Bede, App. No. 20. This John had been tutor to Earl David, and was bishop elect of Glasgow; he is mentioned in 1127 as bishop of Glasgow, by Robert, bishop of St. Andrews. Ib., p. 767; and he is mentioned as bishop of Glasgow, by Earl David, in the charter of Selkirk. Sir J. Dalrymple's Col., 404. This, then, is the *person* who was meant by the Saxon Chronicle; but there never was a bishop of *Lothene* in any nation, during any age. There was, indeed, Thor, archdeacon of

The names of places which still appear in the maps of the territory extending along the Forth from the Tweed, remarkably correspond with the history of the successive settlers, and distinctly evince that the western boundary of the settlement of the Saxons did not extend beyond the Avon. In Berwick, in Haddington, in Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, British names of the principal rivers and most remarkable hills point to the distant age when those countries were settled by British tribes (*k*). The next race of colonists in all those shires were the Saxons, who have left notices of their several settlements in the names of places which may still be traced on the maps, and will appear to decrease in numbers as we proceed through Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, from the Tweed to the Avon (*l*).

In Berwick-shire the Scoto-Irish even imposed their names on some places after the cession of that country to Malcolm II. in 1020 A.D. (*g*). The Scoto-Irish imposed a still greater number of their names after that epoch, in Hadd-

Lothian, who was a witness to Malcolm IV. charter to the monks in Kelso in 1159. Dalrymp. Camden, 202. But if there had been a dozen *Lothians* in so many different countries, the curious information which is mentioned by Simeon would remain unimpeached, because he knew the country whereof he wrote, and states distinctly what he knew. Skene, in explaining the word *Scotia*, says, "it sometimes signifies that part of Scotland which is on the north part of the water "of Forth, and is opposed to *Lodoneium*, which we now call Loudiane; for David I., in the third "year of his reign, by his charter, made omnibus Scottis, et Anglis, tam in Scotia, quam in *Lodoneio* constitutis," gave, &c., the lands of Coldingham, &c., lying in *Lodoneio*, "qubilk now lyis in the Mers." De Verb. significatione. In A.D. 1125, says Simeon, John of Crema came to David, the king of Scots, "apud fluvium Twedam, qui Northumbriam et *Loidam* disternat, in loco qui *Rochesburh* nominatur." This passage proves how well that intelligent historian knew the boundaries of Lothian.

(*k*) In Berwick, the Tweed, the Adur, the Dye, the Eden, the Leader, the Eye, are all rivers deriving their remarkable appellations from the British settlers; in Haddington, there are the British rivers Tyne and Peffer, and the British names of Aberlady, Tranent, *Pencathland*, *Pencraig*; in Edinburghshire, the rivers Forth, Esk, Leith, Breich, and Gore, *Pol-leith*, all denote the British colonists on their banks, who may be still traced in the names of Cramond, Cockpen, Dreghorn, Dalkeith, Keirhill, Pendruich, Pennycuik, Roslin; in Linlithgow, the rivers Almond and Avon have their names from the British, together with Abercorn, Bangour, Carreden, Ochiltree, and the *Peels* of Linlithgow and Livingston, which all owe their names to the British.

(*l*) Of the names of places in those countries, from the old Saxon words Cleugh, Law, Shaw, Hope, Shiel, Lee, Rig, Dod, Ham, Chester, Dean, Burg, Wic, By, and Threap, there is a smaller proportion in Haddington than in Berwick, a still smaller proportion in Edinburghshire, and in Linlithgowshire they decrease still more, and shew by their paucity that the Saxons never formed populous settlements within its bounds.

(*g*) The most obvious Scoto-Irish names are—Achincraw, Bunkle, or Bon-kill, Dunse, Eccles, Glengelt, Kill-inch, Knock, Old-Camus, Press, Rait, Blanern, Lough-loch, Lorgy-lough, Ross-point.

ington; the old Saxon appellations in this shire only out-number the Scoto-Irish by a very small proportion (*h*). As we proceed westward, from Haddington to Edinburgh, the Scoto-Irish names increase in proportion, intimating the paucity of the Saxon settlers, and the progress of the Gaelic people from the west to the east (*o*). These observations apply still more strongly to Linlithgow, which contains a still greater number of Scoto-Irish names than Edinburghshire. They will appear to a discriminating eye to be nearly equal to the English names which, in all those shires, owing to recent settlement and modern map-makers, are the largest number. In the west and south-west parts of Linlithgowshire, which border on Lanark and Stirling, the proportion of Scoto-Irish names is nearly as great as it is along the east coast on the north of the Forth, where the Scoto-Irish people predominated from A.D. 843 to 1097 (*p*). The prevalence of the Scoto-Irish names of places in the west and south-west of Linlithgowshire, proves satisfactorily that the Saxons, during the Scottish period, never made many permanent settlements on the western side of the river Avon; and the foregoing facts also prove that a late historian was not very fortunate in his topographical opinion, when he remarked, with more confidence than knowledge, “that Lothian was *entirely* peopled by Saxons, who afterwards received a great mixture of Danes “among them (*q*).”

(*h*) The most prominent Scoto-Irish names are the Bass, Bal-gone, Baln-crief, Craigendinnas, Dun-glass, Dunbar, *Down*-hill, *Duncra*-hill, Dalgowrie, *Drem*-hills, Fassney-water, Garvald, Inver-wick, Kil-spindie, Kil-duff, Pressminnan, Spot-water, Stoop-horn-rin, Tor-buck-lin-hill, Phantassie, Gul-en, Lin-plume, Nuckle-*Duns*, Tam-tallan, Wamphray.

(*o*) Of the Scoto-Irish names of places, the following are the most remarkable: Achincorth, Achenlecks-walls, Achenhound-hill, Achtigamel, Allermore-hill, Achendinny, Badds, Balgreen, Badleith, Balernoë, Braid, Cateuin, Corstorphin, Calder, Crossannit, Carnethe-hill, Craigentarrie, Currie, Dalry, Drumsheugh, Dalmahoy, Drum, Drumaben, Drumdryan, Drumbraiden, Fordell, Garvalt, Glencross, Inveresk, Inch, Inchkeith, Inverleith, Killin-water, Kil-leith, Kames, Lum-phoy, Malouther-hill, Moredun, Phantassie, Ratho, Torphichen-hill, Torquehan, Torsonce, Tipperlin, Torphin, Torbreck, Torucaving-hill, Craigmillar, Craig, Dalhousie, Kipps, Linfast, Linhouse-water.

(*p*) The most obvious are, Achin-head, Barnbogle, Buchans, Binns, Bonhard, Barbauch-law, Bedlormie, Bagornie, Breich, Binny, Bormy, Balncrief, Balbardie, Balgreen, Craigie, Carlowrie, Curruber, Cairnie, Craigmarie, Craigs, *Craig*-hills, Cult, *Carn*paple-hill, Dalmenie, Dundas, Drum, Drumbeg, Duntarvie, Drumtassie, Drumlyon, Drummelzie, Drumduff, Drumbonie, Drumshags, Drum-forth, Drumcross, Dechmont, Eckline, Ecclesmachan, Flass, Glendevon, Inch-Garvie-Island, Inver-avon, Inch (several), Inch-corse, Kenneil, Kinglas, Killicanty, Kilpunt, Kincavil, Knock, Linlithgow, Logie-water, Minniefree, Niddrie, Ogilface, Powflat, Polkemmet, Strath, Tannach, Torphichen, Torbane-hill, Tartraven, Lin-burn.

(*q*) Hume's Hist., vol. ii., p. 503. In the Maps of Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlith-

But this topographical inquiry furnishes strong confirmations of the foregoing intimations, with regard to the successive settlements of various people in Lothian, which extended from the Tweed to the Avon, and from the Forth to the heights that send their kindred streams to the eastward. Ancient Lothian lay from the Tweed on the south-east, to the Forth and the Avon on the north and north-west. On the east it was bounded by the ocean, and on the west it marched with the Cumbrian kingdom. Thus Lothian comprehended not only the Lothians of the present day, but also the Merse, and that part of Roxburghshire which lies on the north of the Tweed. Before the acquisition of Lothian by Malcolm, it was included in the bishopric of Durham; after this epoch it was annexed to the bishopric of St. Andrews, in which it appears in the earliest records (*r*). Yet the whole extent of Lothian to the Forth was claimed, even in 1075, as a part of the bishopric of Durham (*s*). The limits of the country between the Forth and Tweed, which belonged to the bishopric of St. Andrews, are distinctly fixed by the ancient *taxatio* of the churches in the thirteenth century (*t*). It was co-extensive with ancient Lothian, as it is described above; and the bishopric of Glasgow, which had conterminous limits with the bishopric of St. Andrews, was co-extensive with the Cambrian kingdom of the Romanized Britons.

After some fluctuations of alternate possession, Lothian became a territory of Scotland by the transfer of Eadulf to Malcolm, as we have seen, in 1020 A.D. During forty years it continued in this state, owing to the distractions of the English more than to the vigour of the Scottish government. Malcolm Ceanmore had the fortune or the address to retain this disputed district, in opposition to two such able princes as William the Conqueror and William Rufus. Lothian remained unalterably annexed to the Scottish crown, notwithstanding the imbecility of rulers and the changes of times, till the junction of

gow there is not to be found the Danish word *Fell*, which is applied to some of the mountains in Galloway; neither do they appear in those maps any genuine Scandinavian words that are intermixed with the proper Saxon. Thus are facts opposed to assertions!

(*r*) Smith's Bede, App. xx.; Chart. Glasgow, fol. 8.

(*s*) It is stated as extending from the Humber "ad ultimas Scotiæ fines." Hist. Episc. Dunelm. Anglia Sacra, v. i., p. 703. But the ambiguity of this expression must be restricted to the southern boundaries of Scotia.

(*t*) Chart. of Arbroath.

the crowns and the union of the nations fixed its political relations for ever (*v*).

(*v*) Whether Malcolm IV. resigned either the *possession* or the *sovereignty* of Lothian to Henry II. is a question which has supplied matter of inquiry and a subject for dispute. The charters of Malcolm which still remain show with strong conviction that he uniformly exercised over Lothian every species of sovereign power in exclusion of every other potentate. See a list of his charters among the archives of Durham in Nicholson's Scots Hist. Lib., p. 364; Anderson's Dipl., pl. 24; and see the Chartularies of Kelso and Newbottle. The *fact*, then, overrules the assertions of the English chroniclers upon the point, for Malcolm could not both resign and retain Lothian at the same moment. Neither does there appear to me, after every research, to have ever been but one Lothian, which always lay on the *north* of the Tweed. When the compiler of the Saxon Chronicle spoke of Lothene in *England*, he meant the same district, and he supposed that England extended to the Forth, as his context evinces. The copyists of the Chronicle, who changed the form of his expression, are unworthy of regard. It is perfectly clear from an attention to every notice that there never was but one Lothian, and that this one Lothian always lay where Lothian lies now, along the Forth from the Tweed to the Avon, notwithstanding what is mistakingly said in the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 205 to 217. David I. addressed his charter, which was witnessed by Herbert the chancellor, "De fugitivis qui vocantur Cumberlach," to all his faithful subjects, "tocius Scotie et *Laudonie*." Fragments of Scot. History, Ap. No. ii.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Civil History of the Scots and Picts, from 843 to 1097 A.D.

FROM investigations with regard to the Union of the Picts and Scots, to the extent of their dominions, to the topography of the various territories which, in successive years, were finally conjoined with the original countries of those united people, we are naturally led to a chronological adjustment of the accessions of their kings, the length of their lives, the demise of each, and the events of their reigns. Without an adjustment of the chronology of the several kings, the History of the Scottish Period of the North-British Annals is written in vain. Embarrassed as this chronological series has been by ignorance and inattention, by scepticism and system, it is of great importance to truth, that a chronological *Table* should be settled from a deliberate consideration of the four Chronicles in Innes's *Critical Essay*; from an attention to the *Chronicon Elegiacum* (*a*); and still more from a regard to the *Vera Series* of the same Critical Essayist which remains unpublished (*b*); and from a consideration of the latest investigation of this interesting subject (*c*). The commencement of this *genuine chronology* is 843, a memorable epoch in the Scottish history. The length of the *Scottish period* is 254 years, and this duration brings the several reigns of the kings to the demise of Donal-bane in 1097 A.D., and these coincidences, with the confronting authorities in the TABLE, conduct the inquisitive mind to such certainties as cannot be hereafter shaken by system or enfeebled by scepticism (*d*). History may now proceed to adopt as her own what demonstration has settled, from the various sources of accurate investigation, and from a wide view of an entangled field of satisfactory discussion.

(*a*) In the Chronicle of Melrose.

(*b*) I have had the benefit of the whole MS. Collections and Notes of the laborious Innes during fifty years, which are deposited in my library.

(*c*) An Enquiry into the History of Scotland preceding 1056, published 1789.

(*d*) See the Chronological Table in the following page.

A TABLE containing the *Genuine Chronology* of the Scottish Kings from 843 to 1097 A.D., as the same has been adjusted by an attention to the four Ancient Chronicles in Innes's Critical Essay, to the *Chronicon Eboracum*, to the *Vera Series* of Innes; and containing also the Systems of the same Chronology by the Gaelic Bard, by O'Flaherty, and by Pinkerton.

THE NAMES OF THE KINGS.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 3		Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 4		Ancient Chronicle Rhythm, in Innes's App. No. 5		Chron. of Elegiacum in the Chron. of Melrose.		The GENUINE CHRONOLOGY.			Innes's <i>Vera Series</i> .		The Gaelic Bard.		O'Flaherty General Catalogue.		Pinkerton's System.		
	Years.		Years.		Years.		Years.		Accessions.		Reigns.		Demise.		Years.		Years.		Years.	
									A.D.		Years.		A.D.		30 in all		16		16	
KENNETH MACALPIN over the Scots and Picts - - -	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	843	16	859	16	859	16	30 in all	16	16	16	16	
DONALD MACALPIN - - -	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	859	4	863	4	863	4	4	4	4	4	4	
CONSTANTIN II., the son of Kenneth AODH or HUGH, the son of Kenneth Eocha or ACHY and GRIG jointly -	16	20	16	17	17	17	15	15	863	18	881	15	881	15	30	14	14	18	18	
DONAL IV., the son of Constantin -	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	881	1	882	1	882	1	2	2	2	1	1	
CONSTANTIN III., the son of Aodh -	11	12	12	12	12	12	11	11	882	11	893	11	893	11	—	17	17	11	11	
MALCOLM I., the son of Donal IV. -	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	893	11	904	11	904	11	4	5	5	11	11	
INDULF, the son of Constantin III. -	40	25	40	40	40	40	35	35	904	40	944	40	944	40	46	46	46	40	40	
DUF, the son of Malcol I. -	11	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	944	9	953	9	953	9	7	7	8	9	9	
CULEN, the son of Indulf -	8	9	9	9	9	9	4½	4½	953	8	961	8	961	8	8	8	8	8	8	
KENNETH III., the son of Malcol I. -	5	4½	4½	4½	4½	4½	4	4	961	4½	965	5	965	5	7	7	4	5	5	
CONSTANTIN IV., the son of Culen -	5	4½	4½	4½	4½	4½	24	24	965	4½	970	24	970	24	4	24	24	22	22	
KENNETH IV., surnamed Grim, the son of Duf -	—	22	22	22	22	22	1½	1½	970	1½	994	1½	994	1	7	1½	1½	1	1	
MALCOLM II., the son of Kenneth III. -	—	1½	8	8	8	8	30	30	994	8	1003	8	1003	8	4	7	7	8	8	
DUNCAN, the grandson of Malcol II. -	—	30	30	30	30	30	6	6	1003	30	1033	30	1033	30	30	30	30	30	30	
LULACH, the son of Gruoch and Gilcomgan -	—	6	6	6	6	6	17	17	1033	6	1039	6	1039	6	6	6	6	6	6	
MALCOLM CEANMOR, son of Duncan DONAL-BANE, the son of Duncan DUNCAN II., son of Malcol III. -	—	17	17	17	17	17	—	—	1039	17	1056	17	1056	17	17	17	17	17	17	
DONAL-BANE, again -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1056	—	1057	—	1057	—	7	—	—	—	—	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1057	—	1093	—	1093	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1093	—	1094	—	1094	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1094	—	1097	—	1097	—	—	—	—	—	—	

KENNETH.

The great exploit of the son of Alpin was the suppression of the Pictish government, which led to the Union of the conquered with the conquerors, a congenerous people, at a happy epoch for both. Whether the Scots overpowered the Picts under Kenneth, or the Picts over-ran the Scots, has been made a question by system, by perverting tradition and embarrassing history, by confounding facts and vitiating truth, though without much success (*e*). Kenneth appears, from the events of his reign over both those people, to have been an able and a warlike prince. He frequently invaded Lothian, the *Saxonia* of the Chronicles. He burnt the castle of Dunbar and violated the abbey of Melrose during the embarrassments of Northumberland, without pretending to retain what he could not have easily held (*f*). It required, indeed, all the vigour and all the valour of Kenneth to defend the kingdom which he had acquired by address and fortitude. The Britons of Strathclyde appear to have burnt Dunblane. The Danish pirates, wasting *Pictavia*, advanced into the interior as far as Clunie in Stormont and Dunkeld on the Tay, under the influences of Ragnar Lodbrog, whose desire was plunder, and whose delight was blood (*g*). He soon after met his merited fate in Northumberland, amid a congenerous people. Kenneth was also a religious prince, as religion was then understood and practised; and in 850 A.D. he removed the relics of Saint Columba from Iona to a church which he had built at Dunkeld. To him also is attributed, with as much certainty, the removal of an object of equal veneration and more efficacy, the *fatal stone*, which he brought with him from Argyll and placed at Scone. He has been celebrated as a legislator. The Macalpine laws, which have been attributed by folly or fiction to the son of Alpin, are undoubtedly spurious. Yet may it be allowed to probability of such a prince that, when he united two people under one government, he may have established some general regulations for the common observance of his united people (*h*). Kenneth died at Forteviot, the Pictish capital, where

(*e*) See book iii., ch. i. and xi.

(*f*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes's App.; Higden's Polychronicon, p. 210.

(*g*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes's App.; Langebek's *Scriptores Dan.*, v. ii., p. 2, 3, etc.; Turner's *Hist. Ang.-Sax.*, v. ii., p. 115-117.

(*h*) The ancient Chronicles in Innes speak of the laws of Kenneth. He may have interwoven some of the congenial laws and usages of the Picts with those of the Scoto-Irish. Several of the terms of the Scottish law are traced to the Irish language, and some of them to the Cambro-British speech. See the Introduction to the Top. Dict. It is even possible that some of the

he and his Scots naturally ruled, on the 6th of February, 859 (*i*). Kenneth left a son, Constantin, who did not immediately assume his sceptre, and a daughter, Maolmhuire, who is extremely celebrated in Irish story as the wife and mother of many kings (*k*).

DONAL III.,

The son of Alpin, succeeded his brother Kenneth in 859. He is characterised by the Gaelic bard, “Dhomhnaill dhreachruaid,” Donnal of *ruddy countenance*. The Chronicon Elegiacum speaks of him by a feature of his mind, as *strenuous in war*. Fiction, directing the pen of Buchanan, attributes to Donal all the vices of peace with none of the attributes of war. Yet the praise which was given him by ancient chronicles is assigned him by modern inquiry. During his short reign the laws of Aodhfin, the son of Eocha III., were re-enacted by the Scoto-Irish chiefs at Forteviot (*l*). He died at his palace of Balachoir, in the year 863 (*m*); yet was he carried to Icolm-kill, “the sacred storehouse of

Macalpin laws, as we see them in the fictitious pages of Boece, may be borrowed from some ordinance of Kenneth. The first section of the Macalpin code provides “that in every district there shall be a judge for deciding controversies, well skilled in the laws, and that the *sons of every judge should be brought up in the same study*.” What is this but a repetition of the Brehon law of the Irish, which was practised by the Scoto-Irish of Kenneth. Every chief, or *flaith*, had a Brehon or judge within his district; and *this office was hereditary*, descending to the sons, who were instructed in their father’s knowledge. See Harris’s Ware, p. 76.

(*i*) Innes’s MS. Collections. The accuracy of this date reconciles some of the contrarieties of chronologists on this important point. Every authority agrees in the length of Kenneth’s reign over the Picts, which is restricted by each to sixteen years, except the Gaelic bard, who extends his reign over both Scots and Picts to thirty years instead of twenty-three. If the epoch of his accession over the united kingdom was 843 A.D., and he reigned sixteen years, as all enquirers agree, the date of his demise must be 859 A.D., whatever scepticism may doubt.

(*k*) O’Flaherty’s Ogygia, p. 484; Kennedy’s Chron. and Geneal. Dissert. on the Family of the Stuarts, 1705, p. 184. *Maolmhuire* is a Gaelic name, signifying the devotee of Mary. The pious daughter of Kenneth was married first to Aodh-Finliath, who reigned in Ireland from 863 to 879 A.D.; and she married for her second husband the successor of the first, Flann-Sionna, who ruled that island from 897 to 916 A.D. Ogygia, p. 434. This follower of Mary died in 912 A.D. Ulster Annals. She had several sons by both her husbands, who reigned in Ireland during their appointed periods, and a daughter, Ligach, who married Congal, the king of Ireland, and died in 923 A.D. Kennedy’s Stuarts, p. 184.

(*l*) The Colbertine Chronicle, in Innes, No. 3; and the Enquiry, 1789, vol. i., p. 492.

(*m*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes. The Chronicle, in the Reg. of St. Andrews, states that he died in *Rathin-veramon*, the same place where Constantin IV. finished his career in 995. Rath-inver-amon, as the name imports, was a *strength* or *fortress*, which the Scottish kings had at the *influx* of the Amon into

“his progenitors,” where many a successor found lasting repose from the turmoils of savage times.

CONSTANTIN,

The son of Kenneth, immediately succeeded his uncle Donald. The new king found his country in the unhappy state of France, Ireland, and England, doomed to suffer all the miseries of the Danish depredations, which the policy of an unexperienced age was unable to prevent. The first serious attack of the Danes was made on Ireland, and vigorously repulsed, during the year 812 (*n*). But the vikings of those times, as they lived amidst adventure and perils, were not to be discouraged by whatever danger. It required half a century of bloody conflicts and of alternate success to make good their settlements along the shores of the sacred isle, which was now defiled by the footsteps of the felons (*o*). North-Britain was at length subjected to the unhappy fate of being attacked on both her shores by the most desperate invaders, whose hope was pillage and whose desire was slaughter. From those commodious stations in Ireland, the vikings were now enabled to attack the vulnerable coasts of Scotland on the west. From their native havens they had but an easy voyage to the eastern shores of that devoted land. From Ireland, they found in the Clyde a commodious inlet into the country, and inflicted many a wound on

the Tay. This strength, with the adjoining village of Bertha, was swept away by a river-flood in the beginning of the 13th century. Stat. Account, v. xv., p. 529. All the authorities concur in limiting the reign of Donal III. to four years.

(*n*) Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 102.

(*o*) *Ib.*, 100-8. *Ulster Annals*, sub an., 852; *Langebek's Scrip.*, t. i., p. 415. Aulaf or Olave, according to the *Genealogical Table* of *Langebek*, t. ii., p. 415, may be traced up through the Northumbrian and Danish kings to that mighty viking, Ragner Lodbrok. In the year 853 Aulaf arrived in Ireland with a great fleet and many adventurers; and the Danes, who were already settled along the Irish shores, submitted to his congenial power. *Ulster Annals*; *Ware's Antiq.*, p. 106. About the same time arrived Ivar, the brother of Aulaf, with whom he confederated in some of his expeditions, and in many of his Irish conflicts. *Ulster Annals*; *Ware's Antiq.*, p. 107-8. Sitric, a third brother, at the same period took possession of Limerick, on the opposite coast of Ireland. *Girald. Camb. Top. Hibern.*, l. iii., c. xliii.; *Ware's Antiq.*, 106-7. The Danish rovers had also considerable establishments at Waterford; and they rendezvoused in several commodious harbours on the east and north coast of Ireland, at Wexford, Strangford, Carlingford, Belfast-Loch, Loch-Foyle, which is called Loch-Fevall in the *Annals of Ulster*. Strangford, which in the same *Annals* is called Loch da Caoch, was their chief resort when they were driven from Dublin by the Irish at two different times. But Dublin was the usual seat of their power, the mart of their plunder, and the scene of their dissensions. *Ware's Antiq.*, chap. xxiv.

the enfeebled Britons of Strathclyde. The frith of Moray, the river Tay, and the estuary of Forth, offered the Danish pirates attractive harbours on the east. The towns, the capitals, the royal seats, and the religious houses, appear to have been generally the chief objects of their attack and plunder. Those odious expeditions against North-Britain from Ireland were begun about the middle of the ninth century, and were continued till the middle of the tenth, when the Ostmen of Ireland were converted to Christianity. This important change in their religious principles will be found to have greatly mitigated their natural ferocity, and, in the progress of improvement, to have subdued their piratical practices (*p*). The predatory incursions from the Danish shores against the eastern coast of North-Britain, we shall see in the tenth and in the beginning of the eleventh century. We shall perceive Malcolm II. crush the Danish power in North-Britain, as Brian Boromhe in 1014 A.D. gave the Danish intruders a deadly wound in Ireland. The spirit of piracy, meantime, evaporated as Christianity had been introduced into the pagan regions of the North, and the gradual improvements of the European governments lessened the expectation of impunity as well as the hope of pillage (*q*).

In the meantime, Constantin II. had to meet the fury of their devastations while the rage of piracy was at its highest paroxysm. In 866 A.D. the Danes of Ireland under Aulaf, their ferocious chief, ravaged the Caledonian coasts from the 1st of January to the 17th of March (*r*). Gorged with prey, they retreated to their Irish strengths, where they soon prepared for a greater voyage. In 870 the Danish rovers sailed from Dublin for the Clyde with augmented numbers; and Aulaf and Ivar, their leaders, besieged the British Alcluyd,

(*p*) The following chronological series of the chief reguli of the Ostmen in Ireland, which was compiled from the Irish Annals (Ware's *Antiq. Hibern.*, ch. xxiv.), from Usher's *Primord.*, from Langebek's *Scriptores*, will exhibit the principal actors in the successive scenes of piratical devastations, during the period of their expeditions into North-Britain:

Aulav, and Ivar, his brother, ruled from	-	853 to 872 A.D.
Ostin, the son of Aulav, ruled from	-	872 to 875
Godfred, the son of Ivar, ruled from	-	875 to 888
Sitrig, the son of Ivar, governed alone from		888 to 892
Sitrig and Godfrid Merle jointly ruled from		892 to 896
Ivar, the son of Ivar, governed from	-	896 to 904
Reginald, the son of Ivar, ruled from	-	904 to 921
Godfrey, the son of Ivar, governed from	-	921 to 934
Aulav, the son of Godfrey, ruled from	-	934 to 941
Blackar, the son of Godfrey, ruled from	-	941 to 948
Godfrey, the son of Sitrig, -	-	948

(*q*) Harald Harfagre is said to have discountenanced piracy. Snorre's *Harald's Saga*, p. 80.

(*r*) *Ulster Annals*; Chron. No. 3 in Innes's *App.*

which they took at the end of four months by blockade rather than assault. They now plundered the whole extent of North-Britain, and they at length, in 871, set their triumphant sails, with much plunder and many captives, for Dublin, the seat of their power and the mart of their pillage (s). The Strathclyde Britons had soon to sustain another blow. In 871 Artga, their king, was slain by the procurement of Constantin, on whatever motive of revenge or enmity (t). In 875 the Danes under Halfden, their furious leader, issued from Northumberland, and wasted Strathclyde and Galloway (u). Such was the frequency of the Danish invasions that the wretched land was seldom at rest. In 876 they again invaded North-Britain, where they remained, amidst doubtful conflicts, for several months (x). In 881 Constantin had to sustain a still greater invasion of the odious foe. On the shores of the Forth he encountered them bravely, and here he worthily fell in fighting for his people (y). The Gaelic bard tried to perpetuate his fame in oracular verse :

“————— Gona bhrigh
 “Don churaidh do Chonstantin :”
 The hero Constantin bravely fought,
 Throughout a lengthened reign (z).

(s) Annals of Ulster; Caradoc; O’Flaherty’s *Ogygia*, p. 484; Ware’s *Antiq. Hibern.*, p. 108; Langebek’s *Scriptores*, t. v., p. 19. In 872 Aulaf appears to have led another expedition into North-Britain, when he met his merited fate from the injured hand of Constantin. Chron. No. 3 in Innes’s *App.* and in the *Enquiry*, 1789, p. 493. In 875 Ostin, the son of Aulav, king of the Northmen in Ireland, defeated the Scots, and was afterwards treacherously slain by his own countrymen. Annals of Ulster; Ware’s *Antiq. Hibern.*, p. 108. Ivar died in 878. Ulster Annals; and Ware, p. 108. Godfrid, the son of Ivar, was treacherously killed by his brother Sitric, who succeeded him in 883 A.D. Ulster An.; Ware’s *Antiq.*, p. 109.

(t) Ulster Annals.

(u) Sax. Chron., p. 83; Florence Wigorn, p. 314; Usher’s *Primord.*, p. 719; O’Flaherty’s *Ogygia*, p. 485.

(x) Chron. No. 3 in Innes’s *App.*

(y) Innes’s *App.*, p. 801; Chron. *Elegiacum*, in Chron. Melrose. During this invasion upon the coast of Fife, several of the Scottish Ecclesiastics, taking refuge in the Isle of May, were slain by the pagan Danes. Langebek’s *Script.*, vol. v., p. 57. Tradition still recollects, with a sort of horror, the several conflicts which the inhabitants of this part of Fife had to maintain with the Danish rovers; and the skeletons which are frequently found upon the shore, from Leven river to the eastern extremity of Largo Bay, are regarded by the people as the remains of the heroes who then fell in battle. The standing stones which still appear along this coast, though they may have been erected for very different purposes in prior ages, are supposed, by antiquarian prejudice, to have been set up as memorials of the repulse of the Danish intruders. The site of the glorious death of Constantin is pointed out, even now, within the parish of Crail. In a small cave, near a rampart called *the Dane’s dike*, Constantin is said to have been sacrificed to the manes of the Danish leaders. Stat. Account, vol. iv., p. 546: vol. v., p. 116; vol. ix., p. 454.

(z) The ancient Chronicles differ as to the length of the reign of Constantin. See the Chron.

AODH.

To Constantin succeeded, in 881 A.D., his brother Aodh or Hugh. The Gaelic bard characterizes Aodh by an epithet which seems to denote effeminacy of character :

“Da brathair do Aodh *flionsgothach* :”

To his brother followed Aodh, *the fair hair'd*.

His reign was as short and troublous as it was unfortunate for the unhappy Hugh. The bard speaks feelingly of the wretchedness of the age, and of the fate of Aodh :

“Da bliadhain *ba daor a dhath* :”

Two years were *hard complexion'd times*.

It was his misfortune to reign while Grig was *Maormor* of the extensive country between the Dee and the Spey. This artful chieftain found no great difficulty to raise up a competitor with a faction to oppose the king. The contending parties met in Strathallan on a bloody field, wherein the son of the great Kenneth was wounded ; and being carried to Inverurie, he died two months after this fatal conflict, and one year after his sad accession, during

Table, before. After the minutest investigation, the real period of Constantin's reign appears to have been eighteen years. The genuine chronology evinces the fact. Aodh, his successor, reigned only one year, as all the chroniclers agree. An eclipse of the sun happened on the 8th of August, 891, being the day of St. Sirciac, in the ninth year of the conjoint reign of Eocha and Grig. Chron. No. 3 in Innes's App. ; Chron. des Eclipses, L'Art de verifier les dates. Now, all those circumstances and dates concur to demonstrate that the length of Constantin's reign must have extended to eighteen years :

Thus, the date of the sun's eclipse was in	-	-	891 A.D.
the ninth year of Eocha and Grig <i>being the same</i>	-	-	891
Deduct their nine years reign	-	-	9
			<hr/>
The date of their accession	-	-	882
Deduct for the reign of Aodh	-	-	1
			<hr/>
The accession of Aodh and the demise of Constantin	-	-	881
The year of Constantin's accession <i>deducted</i>	-	-	863
			<hr/>
Leaves for the length of his reign	-	-	18 Years.

The Enquirer into the History of Scotland, 1789, though he is wrong in placing the accession of Constantin II. in 864, yet he is right in stating the length of his reign to have been eighteen years. Enquiry, vol. ii., p. 178.

wretched times, in 881 A.D. The same stroke of treachery which sent Hugh untimely to Iona, entailed upon his people the usual miseries of a disputed reign (*a*).

EOCHA and GRIG.

The bloody sceptre of Hugh was immediately seized by Grig. To colour his usurpation, this ferocious chief associated with himself Eocha, the son of *Ku*, the British king of Strathclyde, and the grandson, by a daughter, of Kenneth Macalpin (*b*). Eocha and Grig are said to have reigned jointly; but we may easily suppose that this able usurper actually governed Eocha and his kingdom. This is Gregory the Great, of Scottish fiction, who is said to have overwhelmed the Picts, to have crushed the Britons, to have conquered England, and subdued Ireland. Beyond these assumptions of fablers, fiction cannot go. The virtues, the valour, the successes of Gregory, which shine so resplendent in Buchanan's pages, may be all traced up to the pious gratitude of the monks of St. Andrews (*c*). But it were as idle to trace fable to its fountain as to attempt to ascertain the chronology of events which never happened (*d*). Grig, like other usurpers, appears to have conferred some privileges on the ecclesiastics of his age (*e*); and they were studious, by grateful falsehoods, to defile his predecessor with vices, and to crown himself with greatness. The Gaelic bard, who certainly never tasted the bounty of Grig, bestowed not any blandishments on Eocha and his guardian; but the favour

(*a*) All the authorities agree in giving Aodh a reign of only one year, except the Gaelic bard, who is followed by the congenial O'Flaherty. See the Chronicles in Innes's App. No. 3, 4, 5, and 6; and the Chron. Elegiacum. The Annals of Ulster, under the year 878, say that Aodh, the son of Kenneth, was killed "*a sociis suis*," which intimates that he was slain by the sword of civil discord. O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 485. The Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews and the Chron. Elegiacum state that he was slain in the battle of *Strathallan*. The Chron. No. 3 in Innes state his death in *Nrurin*. The fact appears to be that he was wounded in the battle of *Strathallan*, and died two months after at *Inverurie*. See Fordun, l. iv., cap. xvii. It is impossible to read the narrative of the reign of Hugh, as it is written by Buchanan, without disdain, for the prostitution of such talents to the ends of fiction.

(*b*) The Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 3; and in the Enquiry, 1789, v. i.; App., p. 493.

(*c*) See the Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews in Innes's App. No. 5.

(*d*) Wise on the *Chronology of the Fabulous Ages*.

(*e*) The Chronicle in the Register of St. Andrews says that he gave liberty to the Scottish church, which before had been held in slavery.

of the church did not protect the usurper from the indignation of the people. At the end of eleven years they were driven from the throne which they had mounted by the dangerous steps of civil war (*f*). The filiation of Grig is doubtful, but the weight of evidence gives him *Dungal* and not *Donald* for his father; and it is obvious that from descent he was merely the *Maormor* of the ample country comprehending Aberdeen and Banff. He appears to have been a chieftain of vigorous character, a man of unprincipled morals, with studied attention to religious appearances. His name has been as cruelly tortured as his nature was cruel. O'Flaherty indeed calls him *Grig*, the son of *Dungal*, or in the Irish form *Gairig Macdungal* (*g*), and *Geirg* in the Gaelic signifies *fierce* or *cruel* (*h*). Owing to some cause which is not intimated in any of the chronicles, though it is so unusual, Grig was allowed to live four years after his dethronement; and he died by a quiet expiration at his castle of *Dunnideer*, during the year 897 A.D. (*i*).

(*f*) Chron. No. 3: Innes's App. 785. The eclipse of the sun, which happened in the 9th year of this reign, fixes its commencement to 882 A.D. Ib., 784-5; Chron. des Eclipses, in *L'Art de verifier les Dates*, v. i., p. 68. The Chron., No. 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's App., concur to extend this odious reign to twelve years. The Chron., No. 3 in Innes, restricts it to eleven years; and this length of reign is adopted by Innes in his *Vera Series*, and by Pinkerton in his *Enquiry*. The *Chronicon Elegiacum* extends this reign to eighteen years, an elongation this which appears to have arisen from carrying it beyond the dethronement of Grig to his death, which is said to have happened in 897. Chron. of Melrose. But the context of the *Genuine Chronology* only allows eleven years to the wretched reign of Eocha and Grig.

(*g*) Ogygia, p. 485.

(*h*) O'Brien and Shaw. The Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews calls him *Giry*, of which *Grig* is a corruption, by transposing the letter (*r*); and this transposition is frequently made by the Scoto-Saxon people, as *Brugh* for *Burgh*, and as *Lanark*, and several other places of the same name, are generally pronounced *Lanrick*.

(*i*) The *Dundurn* in the Chronicle of St. Andrews, and the *Dunduren* of the *Chronicon Elegiacum*, mean *Dunaduire*, the well-known hill of *Dunnideer*, in the *Garioch*, Aberdeenshire. On the summit of this conical mount there is the remain of an ancient castle, which had consisted of a double court of buildings, that appear to have been partly constructed of the ruined ramparts of a still older vitrified fortification around the summit. The tradition of the country states that this castle was inhabited by Grig, who therein finished quietly his guilty career. Description of the *Garioch* in the *Edinburgh Mag.*, 1760, p. 452; *Cordiner's Antiq.*, p. 32-3; *Stat. Account*, v. xvii., p. 468; and the same tradition appears to have existed before the days of Fordun, who says that Gregory, after a strenuous reign, closed his career at *Dornedeore*. l. iv., cap. xviii.

DONAL IV.,

The son of Constantin, succeeded Eocha and Grig in 893 A.D. Yet did he not enjoy in quiet what he had acquired with vigour, while the Northmen continued to agitate the sea, and nations around trembled for their fate. Donal had to sustain a fresh invasion of the Danes from whatever coast. As the object of the invaders was either Forteviot or Dunkeld, they landed on the Tay. The chiefs, with a gallant people, hastened to defend the *fatal stone*, the *sacred palladium* of the state. Donal met the invaders in the well-fought field of *Collin* on the Tay, which is still remarkable, in the vicinity of Scone (*k*). The ferocity of the foe shrunk up before the valour of Donal, who was animated by a greater object, and the Danes fled from the patriot swords of the Scots, who fought for the dear object of the national safety. Yet this great defeat did not restrain the restless Vikingr from their odious practices. In the year 904, the Danes of Ireland under Ivar O'Ivar, invaded North-Britain on the west, and having penetrated into the country eastward, with a view to the plunder of Forteviot, the Scottish capital, they were bravely encountered and their leader killed by Donal, who fell himself in gallantly defending his harassed people. He thus ended a meritorious reign of eleven years in 904 A.D. (*l*). The Gaelic bard characterizes the son of Constantin as

“Domhnal Mic Constantin *chain*:”

Donal, Constantin's son, *the eloquent*.

But the Gaelic epithet *chain* rather means *chaste* or *beloved*, and even the malignity of Buchanan allows that Donal was equally dear to the high and low.

(*k*) See Stobie's Map of Perthshire. The old Chronicles specify *Collan* as the scene of this battle; and Innes, with his followers, suppose this place, from the similarity of the name, without authority to have been Invercullen on the Moray frith, where indeed a still more bloody conflict happened during the reign of Indulf.

(*l*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes's App., and in the Enquiry, 1789, v. i., App., p. 493; Annals of Ulster. See the Chron. Table; Innes's *Vera Series*, and his four Chronicles all agree in this length of reign; but he and the Enquirer of 1789 have quite mistaken the place of his death, being again misled by the similarity of names. The Chronicle plainly says: “*Opidum Fother occisum est a gentibus.*” This obviously means *Fother*, the residence of the Scottish kings, now Forteviot in Strathearn, and not Forres in the North. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 181. Their mistake is also evinced by the Ulster Annals, which say, under 904 A.D., that “Ivar O'Ivar was killed by the men of *Fortren*,” the name by which they call the *Pictish capital*.

CONSTANTIN III.,

The son of Aodh, immediately began a reign of unusual length, but of little quiet. As he assumed the sceptre and sword of his predecessor in 904 A.D., he was doomed to reign in troublous times; and he appears himself to have been enterprising and warlike. The Gaelic bard says that—

“Constantin ba calma a ghleac:”

Constantin was *valiant in battle* (l).

All his enterprize and all his valour were soon required to protect his people from invasion. In 907 the Danes, from whatever shore, made a general ravage of North-Britain, and they seem to have even plundered Dunkeld before they could be opposed by the efforts of Constantin (m); but attempting to attack Forteviot in Strathearn, the Pictish metropolis, during the subsequent year, they were met in conflict: they were defeated, and they were driven from this afflicted country by a gallant people (n). The land was now for a while quiet. But another invasion was made from Ireland by the Danes, under Reginald, who directed his fleet into the Clyde. This incursion is said to have happened in the eighteenth year of Constantin (o); yet the Ulster Annals date this odious expedition in 918. The Scots, who were said to have been assisted on this occasion by some of the Northern Saxons, at length attacked the invaders at Tinmore. To meet this onset of an enraged and intrepid people, the Danes are said to have been drawn up in four divisions. The first was conducted by Godfrey O’Ivar, the second by Earls, the third by chieftains, and the fourth by the skilful Reginald, who, as he commanded the reserve, seems to have placed his party in ambush. The four first divisions were unable to withstand the attack of the Scots, which was furious and well directed by Constantin (p). The success of Reginald’s ambuscade is but faintly claimed; and the retreat of the invaders during the night proclaimed the

(l) This is mistranslated in the Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 325. “Constantin was *powerful and expert.*” But see the words *Calma* and *Gleac* in O’Brien and Shaw.

(m) Chron. in Innes’s App. No. 3.

(n) Colbertine Chron. in Enquiry, 1789, v. i., App. p. 493.

(o) Chron. No. 3 in Innes’s App., which calls the place where the battle was fought, Tinmore.

(p) The Annals of Ulster mention particularly two Danish chiefs, *Otter* and *Grayava*, who commanded a party, of whom the Scots made great slaughter in this battle. Simeon Dunelm., p. 133, mentions *Otter*, *Comes*, and *Osvul Cracaba* as being with Reginald *rec* at the taking and pillage of Dublin about the year 912.

victory of the Scots, which was the more glorious as it was obtained without the loss of either king or maormor (*q*). This defeat forbade the return of the Irish Danes for many years. Constantin was, however, disquieted from the south. During the year 924 Edward the Elder came into the north of England, and made pretensions which he lived not to support (*r*). Edward, in 925, left his sceptre and his sword to his son Æthelstan, who knew well how to exercise both. Were we to credit the English chroniclers, who have their fictions in policy as well as their errors of ignorance, we ought to believe that Æthelstan, in 934, entered Scotland by land and sea, and wasted a country which he could not subdue (*s*). All the circumstances attending this expedition concur to evince that Constantin had the prudence to remain in his fastnesses behind the friths, till the storm of war which the wrath of Æthelstan had raised passed unheeded over a wasted land. Constantin is said to have provoked this invasion by breaking the league which he had made with the invader (*t*). He perhaps gave full as much offence by affording an asylum to Godfred, a fugitive prince of Northumberland; and he was now compelled, says Florence, to renew the peace by giving valuable presents to the invader

(*q*) Ulster Annals; Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 110. Godfrey, the son of Ivar, who commanded one of the divisions in the battle of Tinmore in 918, must be distinguished from his uncle Godfrey, the son of Ivar, who was assassinated by his brother Sitric in 888. After this deed Sitric enjoyed the rule of the Ostmen of Dublin alone till 892, when Godfrey, who was surnamed Merle, started up as the rival of Sitric, and shared with him the rule of Dublin with the vikingr. Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 109. Sitric, the son of Ivar, was himself assassinated by Godfrey's partizans in 896. *Id.* Anlaf, the son of Ivar, was slain in a conflict with the people of Ulster in 896. *Id.* In 902 the vikingr of Dublin were defeated with great slaughter by the Irish, who expelled them from that piratical haunt. The Danish rovers now found a commodious rendezvous during their banishment from Dublin in Loehdacaach. Ulster Annals; Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 109. Ivar, the son of Ivar, who was slain in 904 A.D., left three sons—Reginald, who succeeded him as the ruler of the Irish Ostmen; and Sitric and Godfrey, who were also vikingr. Reginald was obliged to maintain his authority by force. He was induced, by his desire of employing the vikingr, to conduct them to the fatal shore of Loch-Fyne in Cowal. In 921 Reginald was in his turn slain, and was succeeded by his brother Godfrey, who was infamous for cruelty even among the vikingr, and who died in 934. Ulster Annals; Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 110.

(*r*) Sax. Chron., p. 110; Flor. Wigorn., p. 437, who places this expedition of Edward's in 921 A.D.

(*s*) Sax. Chron., p. 111; Flor. Wig., p. 349. O'Flaherty states this event in 933, and adds that Edinburgh was spoiled, but that Æthelstan was obliged to retire without a victory. Ogygia, p. 485.

(*t*) Florence, as above.

with his son as an hostage (*u*). Subsequent events evince, however, that Constantin regarded Æthelstan with feelings of enmity, perhaps of resentment. He formed an extensive league with several princes of various lineages, who all hated Æthelstan, because they feared him. The most powerful of all those was Anlaf, who had married Constantin's daughter; and was at once king of Dublin and Northumberland (*x*). The most distant vikings hastened to join the confederates against Æthelstan from the hope of plunder, as they knew not danger. A vast fleet was now collected, probably into the Tay and Forth; and, in the year 937, they sailed without obstruction into the Humber (*y*). Æthelstan was too wise not to foresee this invasion, and too vigorous not to provide against its effects. He had collected a great army, and he had assembled the ablest and bravest of his chiefs, with Turketel, the chancellor of England at their head. Near Brunanburgh, at no great distance from the southern shore of the Humber, ensued a battle, which was then unexampled in the English annals, and which lasted, with alternate success, from the dawn of day till the going down of the sun. Of the many warriors who displayed the most hardy deeds on that bloody field, Turketel distinguished himself by superior skill and unconquerable bravery; and the chancellor of England was most ably supported by the prudence and valour of his sovereign. On the side of the invaders, Anlaf was most remarkable for the artifices of war, and the intrepidity of his spirit. Constantin was now too far stricken in years for feats of hardihood, but his son exerted many acts of forward valiance; and when he was slain, after a violent conflict, victory delivered the wreath to Æthelstan which he had fairly won. Yet the field had been so manfully

(*u*) Flor. Wig., p. 349. But the Saxon Chronicle is silent as to the presents and the hostage. About these events the Scottish chroniclers imitate the silence of the Saxon Chronicle rather than the loquacity of Florence. Malmesbury has some monkish eloquence on this occasion. He reports that Æthelstan declared, when he had given peace to Constantin, that he *would rather bestow kingdoms than enjoy them*. Lib. ii., c. vi. We might ask Malmesbury who gave him this fine speech which history is studious to repeat. This question is too seldom asked of ancient historians.

(*x*) Flor. Wigorn., p. 349.

(*y*) The Saxon Chronicle and Florence place that event in 938 A.D. The ancient Chron. in Innes's App. No. 3, says that it happened in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Constantin, which corresponds with 937-8. Yet the Chronicle of Melrose, the Irish Annals, and Usher in his Primord., p. 720, place the battle of Brunanburgh in 937, for which date he quotes Turgot, Henry of Huntington, Florence, mistakenly, Roger Hoveden. Matthew Flor. Langebek concurs with Usher in Script. Dan., t. ii., p. 412, wherein may be seen the Anglo-Saxon poem which was composed on that important event.

fought, that Constantin and Anlaf were able to make good a retreat to their shipping, though with the loss of many a life (z).

From this epoch Scotland was quiet. Æthelstan in 941 left his kingdom to his brother Edmund; and Constantin brooded over the infirmities and misfortunes of his years. With all his bustle and his bravery Constantin appears to have been religious. In the sixth year of his reign the king, with Cellach the bishop and the Scottish chiefs, solemnly swore, on the Moot-hill of Scone, to maintain the faith, with the laws and discipline of the church (a);

(z) Among the Danish reguli of Ireland and Northumberland the same names occur so frequently that different persons are often confounded. Such has been the case with Anlaf, the antagonist of Æthelstan, and the son-in-law of Constantin. He has been confounded with another Anlaf, who succeeded him as *regulus* of Northumbria. Sitrig, the kinglest of Northumberland, who married the sister of Æthelstan in 925, died in 926, leaving two sons, Godfrey and Anlaf, by a former marriage. These young princes were expelled from Northumberland by the jealousy of Æthelstan. Godfrey sought refuge in Scotland, and afterwards became a vikingr; Anlaf fled to his kindred, the vikingr of Ireland. Godfrey, the son of Ivar, who was then *regulus* of the Irish Danes, was in 934 succeeded in this rule by Anlaf, whom Ware, from the Irish Annals, calls the son of Godfrey. *Antiq. Hibern.*, p. 110, ann. ult. In 937 Anlaf confederated with his father-in-law Constantin, the king of Scots, and with several reguli, against Æthelstan. This confederacy was dissolved by the decisive battle of Brunanburgh, and Anlaf returned to Dublin. Upon the death of Æthelstan, the restless Northumbrians threw off their allegiance to his successor Edmund, and elected Anlaf, the *regulus* of the Danes in Ireland, to be their king. After some vigorous and successful hostilities by Anlaf against the English king, a peace was made, by which Anlaf obtained *all* that part of England lying on the north of Watling Street. In 941 he spoiled the church of St. Balthar and burnt Tynningham in East-Lothian; and he died in 941. For all these events, see the Annals of Ulster; Ware's *Antiq.*, ch. xxiv.; Sax. Chron.; Florence Wigorn., p. 348-350; Hoveden, p. 422-3; Sim. Dun., p. 134, 154-5; Malmsbury, in Saville, p. 50, 53; Wallingford, in Gale, v. iii., p. 540; Higden's *Polychron.*, in Gale, v. iii., p. 262; Matthew of Westminster, p. 365. The Saxon Chronicle places the death of Anlaf in 942, but in several of its notices about this period the dates of this invaluable Chronicle are one year behind the other authorities. Ware states, from the Irish Annals, that Anlaf died suddenly in 941. The hero of Brunanburgh was succeeded as *regulus* of the Danes in Ireland by Blackar, the son of Godfrey (Ware, ch. xxiv.), and as *regulus* of Northumbria by Anlaf, the son of Sitrig. Roger Hoveden, p. 423; Sim. Dun., p. 134. In 944 Anlaf, the son of Sitrig, and Reginald, the son of Godfrey, the reguli of Northumberland, were expelled from that country by Edmund, the English king. In 949 Anlaf, the son of Sitrig, returned to Northumberland, but he was again expelled in 952, being supplanted by Eric, who was himself defeated and killed by the Northumbrians in 954 A.D. From that epoch this turbulent country was governed by earls, of whom Osulf was the first who was appointed by Edred, the king of England. Sax. Chron.; Florence Wigorn., p. 351-2; Sim. Dun., p. 135, 155; Hoveden, p. 423. The genealogy of the reguli of Northumberland in Langebek's *Script.*, v. ii., p. 415, is by no means correct.

(.) Chron. No. 3 in Innes's App.; Critical Essay, p. 588; Enquiry, 1789, v. i., p. 493. The intimation in the text evinces how laws were in that rude age enacted.

and in the fortieth year of his reign, when he had declined into the evening of life, he relinquished his diadem for the cowl, and retiring into the monastery of St. Andrews, he became abbot of the Culdees. Here, having thus relinquished his sceptre, he rested from his turmoils on the staff; and here he closed a long and various life in the retirement of the cloister (*b*).

MALCOLM I.,

The son of Donald IV., and the great grandson of Kenneth, the illustrious founder of the Scottish and Pictish kingdom, immediately assumed the sword of the aged Constantin. The abdication of the preceding king occasioned, among a rude people, those perturbations which such anomalies produce under the best established governments. The Moray-men, instigated by Cellach their chief, rose in discontent; but the great event of this short reign was the obtaining of Cumbria from Edmund in 945 (*a*). The interest of both parties seems to have dictated this transaction. After wasting Cumberland, the English king resigned what he could not easily retain, on condition of amity and aid: the Scottish sovereign acquired a convenient territory on the easy terms of defending that northern country, and of acting as the ally of Edmund. The king of England, dying by the dagger of assassination in 946, left his difficult charge to his brother Edred. Northumberland, inhabited as it was by a very mixed people, was again agitated by Anlaf. Edred restored tranquility by wasting the land in 950. On that occasion he required the stipulated aid of Malcolm (*b*). The Scottish king did not hesitate, as his interest concurred with his policy. He over-ran Lothian, which then formed part of England; he entered Northumberland; and, imitating the example of Edred, by exerting the same powers of mischief, Malcolm wasted the country and carried off the

(*b*) Usher's Prim., p. 659. The Book of Cluan states the death of Constantin in 952. Ogygia, p. 486. The Ulster Annals record it in 952 A.D. The Chron. No. 3 in Innes's App. says that he died in the *tenth* year after his resignation of the crown; and this intimation would carry up his life to 953 A.D. The Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, which is followed by the Chron. Elegiacum, says that he survived his abdication *five* years, and here died and was buried. The Chronological Table will shew how much the ancient Chronicles disagree in the length of the reign of Constantin III. Some of those writers may have confounded the extent of his reign with the length of his life, while others seem to have deducted the period of his retirement from the real length of his reign, erroneously supposing that the latter included the former.

(*a*) Saxon Chron., 115; Flor. Wig., 352.

(*b*) Saxon Chron., p. 115; Fordun, lib. iv., cap. 26.

people with their cattle (*c*). The Scottish king meanwhile did not remain quiet amidst turbulent chiefs. Malcolm marched into Moray to suppress the insurrections of Cellach, the Maormor, whom he slew in the traitorous conflict. The men of Moray, in a subsequent year, marched southward to revenge the death of their chief; and Malcolm, meeting them in the Mearns, was slain at Fetteresso by an insidious stroke of doubtful treason (*d*). Fiction is studious to tell in modern idiom that the nobles were diligent to discover the conspirators, and were equally severe in punishing their aggravated treason (*z*).

INDULF,

The son of Constantin III., assumed the gory sceptre of the murdered Malcolm in 953 A.D. It was in Indulf's reign that *the town of Edwin*, which had been wasted by Æthelstan in 934, was at length relinquished, during the distractions of Northumberland and the reign of Edwy. In this state of desertion it probably remained till Lothian was formally resigned to the Scottish king at a subsequent period (*a*). The vigour of Edgar was such as induced Indulf probably to respect the power of England; and Edgar was so power-

(*c*) The Chron. No. 3 in Innes's Appendix, states this inroad during the *seventh* year of his reign. The Ulster Annals under the year 951, which was the *seventh* year of Malcolm, speak of war against the Scots, Welsh, and Saxons by the *Gals* or Northmen.

(*d*) The ancient Chronicles differ somewhat in giving an account of the time, place, and circumstance of Malcolm's death. The Chron. No. 3 in Innes, says that he was killed by the men of *Moerne* in *Fodresach*. The Chron. No. 5 in Innes, and the Chron. Elegiacum, state that Malcolm was slain "*per dolum*" by the Moravienses in *Uturn*, and these two are followed by Fordun, lib. iv., c. 27; by Wyntoun, vol. i., p. 179; and by Buchanan, who transfers the scene of this tragedy into Moray. The men of Moerne had no perceivable motive of enmity against Malcolm, who had irreconcilably incensed the men of Moray by killing their chief. The *Fodresach* of the Chron. No. 3 undoubtedly means *Fotheressach*, the *Fetteresso* of the present day, a hamlet and parish in the Mearns. The position of *Uturn*, the Chron. No. 5, is not so certain. In a charter of Alexander II., indeed, there is a place mentioned by the name of *Ulern* as lying near Burgie in Moray. MS. Charters in my Coll.; and Dalrymple's Collections, p. 99. He is said by David Macpherson to have been killed in a *battle* at *Ulern*, near Burgie. Illustrations of the Scot. Hist. But the Chron. No. 5 intimates that he was killed by *guile* rather than by *magnanimity*. The *per dolum* of the one chronicon and the *in claidam* of the other, which in Gaelic signifies a *ditch*, evince that Malcolm did not fall in *battle*. The proper name of this king is *Maol-colm*, as it is in the Ulster Annals and in the Gaelic Duan, and it signifies the *devotee* of Columba. Maol-Brigid is the devotee of Brigid, and Maol-peder the follower of Peter.

(*z*) Buchanan, edit. Man, 141.

(*a*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes's App.

ful as to drive the Danish pirates on the Scottish shores. They landed at Gamrie, in Buchan, with the hope of plunder, but the *Maormor* of that district gallantly repulsed them (*e*). Tradition has transmitted both the invasion and the repulse with circumstances of barbarism, which may even now be traced (*f*). Indulf was doomed to sustain a more powerful invasion of those odious plunderers, and to support a more bloody conflict. In 961 the Danish rovers landed within the bay of Cullen, in Banffshire. Indulf hastened to meet them. A furious action ensued on the moor, which lies westward from Cullen: the Danes were repulsed to their ships; but Indulf lost his life, with honour, in the eagerness of his pursuit. This victory has come down in the traditions of the people by the name of *the Battle of the Bauds* (*g*). Such was the honourable end of Indulf in 961 A.D., after he had ruled supreme, "*aird riaghla*," said the Gaelic Bard, only eight years (*h*).

DUF,

The son of Malcolm I., hastened to wield the potent sword of Indulf. This short reign was much infested by civil discord. Culen, the son of Indulf, seems to have been instigated by Doncha, the abbot of Dunkeld, the St. Dunstan of Scotland, to claim the sceptre of his father, contrary to the constitutional usage. The competitors met at Drumcrub, in Strathearn, the Duncrub of the present

(*e*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes's App.

(*f*) The memory of this descent and defeat is still preserved in the tradition of the country, and the vestiges of some encampments at the place are still called the *Bloody Pots*. A church was soon after erected near the scene of action, into the wall of which several of the skulls of the piratical North-men were built, and there they still remain. Stat. Acco., v. i., p. 469. A similar instance of barbarous triumph took place after the defeat of the Danes at Mortlach in 1010.

(*g*) The Chron. No. 5, in Innes's App., relates that Indulf was slain by the Norwegians "in *Inverculan*;" "ad fluminis ostia *Collin*," adds the Chronicon Elegiacum; "prope locam qui *Collin* dicitur," says Fordun, Hearne, p. 328. On the moor at no great distance westward from Cullen, at the influx of the rivulet Cullen into the Moray frith, which town was of old called by the Gaelic name of Inver-Culen, there are some large and many small *tumuli*, which at once point to the scene of this battle and indicate the numbers of the slain. At a little distance near Woodside, within Lord Findlater's enclosures, there is upon an eminence a large heap of stones which is called the *King's Cairn*, and which tradition attributes to the funeral commemoration of the intrepid Indulf. Pennant's Tour, 1769, v. i., p. 146; Stat. Acco., v. xii., p. 154; Ib., v. xiii., p. 432.

(*h*) See the Chron. Table. Tigernach states the death of Indulf in 961. Ogygia, p. 486. Abercrombie's Achievements states it in 961, v. i., p. 147.

day. The conflict was contested by a valorous people, with the usual fury of civil war. Duf had the good fortune to vindicate, by his victory, the constitutional rule. Doncha, the abbot, and Dubdou, the Maormor of Athol, met the fate which their rashness merited (*i*); yet this victory seems not to have been decisive. The friends of the pretender, and the partizans of the abbot, were still powerful enough to drive Duf from Forteviot into the north (*k*); and he was assassinated on the classic ground of Forres in the year 965, after a troublous reign of four years and a half (*l*). The unfortunate son of Malcolm has been mentioned by a variety of Gaelic names; and the Gaelic Bard has applied to him the epithet *den*, or the *brown* (*m*).

CULEN,

The son of Indulf, seemed now to enjoy, without a competitor, the blood-stained sceptre of Duf. The silence of the Gaelic Bard does not prevent the subsequent chroniclers from applying to Culen various epithets which evince the insignificance of his character, if not the baseness of his heart (*n*). The election of Dovenal, the brother of Constantin III., king of the Scots, to be king of the Strathclyde Britons, as we have seen, produced a long and salutary peace between those congenerous people. This desirable tranquility was interrupted, and the two nations plunged in bloody warfare by the baseness of Culen. The Scottish king was prompted by his temperament to violate the chastity of the daughter of Andarch, the king of Strathclyde, the son of Dovenal. The Britons, enfeebled as they were, snatched their arms to avenge the wrong of their prince. They were met in Lothian by the Scots, who seem not to have passed the Forth with alacrity in such a cause. Culen

(*i*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes; the Ulster Annals place this battle in 964 A.D.

(*k*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes.

(*l*) The Chron. No. 5 in Innes; Chron. Elegiacum; Annals of Ulster; and see the Chron. Table.

(*m*) Innes's App., No. 1. The Annals of Ulster denominate him *Dubh*, which is the proper Gaelic name. The Gaelic Bard and O'Flaherty speak of him by the same name, adding the epithet *Oda*. In the ancient Chronicles, No. 4, 5, and 6 in Innes's App., and in the Chron. Elegiacum, he is called Duf and Duff; the Chron. No. 3 in Innes calls him *Niger*, which is a Latin translation of the Gaelic *Dubh*.

(*n*) The Chronicon Elegiacum calls him *vir insipiens*; *Cuilean* in the Gaelic means a *whelp*, and hence the Chron. No 3 in Innes calls him *Caniculus*.

and his brother Eocha were slain by the valorous Britons in the field (*o*). Thus perished the unworthy Culen, after a disgraceful reign of four years and a half, in 970 A.D. (*p*). The story of Culen, however, as it is told by Buchanan, is a continued fiction, which is as disgraceful to the writer as it is destructive of truth (*q*).

KENNETH III.,

The brother of Duf, and the son of Malcolm I., assumed the contaminated sceptre with the dishonoured sword of Culen in 970 A.D. The English historians have supposed that he wished to offer his duty to Edgar, who arrogated the pre-eminence of king of Great Britain, and that he was conducted in 971 to the English king, who gave him many presents (*n*). Kenneth certainly renewed hostilities with the Britons of Strathclyde rather with ambitious views of conquest than to revenge the merited fate of his predecessor, who was of a rival family. The enfeebled Britons made a gallant struggle for their independence; but the superior power of the Scots prevailed. Kenneth, after various success, ultimately gained the important object of his ambition in annexing the kingdom of Strathclyde to the territories of the Scottish kings (*r*).

(*o*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes; Chron. No. 5 in Innes; Chron. Elegiacum. Tigernach places this event in 971. Ogygia, 487. The Ulster Annals record this battle and the fate of Culen in 970.

(*p*) See the Chron. Table.

(*q*) Man's ed., p. 142-46. How much more dignified is the reserve of Fordun, as we see it in Hearne's edition, v. i., p. 330, than the amplification of Buchanan. During this reign, says Fordun, which was equally unfit and remiss, nothing either kingly or worthy of recollection is to be recorded.

(*n*) Kenneth III. is said by M. of Westminster, p. 375, to have been conducted to Edgar in 975 by Ælfsig the bishop, and Eadulf the earl. The historian of Durham adopts this story without much examination. Hutchinson's Durham, v. i., p. 75. If, indeed, we could allow to be genuine a paper which is published by Dugdale in the Monasticon, v. i., p. 17, as one of the title-deeds of the monastery of Glastonbury, we must admit that Kenneth did visit Edgar in 971; for Kenneth is made to witness the charter of Edgar thus: "Ego Kinadius rex Albanie acquievi." But this pretended charter is very suspicious. Its style is too declamatory: its date is too minute; and Oswald, the bishop of York, is made to sign it as a witness in 971, though he came not to that see till 972.

(*r*) Colbertin Chron. No. 3 in Innes's App., which is more accurately printed from the original in the Enquiry Hist. Scot., 1789, v. i., p. 495. It is, however, unfitly interpolated by the editor as a continuation of the *Chronicon Pictorum*, which in fact ends with Bred, the last Pictish king. Ib., p. 492-95, for the continued interpolation. Dunwallon, the last king of Strathclyde, as he was driven from his throne, retired to Rome, where he took the cowl and died. Welsh Chron. of the Saxons, and Caradoc in the Welsh Archaiol., v. ii., p. 489-494.

He is, however, said to have now fortified the fords of the Forth (*s*). It was in 973 that Kenneth III. was required by Edgar to perform the terms on which he enjoyed the English province. From Cumberland he sent a detachment to harrass the Danish settlements as far as Stanmore. He marched himself through Lothian and penetrated into Deira. According to the odious practice of a ferocious age he spoiled the country and carried off the son of the Northumbrian ruler (*t*). In this manner did Kenneth perform the duty which he owed to Edgar (*u*)! As far indeed as the stipulations of the several kings were unequal, they admitted themselves to be inferior to Edgar. Kenneth had alone to defend his kingdom from the incursions of the northern invaders. Nothing could prevent their piracies but the wise policy which was prescribed by Edgar for his own interest. The vigour of Kenneth's government could not hinder a dangerous invasion of his country towards the end of his guilty reign. After making partial attacks on the north-eastern coast of Scotland, the Danes sailed into the Tay with a numerous fleet. Their object appears to have been the plunder of Forteviot or Dunkeld. They were met, meanwhile, by Kenneth, with such chiefs as he could hastily bring into the field, at Luncarty in the vicinity of Perth, on the southern side of the Tay, at a small distance from Inveralmond. Both parties prepared for a decisive day. Malcolm, the *Tanist*, and prince of Cumberland, commanded the right wing of the Scottish army; Duncan, the Maormor of Athol, conducted the left; and Kenneth placed himself in the centre. After awhile a furious conflict began. They fought long with all the fury of single combat; the one side for safety, the

(*s*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes's App., p. 788.

(*t*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes; in Enquiry. 1789, v. i., App. 495; and the Sax. Chron., p. 122.

(*u*) Malmesbury, Hoveden, and Huntingdon concur to relate a story of Edgar, which is unworthy of the manly character of that King. Being at Chester, they say that he commanded himself to be rowed on the wizard Dee by eight reguli, including Kenneth. Strange that those intelligent monks would depart from the simple story which is told by the Saxon Chronicle, that being at Chester, there came to Edgar *six* kings, who entered into a treaty with him that they would be his co-operators in future by sea and land. See Gibson, p. 122. Florence concurs with this statement, only enlarging the number of kings to *eight*, and making Kenneth III. and Malcolm "*rex Cumbriorum*," two of those kings. He makes all those sovereigns whom he enumerates swear that they would co-operate by sea and land with Edgar. If we could suppose, what is not far from the truth, that the king of England, after making his fleet circumnavigate the northern parts of Britain, had adopted the wise policy of inducing the several kings of our island, whether dependent or independent, to co-operate in the common defence against the Danes, this enlarged wisdom would raise his character superior to the just fame of Ælfred. But the story of his being rowed on the Dee by kings would only degrade a great policy into the grossest frivolousness.

other for a kingdom. The two wings of the Scottish army gave way to the Danish battle-axes. They rallied behind the centre, they renewed the fight on stronger ground, and the Danes in their turn were finally compelled to yield to the Scottish spears (*x*). The piratical intruders were now involved in the distress and danger wherein they delighted. Kenneth after this celebrated victory found leisure and safety to execute his domestic projects. He certainly adopted the dangerous design of changing the ancient custom which regulated the descent of the crown. In the execution of his purpose he probably procured the untimely death of Malcolm, the son of Duf, the Tanist of the kingdom, and the prince of Cumberland. Malcolm, the son of Duf, certainly never occupied the throne: to those projects and to that death may be traced up much civil conflict and many obvious crimes (*y*). Such a law may have been proposed by Kenneth; and such a law may have been passed on the Moot-hill of Scone; but the fact is, that two other princes were preferred to the diadem before his son Malcolm could mount the throne. Kenneth III. seems not to have borne his faculties with much meekness. While he suppressed an insurrection in the Mearns, which was not remarkable for habits of quiet, he put to death the only son of Finella, the wife of the Maormor of the Mearns, and the daughter of Cunechat the Maormor of Angus (*z*). Finella's son appears to have fallen by a stroke of justice, but Finella's revenge was implacable and restless for its gratification. Kenneth, either in pursuit of the chase or in pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Paddy at Fordun, was induced to lodge in the castle of the revengeful Finella near Fettercairn. This artful woman was at no loss for the means to obtain her long-looked for end. She fled, but justice found her retreat and punished her crime (*a*). Tigernach

(*x*) The narrative of the battle of Luncarty is so artless and so circumstantial as given in Bellen-den's Boece, that there is nothing superior to it for simplicity and minuteness in Lord Berner's Froissart. Tradition has transmitted most of those circumstances, and the existing *tumuli* show with sufficient distinctness the true site of this memorable conflict. Many of those tumuli have been levelled of late, and have disclosed many human bones, with broken swords, spears, and bridles. See Gordon's Itin. Septent., p. 150; Pennant's Tour, vol. iii., p. 71-2; Stat. Acco., v. xv., p. 525-7. Tradition has also transmitted what Scottish history has assumed as her own, the story of the peasant Hay, who, with his two sons and the yokes of his oxen, rallied the flying Scots and regained the desperate battle. I believe the whole story is an egregious fable. I suspect the surname of Hay did not exist in that age, and the family of Hay came into Scotland during the twelfth century. I conjecture that such yokes of oxen were not then in use.

(*y*) Tigernach has recorded the death of the son of Indulf by Kenneth in 977. Ogygia, 487.

(*z*) Chron. No. 5 in Innes.

(*a*) Finella's odious name has long been remembered in the Mearns. An ancient ruin in the

has recorded the assassination of Kenneth (*b*). This king's piety or remorse appears to have given Brechin to the church (*c*). By his liberality to the clergy the guilty king may have endeavoured to allay the perpetual torments of a mind which was conscious of terrible crimes. His death happened in 994 A.D. after an active, able, and guilty reign of four-and-twenty years (*d*).

CONSTANTIN IV.,

The son of the worthless Culen, assumed the tarnished sceptre of Kenneth III. His reign was short and unquiet. His pretensions even to such a sceptre seem to have been disputed by Kenneth the Grim, the son of Duf. A conflict ensued between the pretenders to a wretched government, near the river Almond in Perthshire (*e*); and Constantin, who is mentioned by the Gaelic Bard with the epithet *cluin* or *deceitful*, closed his inglorious days within the *Rath* of Inver-Almond in 995 A.D. (*f*).

KENNETH IV.,

The son of Duf, who was surnamed *Grim*, from the strength of his body rather than the force of his character, immediately seized the gory sceptre of

parish of Fettercairn is still called Finella's Castle. Stat. Acco., vol. v., p. 334. In Fordun parish there is a place called Strath-Finella-Hill. Garden's Map of the Mearns; and many suppose that the neighbouring Castle of Kincardine was also Finella's residence. Stat. Acco., vol. iv., p. 498-9. The parish of Ecclesgreig [St. Cyrus], within the same shire, claims the honour of her punishment. Here they show *Den-Fenel* or *Den-Fenella*, to which she is said to have fled from her Castle of Kincardine, in which she was discovered, and whence she was carried to her merited end. Stat. Acco., v. xi., p. 95.

(*b*) Ogygia, 487; and the Ulster Annals state the same event under the year 994, and the Chron. Elegiacum concurs in the time, the place, and circumstance of Kenneth's violent death.

(*c*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes.

(*d*) See the Chron. Table.

(*e*) Fordun mistakingly supposes this event to have happened on the Almond-water in Lothian, lib. iv., c. xxxvii.

(*f*) The Chron. *Elegiacum* applies to Constantin the epithet *calvus*, which corresponds nearly with the Gaelic *cluin*. The Chron. No. 5 in Innes states that Constantin was slain in Rathveramoen. This place is plainly the Rath Inver-Almond, where, as we have already seen, Donal MacAlpin ended his days, and which had continued to be a strength of one branch of the royal family from the age of Kenneth MacAlpin. Tigernach attributes the death of Constantin to a sad stroke of civil conflict, but he erroneously places the event in 997 instead of 995. Ogygia, 487. The authorities all agree nearly in the length of the reign of Constantin, except the Gaelic Bard, who extends it mistakingly to seven years. See the Chron. Table.

Constantin (*g*). But what he had thus gained by violence he did not long enjoy in peace. In 1000 A.D., Æthelred, the king of England, almost depopulated *Cumberland*, on whatever pretence, while his fleet attempted to circumnavigate North-Britain (*h*). Malcolm, the son of Kenneth III., who was then presumptive heir of the Scottish crown, had already been declared the *regulus* of Cumberland. As he refused an unjust demand, he was driven from his charge by a power that he could not resist. Peace was, however, restored on the original terms of common defence; and Malcolm was left free to intrigue for the crown which his father had untimely endeavoured to settle on him by so many crimes. In a barbarous age and among such a people it was easy to animate pretensions into commotion. The partizans of the two princes flew to arms when the dread of Æthelred was withdrawn. A bloody conflict ensued at *Moighavaird* of the chronicle, the *Ach-na-bard* of Fordun (*i*). Grim fought the whole field with the vigour of his nature and the valour of his family. He at length received a mortal gash; but he had no father to inquire, like Siward, “if he had his hurts before?” The death wound of Grim decided the fortune of the day with the fate of the kingdom. Thus honourably died Kenneth IV., the gallant son of Duf, after an unfortunate reign of eight years (*k*).

(*g*) “*Grim* is a common Danish name,” says the Enquirer, 1789, systematically, v. ii., p. 189; but *Grim* in the Gaelic signifies *war, battle*. O’Brien, and Shaw. *Grym* in the British means force, energy, power, strength. Owen’s Diet. Buchanan, indeed, talks as if he had seen the king, of the *tallness* of Grim’s stature, of his beauty, of his courtesy! Man’s ed., 155.

(*h*) Sax. Chron., 130; Florence Wigg., 369; Sim. Dunelm. 164; but none of these add a single circumstance to explain the cause of this unneighbourly irruption into Cumberland. Fordun supplies that defect of explanation. Lib. iv., ch. xxxviii. Æthelred demanded *Dane-gelt* of the Cumbrians, which Malcolm, the *regulus*, refused.

(*i*) Chron. No. 5 in Innes; the Chron. Elegiacum; Fordun, l. iv., ch. xli. The Ulster Annals state, under the year 1004, mistakenly a battle between the Scots at *Monedir*, where *Kinaoch MacDubh* was slain. The proper Gaelic name, *Moigh-a-bhaird*, signifies the *plain* of the *Bard*. The appellation of this ever-to-be-remembered place is now corrupted into *Monivaird*, the name of a church and parish in the upper part of Strathearn. “Some miles to the northward of the church,” says the minister of Monivaird, “there is a very large barrow called Cairn *chainichin*, the Cairn of Kenneth.” Stat. Acco., v. viii., p. 576. Thus the intimations of the Chronicles and the tradition of the country concur with the monumental *Cairn* to ascertain the true site of this important battle. Chronology fixes the undoubted epoch of it in 1003 A.D.

(*k*) See the Chron. Table. Kenneth IV. left behind him a son, Boidhe, who was the father of the celebrated Gruoch, Lady Macbeth; and also of a son who was killed by Malcolm II. in 1032. Regr. of St. Andrews; Annals of Ulster. Kenneth IV. had the merit of giving an hospitable reception to *Suene*, the king of Denmark’s son, when he was driven from his country on account of his religious

MALCOLM II.,

The son of Kenneth III., in this manner plunged through blood to seize the sceptre and the sword of the valorous son of Duf in 1003 A.D. (*l*). Of the reign and fortune of Malcolm, the Gaelic Bard has said :

“Trocha bliadhain breacaid rainn :”

Thirty years of *variegated* reign.

“Ba rìgh *manaidh* Maolcholuim :”

Was king *by fate* Malcolm.

From the ancient chroniclers he obtained the epithet *victoriosissimus*, though they did not explain the means by which he had merited this honourable distinction (*m*). He appears, indeed, to have deserved the praise of turning into distant channels the devastations of the Danes, who then deluged England with blood. Though the government of Denmark, Sweden, and of Norway, had now acquired firmer consistence and better morals, the vikings continued to roam through the northern seas in quest of plunder from every shore. The eastern coasts of Scotland were particularly infested by their piracies. They even seized, during this reign, the burgh-head of Moray, the *Ptoroton* of Ptolomy, if we may believe the obscure annals of Ireland, instructive tradition, and obvious remains. Here the vikings found what they greatly wanted, a commodious harbour and impregnable retreat. Earl Uchtred of Northumberland meantime invaded Cumbria; but he was sharply encountered by the Scots near Burgh-upon-sands, though with doubtful success (*n*). It was in the north, near the coasts of the Moray Frith, that the Norwegians collected plunder from a wide extent of country. Sigurd, the Earl of Orkney, carried on his depredations along the shores of this frith in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century. Even after he married the daughter of Malcolm, he was not restrained by this connection from continuing his ac-

innovations. The Scottish writers dwell on this praiseworthy incident. Buchanan's ed. Man, p. 156. But Messenius places the same incident in his abridged Chron. of Scandia about the year 994; and in his *Scandia Illustrata* he speaks of Sueno as still living in Scotland and aided by the Scottish king in 997 A.D. Messenius's *Scandia Illustrata*, t. ii., p. 31.

(*l*) Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews: Chron. Elegiacum. Both the date of the accession and the filiation of Malcolm II. are stated mistakenly in Enquiry Hist. Scot., 1789, v. ii., p. 189.

(*m*) Chron. No. 5 in Innes.

(*n*) The Ulster Annals, under the year 1005, speak of a battle between the Scots and Saxons, in which the Scots were defeated; and see Fordun, lib. iv., ch. xxxix., who claims the victory for the Scots.

customed depredations (*o*). A vikigr felt no emotions of delicacy; friends and foes were equally the objects of his plunder. The Danes having made a descent into Moray, were met in 1010 A.D. by Malcolm II. at Mortlach. A fierce conflict ensued; and the northmen, after defending themselves with their usual obstinacy of valour, were obliged to yield the bloody field to the numbers and bravery of the Scots (*p*). This year was as unfortunate for England as it was happy for North-Britain. The great infelicity of the southern parts of our island at that period arose from the mixed nature of the people, which was the natural effect of the wrong policy of Ælfred, who conceded the settlement of the Danes to his necessities. But the Scots had hitherto remained uncontaminated in their blood and uncorrupted in their spirit. They had never allowed the odious Danes to gain a permanent footing within their country. Malcolm, in gratitude for his recent victory, soon after endowed a religious house at Mortlach, with its appropriate church, which was erected near the scene of the bloody conflict (*q*). The piety of Malcolm was approved by the confirmation of Benedict, who ruled the universal church from 1012 to 1024 A.D. (*r*). *Tradition and remains* confirm the intimations of Fordun;

(*o*) Gunlaughi-Sagan. Hafn., 1775. p. 169; and Torfæus's *Orcades*. The Enquirer into the Hist. Scot., 1789, v. ii., p. 190, says that no incursions were then made from Orkney, because Sigurd was in strict amity with Malcolm II.; but general reasoning must give way to special facts. The Gunlaughi-Sagan, a contemporary writer, is positive upon the point, because he knew the fact.

(*p*) The minister of Mortlach appears to have investigated the local evidence of this conflict with appropriate attention. He states (1.) There still remain the vestiges of an entrenchment on the summit of little Conval hill, which is called by the people the *Danish Camp*; (2.) There are a number of tumuli, which are supposed to have been raised over the bodies of the fallen; (3.) There is still a huge stone which is said to have been placed over the grave of a Danish chief; (4.) There is now to be seen a standing stone on the glebe, having on two of its sides some rude sculpture; (5.) Human bones, broken sabres, and other military armour have been discovered, and in ploughing the glebe about 50 years ago a chain of gold was turned up, which looked like the ornament of one of the chiefs; and (6.) Several skulls of the Danes were built, according to the practice of a savage age, into the walls of the church, which was soon after the conflict erected on its site, and in the same walls they remained till recent times; Stat. Acco., v. xvii., p. 444. We have already seen a similar instance of this barbarous practice on the defeat of the Danes at Gamrie in the reign of Indulf.

(*q*) Fordun is the first writer who mentions the establishment of a bishopric at Mortlach by Malcolm, in pursuance of his vow at the commencement of the battle. Lib. iv., ch. xl. But with some facts Fordun has mingled some fictions. It was not the practice of the age of Malcolm in Scotland to erect *bishoprics*. The usage was to endow a religious house wherein a bishop resided and whence he performed his functions.

(*r*) Id.; the reference to Pope Benedict shows the date of the endowment.

and record carries up those traditional intimations to historical certainty, whatever may have been opposed by the objections of ignorance or by the doubts of scepticism (s).

The hostile descents of the Danes were not, however, confined to the Moray Frith in that enterprizing age. The coasts of Angus and the shores of Buchan equally felt the scourge of their hostilities and shared in the glory of their defeats. At Aberlemno, which is so celebrated for its sculptured pillars of obscure memorial, the Danes were encountered and repulsed. Tradition and remains transmit the event, and ascertain the locality where a brave people repelled the desultory foe (t). Sueno, hearing of so many defeats of his congenial people, is said to have sent against North-Britain a fresh body of warriors under the valiant Camus. Landing on the coast of Angus near to Panbride, Camus had only penetrated a few miles into the country when he was boldly encountered and bravely defeated by the Scots. He attempted to retreat northward, but he was closely pursued and fortunately slain, where a monumental stone, called *Camus'-Cross*, continues to mark the sad scene of his overthrow. Time, the great revealer of secrets, has at length disclosed the manner of his death. As the conflict was hand to hand, the skull of Camus was cleft by the deadly blow of a battle-axe (u).

(s) Owing to the destruction of the earliest charters of the diocese of Aberdon and the fabrication of other documents instead of the lost chartulary, the first charter, which is free from suspicion, is the bull of Pope Adrian IV. to Edward, the bishop, in 1159, whereby the Pope confirmed to the bishop, “*Villam, et monasterium de Murthlach, cum quinque ecclesiis et terris eisdem pertinentibus.*” Chart., p. 329. The *monastery* of Cloveth, which was a cell of Mortlach, was also confirmed by the same bull. Those churches and those monasteries were undoubtedly granted to the bishop of Aberdon by a charter of David I., which does not now exist. The *Taratio* of the thirteenth century and Bagimont's Roll, 1275, confirm the bull of Adrian, by shewing that those churches of Mortlach and Cloveth did at those several dates belong to the bishopric of Aberdon. Bein, who was the first bishop of Mortlach, has obtained a place in the Scottish Calendars on the 26th of October. Keith, 233. His effigy, which was cut in stone, formerly stood in the wall of the church of Mortlach, with other singular monuments of those savage times. *Ib.*, p. 60; Orem's Aberdeen, p. xxxv.

(t) Gordon's Itin. Sept., p. 151. says there were in his time five ancient obelisks, which were called “The Danish Stones of Aberlemny.” Pennant's Tour, v. ii., p. 166. The minister of that parish adds that in the neighbourhood of those obelisks a few tumuli have been opened, wherein were found rude stone coffins containing black earth and mouldering bones. Stat. Acco., vol. iv., p. 50.

(u) Buchanan edit. Man. 147. Gordon's Itin. Sept., p. 154. There is in this neighbourhood an ancient entrenchment which, though it were originally a part of the Roman camp at Kaer-buddo, is called by the people *Norway Dikes*. Near *Camus Cross* a plough laid open a sepulchre, which was enclosed with four stones. Here a huge skeleton was dug up, which was supposed to

But the Danes were not to be discouraged by defeat nor to be restrained by fear. They again landed on the coast of Buchan, about a mile west from Slains Castle, in the parish of Cruden. Here those persevering pirates were attacked and overthrown by the Maormor of the district. The certainty of the conflict and the site of the engagement are ascertained by undoubted remains of the mournful scene (*x*).

So many repulses contributed, with the fortune of Malcolm and the events of the times, to free Scotland from the horrible devastations of the Danish vikingr. The Danes had made good their settlements in Normandy; they had well nigh established themselves in England; they were overpowered by Brian Boromhe in Ireland; and their attempts on Scotland were all, meantime, repelled by the vigour of Malcolm. The evacuation of the Burgh-head of Moray by the Danes, and their final retreat before the brave people who had given them so many repulses, seems to have been at length obtained by some convention with Sueno before his death in 1014 A.D. National tradition and the memorial-stone may seem to willing antiquaries to carry up this rational probability to historical truth (*y*). The Scots after so many conflicts for

have been the body of Camus; he appears to have received the mortal stroke upon his head, as a part of the skull was cut away. This is the account of Commissary Maule, who relates what he saw about the year 1610. Add to this a few other circumstances: a little more than two miles west from Panbride there is in the parish of Monikie a farmstead named *Camus-ton*, another near it is called *Camuston-Cross*, there is a third place which is known by the appropriate name of *Camuston-Den*. Ainslie's Map of Forfar. Tradition connects all those notices with the reign of Malcolm II., with the several intrusions of the Danish rovers, and with their ultimate fortunes. Sueno tried to conquer Scotland, says an impartial Frenchman; his generals sustained several combats wherein they were sometimes the vanquishers and sometimes the vanquished. But the intrepidity of Malcolm at length obliged Sueno to come to a convention. Lacombe's *Ab. Chron. de l'Histoire du Nord.*, v. i., p. 74.

(*x*) Gordon, in *Itin. Septen.*, p. 155, says that at Cruden even now bones of a large size are frequently turned up. The minister of Cruden confirms this fact. *Stat. Acco.*, vol. v., p. 431. He adds that the different places where the dead were buried do yet strongly mark the field of battle, where the blowing of sand frequently discovers human bones in several places, and here a chapel was erected, which was dedicated to St. Olaus, but the site of it cannot now be traced, as the ground is overblown with sand.

(*y*) See the fine obelisk at Forres, which is so celebrated for its elegance in Gordon's *Itin. Sept.*, pl. 56; and better representations of it in Shaw's *Moray*, p. 209, and Cordiner's *Antiq.*, p. 54. By the traditional language of the country this memorial stone "is still called *King Sueno's Stone*," Gordon's *Itin. Sept.*, p. 159; Shaw's *Moray*, p. 209; and Pennant's *Tour*, vol. i., p. 149. *Stat. Acco.*, v. xvi., p. 346. Yet scepticism doubts whether there be any ground for the wars of Malcolm with the Danes. *Enquiry Hist. Scot.*, 1789, v. ii., p. 190. "In short," adds the same Enquirer in the subsequent page, "*there is not the shadow of authority* for those Danish wars of 'Malcolm II.'" Popular tradition with well-vouched remains are historical documents of sufficient authority for narrative facts. Who would doubt whether Grim, the son of Duf, was vanquished and slain at Monivaird?

some years enjoyed peace, the result of their struggles and the reward of their valour. A dispute with the Northumbrians, who were connected by lineage and habits with the Danes, again called forth their action and tried their bravery. In 1018 Malcolm conducted his warriors to Carham near Werk on the southern bank of the Tweed, and here he was met in hostile conflict by Uchtred the Earl of Northumberland. The battle was long contested with desperate valour. The palm of victory was claimed by Uchtred; but Malcolm enjoyed the perennial fruits of his success (2). Uchtred was soon after assassinated on his way to offer his duty to the great Canute, and his earldom descended to his brother, the less valiant Eadulf. The wounds of Carham were still felt, the swords of the Scots were still feared in Northumberland, and Eadulf was induced, in consideration of a firm concord, to cede Lothian for ever to Malcolm (a). This event alone entitled Malcolm to the epithet of *victoriosissimus* as a just tribute from his country for so important an acquisition. On that occasion the king of Scots, who is by gratitude praised for his liberality, gave many oblations to the churches and gifts to the clergy, who recorded his victory and transmitted his fame (b).

Malcolm was afterwards engaged with an antagonist of greater consequence than either Eadulf or Uchtred. Owing to some cause, which history has not explained, the great Canute penetrated into Scotland during the year 1031. After obtaining from Malcolm an engagement to perform what he owed for Cumberland, Canute returned into England; and Malcolm certainly retained both Cumberland and Lothian whatever prejudice may say of his subduction (c).

(2) Chron. No. 4 in Innes, p. 791; Simeon Dun., p. 177; Chron. of Melrose, p. 155.

(a) Sim. Dun., p. 81: "Hoc modo Lodoneium adjectum est regno Scottorum." The fact is thus distinctly stated by Simeon, who had an opportunity of knowing the truth. Dugdale equally shows that Eadulf transferred *Lothian* to the Scots, "by which means," he adds, "that territory came at first to be a member of Scotland." Baronage, v. i., p. iv.

(b) Chron. No. 4 in Innes, 791; the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews called him in grateful recollection *rex victoriosissimus*.

(c) The Sax. Chron., p. 153, says Canute went into Scotland and subdued Malcolm, the king of Scots, with two other kings, Melbeth and Jeknare. Neither Florence nor Simeon adopt this passage; Huntingdon, however, copies it uncritically. Snorro and the other fablers of the north talk wildly of the subduement of Scotland and the appointment of a viceroy by Canute. Fordun explains this transaction with sufficient distinctness, but with too much attention to the notions of his own times. Hist., lib. iv., ch. xli. The English king had no other pretension to Cumberland nor any other claim on the Scottish king than amity and aid in the north; but there was nothing of feudality in the connection or contract. When Malcolm therefore promised his amity and his aid in Northumberland to Canute, he had stipulated for all that he owed.

Yet the vigorous reign of Malcolm II. could not pass away, without some civil conflicts among such a people, and during such an age. Finlegh, the Maormor of Ross, and the father of Macbeth, fell a sacrifice to the demon of enmity in 1020 (*d*). Revenge never sheathed her dagger, though she long concealed it, till she avenged the fall of Finlegh. Maolbride, the Maormor of Moray, the grandfather of Lulach, was burnt within his *rath*, with fifty of his clan, during the year 1032 (*e*). These events covered the royal family with blood, and steeped Scotland in wretchedness. Yet the aged Malcolm died in the subsequent year, without feeling the point of the dirk or the poison of the bowl, though revenge stood panting for her prey (*z*).

Malcolm II. appears to have had no son, but two daughters, by whatever queen. Bethoc or Beatrice, undoubtedly married Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, a character of great consequence in that age (*a*). A daughter of Malcolm II. married Sigurd, the Earl Orkney (*b*).

As a legislator, Malcolm is entitled to less commendation than fiction has bestowed. The *leges Malcolmi*, which exhibit an anachronism in every paragraph, have been shown to be spurious by all the modes of proof that have ever detected forgery (*a*). The legislative fictions which have been applied to

(*d*) The Ulster Annals, speaking of that bloody event, calls Finlegh *king* of Scotland mistakenly. The Irish terms for a king, as *Rígh*, *Triath*, *Flath*, also signify a *lord*, a *chief*, a *ruler*: now Finlegh was ruler of Ross.

(*e*) Ulster Annals.

(*z*) The Chron. No. 5 in Innes, p. 803; the Chron. Elegiacum; the Chronicle of Melrose, concur with the Irish Annals in saying that Malcolm died quietly at Glamis. Fordun was perhaps the first who said that the aged king died a violent death. Hist., lib. iv., c. xli. There is still shown in the churchyard of Glamis "king Malcolm's gravestone," which is a rude mass, without an inscription, sixteen feet high and five broad, and which was erected there, say the Tourists, "in memory of his "murder." Gordon's Itin., p. 162-3; Pennant's Tour, v. i., p. 170. Stat. Acco., v. iii., p. 126. Malcolm II. was entombed with his fathers in Iona.

(*a*) Chron. Elegiacum; Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews.

(*b*) Snorro states the fact very circumstantially. T. i., p. 532-3; the Orkneyingá Saga confirms it, p. 5 and 87; and Torfæus in his Orcades, p. 33, adds this additional circumstance, that the daughter of Malcolm was Sigurd's second wife. By him she had a son Thorfin, who was an infant at his father's death in the battle of Clontarf in 1014 A.D. Malcolm II. immediately carried into effect the destination of Sigurd, by putting his grandson Thorfin, who lived at his court, in possession of Caithness and Sutherland. Thorfin afterwards acted as conspicuous a part as any vikinger of his age. Orkneyingá Saga throughout; Torfæus Orcades.

(*a*) Lord Kames's Essays on British Antiq., 3rd ed., p. 6-11. He is yet willing to allow this obvious fabrication to have been the undoubted code of Malcolm-Ceanmore. On the contrary, Lord Hailes has proved "that the *Leges Malcolmi* bear the certain marks of forgery." Enquiry into the authenticity of the *Leges Malcolmi*, 1769.

Malcolm II., sometimes with censure and often with praise, were originally raised by Fordun, afterwards legitimized by Skene (*b*), and finally exploded by the late Lord Hailes.

DUNCAN,

The grandson of Malcolm II., by his daughter Bethoc, as tanist of the kingdom and prince of Cumberland, immediately succeeded the aged king in 1033 A.D. It fell to the lot of Duncan to perform the stipulations of his grandfather with Canute; and he marched through Northumberland in 1035, and attacked Durham, whence he was repulsed with the loss both of men and reputation, if we credit the English historian (*c*). Canute died on the 12th of November, in the same year; and Scotland was left during the five subsequent years of Duncan's reign, to enjoy quiet, and to engender mischief. Fiction represents this short period, indeed, as disturbed by some rebellion, and as afflicted by some depredations of the Danes (*d*). We may easily suppose, indeed, that Sigurd's sons, the earls of Orkney, may have tried their young pinions as eaglet vikingr; and soared for prey along the shores of the Mòray frith, while the maormor of that district was yet an infant (*e*). The time was now at hand when the "gracious Duncan," while his "plenteous joys wantoned in fullness," was to expiate by his blood, his grandfather's guilt and his great-grandfather's crimes. Kenneth III., as we have seen, attempted to change the old mode of succession, by the murder of princes who stood before his son. He put to death, on whatever pretence, the only son of Finella, who was the daughter of Cunechat, the maormor of Angus; and Kenneth fell a sacrifice to a mother's vengeance, as we may remember, in 994 A.D. Kenneth IV., while reigning lawfully, was slain in 1003 A.D., as we have perceived, by Malcolm II. at the battle of Monivaird. Kenneth IV. left a son, Boedhe, the

(*b*) Ford, l. iv., c. xliii; Skene's *Old Laws*; Lord Hailes's *Tract*, 1769.

(*c*) Simeon Dun., p. 33. But the *Saxon Chronicle* and *Florence* are both silent as to this irruption of Duncan.

(*d*) The rebellion of Macdonald from the western isles, as feigned by Shakespeare, is mere fable. The old historians may have confounded, indeed, the rebellion of Gilcomgain, the maormor of Moray, in 1033, with the rebellion of Macdonald during the reign of Duncan. In the same manner there was no invasion of Fife by "Sueno, the Norway's king," at that period. Shakespeare and Holinshed were misled by the Scottish historians, who confounded times and personages. "The Norwegian banners may have flouted the sky in Fife" during the preceding reign.

(*e*) See Torfæus *Orcades*, ch. xiii.; *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 41 to 87.

the heir of his rights, and the successor to his wrongs. Seeing how unable he was to contend with the slayer of his father, he seems to have provided for his safety by his insignificance; and he left a son and a daughter to enjoy his pretensions, and to avenge his injuries. His son, however, was slain in 1033, by one of the last orders of the aged Malcolm. His daughter was the Lady Gruoch, who married for her first husband, Gilcomgain, the maormor of Moray, a person of the first consequence next to the royal family; and for her second husband, she married the never-to-be-forgotten Macbeth. The Lady Gruoch, with great strength of character, had the most afflictive injuries constantly rankling at her heart—a grandfather dethroned and slain, a brother assassinated, and her husband burnt within his castle, with fifty of his friends; herself a fugitive, with Lulach her infant son. Such were the injuries which prompted the Lady Gruoch's vengeful thoughts, and "which filled her from "the crown to the toe, topful of direst cruelty." Amidst her misfortunes she married Macbeth, the maormor of Ross, who was then in the prime of life, and who was of still greater power than her first husband; for after his marriage with this injured woman, he became maormor of Moray during the infancy of Lulach. If Macbeth was indeed, as we are assured by Boece and Buchanan and Lesley, the son of Doda, a daughter of Malcolm II., he might well enter into competition with Duncan for the crown; and we thus perceive that Macbeth wanted "no spur to prick the sides of his intent." This *intent* was at length carried into effect by the insidiousness of assassination, rather than the magnanimity of conflict. And notwithstanding the popularity of Duncan, owing to his mildness, he was cut off in a premature age by a stroke of "treasonous malice," at Bothgowanan, near Elgin, in 1039 A.D. (*f*). From the place of his death, we may perceive that the unhappy Duncan had

(*f*) All the authorities concur in extending the reign of Duncan to six years. See the Chron. Table. Ogygia, p. 488; Ulster Annals. For the site of that sad event, see the Chron. No. 5 in Innes, p. 803; Chron. Elegiacum in Gale, v. i., p. 597; Fordun, l. iv., c. xlv.; Lord Hailes's An., v. i., p. 1. The scene of this tragical event is laid by Shakespeare in Macbeth's castle at Inverness. Here, says Johnson, is a castle, called the castle of Macbeth, *the walls of which are still standing*. Journey to the W. Islands, p. 343. And Steevens, in his Commentary on Shakespeare, v. vii., p. 367, re-echoes this story. There was, in fact, a castle built at Inverness as early perhaps as the twelfth century, which even as late as the eighteenth century was, with some modern barracks, used as a royal fort, and was destroyed by the rebels in 1745. The remains of this castle were a shapeless mass of ruins when Johnson visited Inverness in 1773, and it was an illusion, both in the traveller and the commentator, to talk of the walls of Macbeth's castle where he never had a castle nor a residence. In Shakespeare it was fiction to lay the murder of Duncan at a place different from Bothgowanan, where the Chronicle had veraciously fixed it.

been drawn by some urgent duty within the territorial government of Gruoch and Macbeth, as indeed Shakspeare has feigned (*g*). Duncan left two infant sons, Malcolm and Donal, by a sister of Siward, the earl of Northumberland. Malcolm, on the death of his father, fled to Cumberland, and Donal found an asylum in the Hebrides (*h*). Of Duncan, the Gaelic bard says, with an allusion to his character rather than his person,

“Se bliadhna Donchadh *ghlain* *garth* :”

Six years [reigned] the *pure-breathed* Duncan (*i*).

MACBETH

Immediately seized “the barren sceptre” in his firmer gripe. About the lineage and station of this celebrated personage, whose misdeeds have been dramatized, writers have written variously, as their purposes were either narrative or dramatic. The fabulous Boece was the first who said that Macbeth’s father was thane of Angus, and married Doada, the second daughter of Malcolm II (*k*). Buchanan, without inquiry, adopted the fables of Boece (*l*). Holinshed followed Boece as to the station of Macbeth; and Shakspeare repeated the echoes of Holinshed (*m*). The more veracious Wyntoun calls Mac-

(*g*) A commentator on Shakspeare supposes, indeed, that Duncan was in the legal act of performing his annual progress for the administration of justice throughout his dominions. Shakspeare, ed. 1793, v. viii., p. 367 : and he quotes Fordun and Buchanan, who talk in the idioms of their own times. In the Celtic days of Duncan there were no such juridical progresses made in any year. The fact is that Torfin, the earl of Caithness, and cousin of Duncan, refused to pay the tribute which he owed for Caithness to the Scottish king. Duncan marched into the North to enforce what was due, and he was obliged to traverse in his course both Moray and Ross, the countries of Gruoch and of Macbeth. The refractoriness of Torfin was converted by history into the revolt of Macdowal of the western isles : and the fictitious revolt of Macdowal was dramatized by the magic pen of Shakspeare. For the facts, see Torfæus *Orcades*, c. xii. : the *Orkneying Saga*, p. 5, 29, 35, 71-4, 87 : and see book iii., chap. iii.

(*h*) Dugdale’s *Bar.*, v. i., p. 4 ; Fordun, l. iv., c. xlv.

(*i*) In 1235 Alexander II. founded a chapel in the cathedral church of Elgin for the soul of king Duncan. *Chart. of Moray*, p. 110 ; Innes’s *MS. Collections*.

(*k*) B. xii., c. i.

(*l*) L. vii., c. i.

(*m*) The story of Boece is wholly his own, for none of the more ancient authorities support his fictions. The old Scottish chroniclers, as well as Fordun, call Macbeth the son of Finlegh or Finley : and the Irish annalists call Macbeth the son of Finlaogh, which is the Celtic form of the name : but not one of all these authorities mentions anything of Macbeth or his father being either *maormor* or *thane* of Angus. The commentators on Shakspeare are content to travel in the humble track of Holinshed, who communicated the fictitious tales of Boece to that inimitable

beth the thane of *Crumbachty*, which is the Gaelic name of Cromarty; and, in the well-known story of the wierd sisters, the chronicler makes the first witch hail Macbeth, thane of Crumbachty; the second, thane of Moray, and the third hails him king (*u*). These intimations lead directly up to the several fictions of Boece, Holinshed, and Shakspeare. Macbeth was by birth the thane of Ross, by marriage with the Lady Gruoch, the thane of Moray, and by his crimes the king of Scots. Finley, as we may learn from Torfæus, was maormor, or as the Norwegian historian calls him, *jarl* of Ross, who at the commencement of the eleventh century carried on a vigorous war in defence of his country against the incursions of that powerful viking, Sigurd the earl of Orkney and Caithness (*o*). With his dominions the district of Finley was contiguous, while the country of Angus lay southward at a great distance. Finley lost his life about the year 1020, in some hostile conflict with Malcolm II. (*p*). This fact alone evinces that Finley would scarcely have fought with his wife's father, if he had been the husband of Doda. The Lady Gruoch, when driven from her castle by the cruel fate of her husband, the maormor of Moray, naturally fled with her infant son Lulach, into the neighbouring country of Ross, which was then ruled by Macbeth, who married her during the reign of Duncan. We have now seen distinctly that Macbeth was maormor of Ross, the son of Finlegh, and the grandson of Rory or Roderick; and that he was the husband of Gruoch, who was the daughter of Boedhe, and the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV. Macbeth thus united in himself all the power which was possessed by the partizans of Kenneth IV., all the influence of the

dramatist. The Chronicle in the Register of St. Andrews calls the tyrant of the drama Macbeth, Mac-Finleg; the Chron. Elegiacum calls him Macbeth, the son of Finleg; Fordun calls him *Macabeda*, the son of Finele: and this last name has deluded Guthrie to confound *Finele* with *Finella*, the daughter of Cunechat, the maormor of Angus.

(*n*) Wyntoun's Chron., v. i., p. 225. Macbeth was herein called thane of *Crumbachty*, where his family, the maormors of Ross, probably had their seat.

(*o*) Torfæus's Orcades, p. 27. In Olave Tryggveson's Saga, *Finnlek Scotta Jarl* is also mentioned as the antagonist of Sigurd at the end of the tenth century, before Sigurd married the daughter of Malcolm II. Enquiry Hist. Scot., 1789, v. ii., p. 197.

(*p*) Ulster Annals, sub an. 1020, state that Finloch, the son of Rory, a king of Scotland, "a *suís occisus*." These expressions convey the idea of civil war. By a *king* of Scotland, the Annals mean a *prince*, *chief*, or *maormor* in Scotland. The Irish annalists generally considered the chiefs of the several divisions of Scotland during that period in the light of petty kings or princes, the same as the petty kings of Ireland; and they frequently mention the proper kings by the title of supreme or arch king. Indeed, the Gaelic terms *Rígh*, *Triath*, *Flath*, etc., are equally applied to a king, a prince, and to a lord or ruler: hence it is only by an attention to the fact that a proper translation can be given.

Lady Gruoch and of her son Lulach, together with the authority of maormor of Ross, but not of Angus. With all these powers, in superaddition to his own character for address and vigour, Macbeth became superior to Duncan and the partizans of his family. Macbeth had to avenge the wrongs of his wife, and to resent for himself the death of his father. The superiority of Macbeth, and the weakness of Duncan, were felt when the unhappy king expiated the crimes of his fathers, by “his most sacrilegious murder;” and Macbeth hastily marched to Scone, where he was inaugurated as the king of Scots, supported by the clans of Moray and Ross, and applauded by the shouts of the partizans of Kenneth IV. If Macbeth had been in fact what fiction had supposed, the son of the second daughter of Malcolm, his title to the throne would have been preferable to the right of Duncan’s son, according to the Scottish constitution from the earliest epoch of the monarchy. Whatever defect there may have been in his title to the sullied sceptre of his unhappy predecessor, he seems to have been studious to supply by a vigorous and beneficent administration. He even practised the hospitality which gives shelter to the fugitive (*q*). During his reign, plenty is said to have abounded; justice was administered; the chieftains who would have raised disturbances, were either overawed by his power, or repressed by his valour. Yet injury busied herself in plotting vengeance. Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, who as the father of Duncan and the grandfather of his sons, must have been now well-stricken in years, put himself at the head of the friends of Duncan, and made a gallant but unsuccessful attempt to restore them to their rights (*r*). Yet the odious crime by which Macbeth acquired his authority, seems to have haunted his most prosperous moments. He tried by distributing money at Rome, by largesses to the clergy, and by charity to the poor, to obtain relief from “the affliction of those terrible dreams, that did shake him nightly (*s*).” Macbeth, and the Lady Gruoch his wife, gave the

(*q*) See Sim. Dun., p. 187.

(*r*) In an. 1045 the Ulster Annals record a battle between the *Scots themselves*, wherein Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, was slain. Lord Hailes states, from Fordun, that the partizans of Malcolm often attempted his restoration, but that their feeble and ill-concerted efforts only served to establish the *usurper*. Fordun, l. iv., c. xlvi. : l. v., c. i.-vii.; Annals Scot., v. i., p. 2. Lord Hailes throughout his Annals talks too often in the idiom of his own times. We thus see that he did not perceive how Macbeth could have any right. The superiority of Duncan’s title arose from his *possession*, not from the *representation* of his grandfather, Malcolm II.

(*s*) Marianus Scotus, a contemporary writer of great judgment, was the first who asserted that “Rex Scotiæ Machetad [Macbeth] Romæ argentum seminando pauperibus distribuit.” Chron. sub an. 1050, ed. Struvius, v. i., p. 650. Marianus was followed by Flor. Wig., p. 409; Chron. Mel., p. 157; Sim. Dun., p. 184; and with them concurred Wynthoun and Fordun, l. v., c. ix.

lands of Kirkness and also the manor of Bolgy to the Culdees of Lochleven (*t*). Yet the friendship of the Pope and the support of the clergy did not ensure Macbeth a quiet reign. His rigour increased with his sense of insecurity. The injuries of Macduff, the Maormar of Fife, constantly prompted the son of Duncan to attempt the redress of all their wrongs. With the approbation, perhaps by the command, of Edward the Confessor, Siward, the potent earl of Northumberland and the relation of Malcolm, conducted a numerous army into Scotland during the year 1054 (*u*). The Northumbrians, led by Siward and his son Osbert, penetrated probably to Dunsinan (*x*). In this vicinity were they confronted by Macbeth, when a furious conflict ensued. The numbers of the slain evince the length of the battle and the bravery of the combatants (*y*). Osbert was slain; yet Macbeth, after all his efforts of valour

Goodal, the editor of Fordun, was the first who was so absurd as to suppose on those authorities that Macbeth *went* to Rome. He was followed by the Enquirer, 1789, vol. ii., p. 198, who, in order to convert an improbability into a likelihood, shows how many princes went to Rome in the same age. While Lord Hailes laughs at this supposition, he insists that the Original insinuated "Macbeth bribed the court of Rome." *An.*, v. i., p. 3. We have seen above what the *Original* says, which is copied by Fordun.

(*t*) Register of St. Andrews.

(*u*) Flor. Wigorn., p. 416; Sim. Dun. in Twisden, p. 187. Bromton, *Ib.*, 946; Chron. Mailros, in Gale, v. i., p. 158; Fordun, l. v., c. vii. The Saxon Chronicle, indeed, is silent; but William of Malmesbury, Hoveden, Matthew Flor., and Usher, speak to the same fact and to the same year.

(*x*) Wyntoun relates, as the notion of his times, that the Northumbrians passed the Forth and Tay, marched to Brynnane and thence to Dunsanane. "ilka man baring intil hys hand a busk of that wode there." Cronykill, v. i., p. 238-9. Wyntoun adds from tradition a very curious circumstance of Birnam wood:

"The flyttand wod thai callyd ay
"That lang tyme eftyre-hend that day."

Birnam was anciently a forest and a part of the royal domain. Near Duncan's hill, which forms a part of this classic scenery, there are a number of tumuli, which seem to indicate that Macbeth did not wait for the arrival of Malcolm with his English auxiliaries at Dunsinan hill. Stat. Account, v. vi., p. 374.

(*y*) In 1054 the Ulster Ann. record a battle between the Scots and Saxons, wherein 3000 Scots and 1500 Saxons were killed. The site of this memorable battle has not yet been ascertained. In the inclosures of Belmont, indeed, within the parish of Meigle, which is so justly celebrated for its antiquities, there is a tumulus called Belli-duff, where tradition asserts that Macbeth *fought* and fell. Stat. Account, v. i., p. 505-6. by the Rev. Dr. Playfair, who properly intimates that Macbeth was slain at a quite different place. At some distance from Belli-duff there is a standing stone of granite 20 tons weight, which the same tradition says was raised to commemorate *the death of one of his generals*. The site of this tumulus and stone is about eight miles north from Dunsinan hill in Strathmore, the great passage which leads from the Tay into the North. See

and vigour of conduct, was overcome. He retired into the North, where he had numerous friends, and where he might find many fastnesses. Siward returned into Northumberland, and died at York in 1055 (z). Meantime Macbeth continued his bloody contest with Malcolm; and this uncommon character was at length slain at Lumphanan, on the 5th of December, 1056, by the injured hand of Macduff (a).

The singular story of Macbeth has furnished a subject to one of the sublimest of poets for one of the noblest of dramas. The age, the subject, the country, the notions of the times wherein lived the dramatist himself, were all highly favourable to this great production of the human genius. Every fiction, every tradition, every locality were allowable to Shakspeare; but no poetic licence descended to his commentators, who were bound in their strictures to adhere to the truth (b). Much of this drama is made to turn upon two points of his-

Stobie's Map of Perthshire. This tradition is the more worthy of credit as it is not reared on the fictions of Boece. I have searched without success for some memorial of Osbert, the gallant son of Siward, whose fall even gave satisfaction to his heroic father.

(z) Sim. Dun., p. 187; Flor. Wigorn, p. 416. The Saxon Chron. states the death of Siward in 1055, while less veracious authorities state this event in after times.

(a) Fordun, l. v., c. vii., asserts that Macbeth was slain on the 5th of December, 1056, and Fordun is followed by Lord Hailes. An., v. i., p. 3. The genuine chronology evinces that he must have died in 1056 A.D., after a reign of seventeen years. See the Chron. Table. Yet is the year wherein Macbeth was slain given out as a theme for the discussion of the antiquaries of Scotland. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 349. The ancient chronicles seem to convey the tradition of the times that Macbeth was killed by a cruel death. Macbeth's cairn, which lies about a statute mile northward from the kirk of Lumphanan on the brow of a hill, is forty yards in circumference, and is pretty high in the middle; farther up the hill there are several smaller cairns. Stat. Acco., v. vi., p. 388. These facts seem to intimate that here in some skirmish Macbeth finished his guilty career. Here, too, if we may believe tradition and remains, a son of Macbeth also fell in his retreat from the same skirmish which decided his father's fate. In the parish of Tough, a few miles north of Lumphanan, there is a large standing stone twelve and a half feet of perpendicular height, and nine and a half round, which, as tradition repeats, was raised to commemorate the fall of *Macbeth's son*, who was interred under it. Stat. Account, v. viii., p. 269. Of this event and of the children of Macbeth the chronicles are silent.

(b) There are a thousand blunders in the introductory note to the play of Macbeth in Steeven's edition of Shakspeare, 1793. (1.) Crinan, who married the daughter of Malcolm II., was not thane of the isles, nor of the western parts of Scotland. Crinan was, in fact, abbot of Dunkeld, and there were no thanes in Scotland during that age. (2.) Malcolm's second daughter married *Sinel*, the thane of Glamis, the father of Macbeth. Now, the name was not Sinel, but Finley, and he was not thane of Glamis, but maormor or prince of Ross. (3.) Duncan married the *daughter* of Siward, but it was the *sister* of Siward whom Duncan married. (4.) Duncan was murdered by his *cousin-german*, Macbeth, in the castle of Inverness in 1040 or 1045; but Macbeth may have been a relation though not a cousin-german. Duncan was in

tory which had no foundation in fact. There was not, in the reign of Duncan, any revolt in the western isles; for the Hebrides then belonged not to Scotland, but to Norway. Neither is it probable, though it be possible, that Sweno, the king of Norway, landed any army in Fife during that reign, as he appears to have been much otherwise occupied, and to have died in 1035 (*c*). Other subordinate circumstances are egregiously conceived. Cumberland is said to have been then held by Scotland of the crown of England *as a fief* (*d*); but we have already seen the real tenure by which Cumberland was connected with Scotland, while *fiefs* were unknown in this island. The crown of Scotland is said to have been originally not hereditary (*e*). The whole history evinces that the descent of the crown was hereditary in the royal family, though not in any determinate series, while the right of representation was unknown, and the brother, the cousin, or the son of the preceding king, who was best qualified to wield his sceptre, and who had the strongest party, succeeded to the vacant throne. The personages of the drama are egregiously misinterpreted. The filiation and station of Macbeth, the filiation and connection of Lady Macbeth, are strangely misconceived, as we have seen. History knows nothing of Banquo, the thane of Lochaber, nor of Fleance, his son (*f*). None of the ancient chronicles nor Irish annals, nor even Fordun, recognize the fictitious names of Banquo and Fleance, though the latter be made by genealogists the “root and father of many kings.” Even the com-

fact murdered at Bothgowanan, near Elgin, many a mile from Inverness, and that sad event happened in 1039, according to the genuine chronology. (5.) Macbeth was himself slain in 1057 or 1061; but this event happened in December, 1056. There are in this introduction other hallucinations, which, as they do not belong to the history of this reign, need not be here rectified.

(*c*) Langebek's *Scriptores*; Lacombe's *Abr. Chron. de l'histoire du Nord.*, v. i., p. 81.

(*d*) *Shak.*, ed. 1793, v. vii., p. 368.

(*e*) *Id.*

(*f*) Even the very names of Banquo and Fleance seem to be fictitious, as they are not Gaelic. The traditions with regard to them are extremely faint. There is, indeed, on the summit of one of the Sidlaw hills, about eight miles north-north-east from Dunsinane, an old tower of modern erection, which is called *Banquo* tower. Ainslie's *Map of Forfarshire*. The minister, however, who writes the account of the local antiquities of the parish, does not call this erection *Banquo's* tower. *Stat. Account*, v. iii., p. 403. The minister of Kilmalie parish, in Lochaber, speaks of Banquo being the ancestor of the house of Stuart, who had his castle on the river Lochy, near Fort William: “And a little below the site of Torecastle there is a most beautiful walk, about a quarter of a mile long, that still retains the name of *Banquo*.” *Stat. Account*, v. viii., p. 436. We know, from the evidence of record, that Banquo was not an ancestor of the family of Stewart; and the other circumstances are modern in their applications.

mentators trace up the family of Stewart to Fleance (*g*). Neither is a thane of Lochaber known in Scottish history, because the Scottish kings had never any demesnes within that impervious district. Caithness owed but a very doubtful allegiance to the Scottish kings in that age; for Torfin, the son of Sigurd, affected to be the independent earl of Caithness during the whole reigns of Duncan and of Macbeth. Such as were thanes before the death of Macbeth were now made *earls* in the fictitious parliament at Forfar, say the commentators, after Holinshed, but without authority, or analogy, or probability (*h*). Such, then, are the misconceptions of the commentators as to the history, and the drama, of Macbeth.

Of the real fate of Lady Macbeth, history, tradition, and fable are silent. Shakspeare indeed informs us, that “the fiend-like queen, by self and violent ‘hands, took off her life, as ’tis thought.” Tradition, with remains, seem to evince that a son of Macbeth fell with his father in the same engagement, and was favoured with a similar memorial. The name of Macbeth was long popular in Scotland. The Scottish people saw, with indignant eyes, foreign mercenaries interpose in their domestic affairs. Men of great consequence considered themselves as dignified by the name of “this dead butcher.” Whatever asperity of reproach the poet indulged to gratify the populace of the theatre, the plenty of the reign of Macbeth, his justice, his vigour, his hospitality, were long remembered in Scotland (*i*). As a legislator, perhaps he is entitled to less praise, as Macbeth’s laws, which are detailed by Boece, are obvious forgeries, though they be admitted into the *Concilia Britannicæ*.

Every object which is in anywise connected with this famous character is interesting. When we approach “high Dunsinan hill,” we tread on classic ground; yet this well-known fortress, on this pap-like height, has every appearance of having been constructed by the human hands of the ancient Britons, without the wizard aid of the weird sisters. It is similar to the pristine strengths

(*g*) Shakspeare, 1793, vii., p. 473.

(*h*) *Ib.*, p. 582.

(*i*) See the ancient Chronicles. Cormac, the son of Macbeth, is one of the witnesses to a confirmation by Alexander I. and David I. of their brother Ethelred’s grant to the Culdees. Register of St. Andrews. Macbeth Mac-Torfin is a witness to a charter of David I. to the monastery of Dunfermline. Maldowen Macbeth is a witness to a charter of the same king to the same monastery. Dalrymple’s Col., p. 388. There was a Macbeth, thane of Falkland, in the time of David I. Crawford, Off. of State, App., p. 431. Macbeth of Liberton was a person of great consideration in Lothian during David I’s reign, and witnessed many of his charters. Macbeth was the bishop of Ross in the time of David I. Keith’s Bishops, p. 109. There was a Macbeth *jude* of Gowry in the reign of William the Lion. Chart. Coupre, No. 14. In 1184 A.D. Simon, the son of Macbeth, was sheriff of Traquair. Chart. Newbotle, No. 30.

on Barra hill, to the Cater-thuns, and to several hill forts in South-Britain. Dunsinan hill is one of the Sidlaw chain, and is separated from the neighbouring hills by a deep valley and is about eight miles north-east from Perth. It towers in an oval form to the height of a thousand and twenty-four feet above the level of the sea. The summit was surrounded by a strong rampart of stones. It had the additional defence of a fosse and a ledge of rocks. The original height of the rampart is uncertain, as the part of it which remains entire is six feet high and is covered with an immense mass of ruins. The height must have once been considerable. A road which takes the hill on the north-east ascends in a slanting direction, crosses the esplanade, and enters the rampart and area on the south-south-west. Another road which was cut through the rock went up from the Longman's grave in a straight direction and enters the centre of the esplanade. The interior area of the fortress was of an oval form, two hundred and ten feet in length and one hundred and thirty in breadth (*k*). When an inquisitive antiquary surveyed Dunsinan hill in 1772, he was induced by tradition to suppose that "a high rampart environed the whole and defended *the castle*, itself large "and well fortified (*l*).” When the same height was afterwards inspected by several ministers of the neighbouring parishes, the *high rampart* and *well fortified castle* were no longer visible. The weird sisters continue, it should seem, to hover around this enchanted seat of bloody usurpation. In the fair form of fond tradition they displayed to the inquisitive eyes of the youthful antiquary towered embattlements and a lofty castle; but when the spell-dissolving ministers approached, the high rampart and large castle itself appeared to them like the

(*k*) For various descriptions of this interesting fortress see Stat. Account, vi. i., p. 503; *Ib.* v. xx., p. 241-246, with a sketch annexed; View of the Agriculture of Perthshire, p. 509; Stobie's Map of Perthshire. A section was lately made across the top of the hill by Dr. Playfair, and flags, charcoal, and bones of several species of animals were discovered, but no appearance of any building. At the south extremity of the section there was found a pit adjoining the rampart full of fat and moist earth, loose stones, burnt wood, and bones of cattle, sheep, and hares, &c., but none of the human body. Having penetrated seven yards horizontally into the heart of the mass of stones and rubbish, which had composed the rampart and surrounded the area, part of the wall of the rampart was discovered quite entire. It is nicely built of large stones bedded in clay or mortar. The entire part of the wall is five or six feet high. Upon making incisions into other parts of the rampart, the wall was found in the same good preservation quite round the whole fortress, having been protected by the large mass of ruins over it, which was covered with a green sward. View of the Agriculture of Perthshire, p. 569.

(*l*) See the additional information, respecting the castle of Dunsinan, in the Stat. Account, v. xx., p. 243.

baseless fabric of a vision in the shrunken shape of “a large mass of ruins “ which was covered with a green sward.”

Tradition relates that Macbeth resided ten years after his usurpation at Carnbeddie, in the neighbouring parish of St. Martin's. The vestiges of his castle are still to be seen, which the country people call Carn-beth and Macbeth's Castle (*q*). The celebrated name of *Dunsinan* is said to signify, in Gaelic, “the hill of ants;” with an allusion to the great labour which was necessary for collecting the immense materials of so vast a building (*r*). Gaelic scholars, who delight to fetch from afar what may be found at home, approve of this etymon as very apt; yet is it *Dun-seangain*, in the Irish, which would signify the *hill of ants*. *Dun-sinin* signifies, in the Scoto-Irish, a hill resembling a *nipple*; and, in fact, this famous hill does appear, at some distance, to resemble what the Scoto-Irish word describes, with the usual attention of the Gaelic people to picturesque propriety in their local names.

LULACH,

Immediately after the fall of Macbeth, ascended the throne, on the bloody steps of his predecessor, and was sometime supported there by the powerful influence of their united families (*h*). Lulach was descended from a long line of princes who, as they ruled the ample country of Moray, were of great consequence. As they governed their tribe with an independent sway, the

(*q*) Carnbeddie is about three and a half statute miles from Dunsinan hill. Stobie's Map. As Macbeth had a castle which was his usual residence, it is not likely that he would build another on Dunsinan-hill so near; he probably kept up the British fortress on this hill as a place of retreat on any emergency, from which it has got the name of Macbeth's Castle. The term *castle* is, in many instances in Scotland, applied to camps or fortifications by entrenchment and rampart only, and not exclusively to a strong *house* or *tower*. Such are *Castle-dykes*, a Roman camp in Clydesdale; *Castle-over*, a British and Roman hill camp in Eskdale; *Castle-Cary*, a Roman post on the Wall of Antonine; *Tibber's-castle*, a Roman camp near Durisdeer; and several British fortifications are called *Maiden-castle*. In the same manner the British fortress on Barra-hill got the name of Cummins Camp, from the army of the Cummins taking shelter in it after their defeat at Inverury. No *well* appears to have been discovered upon Dunsinan hill, which would be an indispensable requisite to any castle for a constant residence.

(*r*) Stat. Acco., v. xx., p. 243.

(*h*) Luailleach, in Gaelic, is a *mimic*, a person full of gestures. Llyud's Arch., and O'Brien. *Fatuus*, which was applied as an epithet to Lulach, may have been intended, sarcastically, as the Latin translation of the Gaelic *Luailleach*, which was easily translated, by the ignorance of chroniclers, into the *sobriquet of idiot*.

Maormors of Moray were often opposed in civil conflict to the Scottish kings. Of such insurrections, the first which distinctly appears was that of Cellach against Malcolm, who died in 953 (*i*). The men of Moray revenged the slaughter of their chief. They advanced southward, and meeting Malcolm in the Mearns, they slew him, as we have seen, at Fetteresso (*k*). Duff, attempting perhaps, to avenge the death of his father, was himself slain by the same people, at the ill-omened *Forres*, in 965 (*l*). At the end of this century, Maolbrigid, the prince or Maormor of Moray, had the difficult task of defending his country against the Norwegian vikings (*m*); and in this afflictive warfare, he defeated and slew Liot, an Earl of Orkney (*n*). Maolbrigid was succeeded by his son Gilcomgain in the arduous government of Moray (*o*). Gilcomgain married Gruoch, the daughter of Bodhe, the son of Kenneth IV (*p*). Engaged in civil war with Malcolm II., Gilcomgain lost his life, as we have seen, in 1032, when he left his widow Gruoch and his son Lulach to find their own protectors amid such bloody scenes. Soon after the demise of Malcolm II. Macbeth, the neighbouring Maormor of Ross, married the Lady Gruoch; and thereby became the father-in-law of Lulach, and the guardian of his own wife, and the defender of Moray. The Maormors of that age, when they rebelled, could only forfeit for themselves; the clans possessed privileges, which pre-

(*i*) The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, states that Malcolm marched his army into Moray, and slew Cellach.

(*k*) See the Chron. No. 5, in Innes; and it is followed by Fordun, lib. iv., c. xxvii.; Wyntoun, v. i., p. 179; Sir J. Dalrymple's Coll., p. 99; and the Inquiry, 1789, v. i., p. 596. The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, indeed says that Malcolm was slain at Fetteresso by the men of *Mearns*; but the Chronicon Elegiacum concurs with probability and the Register of St. Andrews, in saying that Malcolm was killed by the *Moraymen* at *Uluin*.

(*l*) Chron. No. 5, in Innes; Chron. Elegiacum; and Fordun, lib. iv., c. 28.

(*m*) Torfæus Orcades, p. 25. Maolbrigid, whom he mistakingly calls *Comes Magbragdus*, is mentioned by that historian as carrying on hostilities with the Norwegians, who were settled at the end of the tenth century in the Orkneys, Caithness, and Sutherland.

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) The Ulster Annals, under the year 1032, expressly state Gilcomgain to be the son of Maolbrigid.

(*p*) The Ulster Annals, under the year 1033, show that Boedhe was the son of Kenneth IV. It is ascertained by documents in the Reg. of St. Andrews, that Gruoch was the daughter of Bodhe, and consequently was the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV. Crawford's Officers of State, p. 429. The Chron. No. 4, in Innes, states that Lulach was "*nepos filij Bodhe*," the grandson of Bodhe, the father being confounded with the son by prefixing the Gaelic *Maw* to his name. The Ulster Annals assert, under the year 1058, that Lulach was the son of Gilcomgain. Buchanan, lib. vii., c. xv., calls Lulach *the son of Macbeth*, and so says O'Flaherty in the Ogygia, p. 498; yet was Lulach only the *son-in-law* of Macbeth, who married Gruoch, his mother.

cluded the king from appointing a Maormar for them, without their own consent; hence the clans were ever forward to revenge the death of their Maormar, and to protect the rights of his issue; and from this genuine history originated the celebrated fables which were repeated by Boece, re-echoed by Holinshed, dignified by Buchanan, and dramatized by Shakspeare (*q*).

Lulach was thus the great-grandson of Kenneth IV., who fell at the battle of Monievard in 1003; as Kenneth IV. was descended from Duff, the eldest son of Malcolm I., the son of Donald IV., and through Constantin II. derived his blood immediately from Kenneth MacAlpin, the title of Lulach to the sceptre and the sword of his fathers was perhaps preferable, in the legal usages of that Gaelic age, to the pretensions of Malcolm Ceanmore, who was descended from Kenneth III., the second son of Malcolm (*r*). Lulach was the son of Gruoch, the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV. Malcolm was the son of Beatrice, the daughter of Malcolm II. Lulach, as his father perished in 1032, must have been a youth of five or six-and-twenty when he succeeded Macbeth on the 5th of December, 1056. The short reign of Lulach extended only throughout a few months of feverish struggle. His antagonist was enterprizing in himself, and was supported by strangers. The competitors for the bloody sceptre met in a decisive conflict at Essie, in Strathbogie, where Lulach fell before the fortune of Malcolm, on the 3rd of April, 1057 (*s*). Lulach was buried with Macbeth, in Iona, the accustomed repository of the Scottish kings. He left a daughter to weep his fall, and to transmit his rights with his wrongs.

(*q*) From those several traits of real history arose the singular story, which so many poets had considered as fitter for the drama than for history, that the thane of Moray was forfeited, and that Macbeth was appointed thane. The rebellion of Gilcomgain was obviously the origin of what is said of "that most disloyal traitor, the thane of Cawdor," who was condemned, and his title given to Macbeth; and hence Moray, in its largest extent, is made the scene of the several events in the drama of Macbeth, till the thane of so many districts acquired the crown. The heath, where he met the weird sisters, lies between Forbes and Nairn. The first witch hailed him thane of Glamis, Boece; of Angus, Buchanan. The second witch hailed him thane of Cawdor, Boece; of Murave, Buchanan. The titles of Glamis and Cawdor were borrowed by Boece from thanedoms of more recent origin, the former in Angus, the latter in Moray. Duncan, too, was killed at Inverness according to the drama; near Elgin according to the Chronicles.

(*r*) See the *Genealogical Table* facing p. 416.

(*s*) Chron. No. 4, in Innes. The Chron. No. 5, in Innes, says that Lulach, *jatus*, was at the end of four months slain at Essie, in Strathbogie. The Chron. Rythmicum extends his reign to four months and a half. *Essie* is the name of a parish which has been annexed to Rhynie, in Aberdeenshire. Tigernach, in *Ogygia*, p. 498, says that Lulach was slain by Malcolm. The Ulster

MALCOLM III.,

At length ascended the bloody throne, after a continued conflict of two years (*t*). The prudence of Malcolm was for some years successfully employed in rewarding those who had supported his struggle, and in calming the spirits of a harassed nation (*v*). He seems to have cultivated peace with England, during the reign of Edward the Confessor, while he was not firmly fixed in the affections of his Gaelic people (*u*). Malcolm made his first excursion into England, on very slight provocation, broke the peace of St. Cuthbert, and wasted Northumberland (*w*). In 1066, Tostig, the brother of Harold, being obliged to flee from Stanford-bridge, found his safety with Malcolm (*x*). In 1068 he gave an asylum to Edgar Ætheling, who feared the cruelty of William the Norman, with his sister Margaret, whom Malcolm soon after

Annals, mistaking the year 1058 for 1057, state that Lulach Mac-Gilcomgain, the *archking of Scotland*, was killed by Malcolm Mac-Duncha, in *battle*. Lord Hailes, copying Fordun, lib. v., c. viii., says that Lulach was killed on the 3rd of April, 1057. *Ans.*, v. i., p. 3; and this is altogether consistent with the genuine chronology. See the Chron. Table.

(*t*) Fruitless inquiries have been made about the age of Malcolm Ceanmore. He was much under age at the death of his father in 1039. The marriage of Bethoc, the eldest daughter of Malcolm II., to Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, could not have been earlier than the beginning of the 11th century, when Crinan was very little more than 20 years of age; for in 1045-6 he was still in sufficient vigour of life to go into battle, where he fell in attempting to avenge the murder of his son Duncan. Allowing, then, that Duncan, the son of this marriage, married soon after 20 years of age, his oldest son, Malcolm, could not have been more than 15 years of age, if he were really so much, at the death of his father in 1039. If he were then fifteen, he must have been born in 1024, in the 21st year of his grandfather, while his father governed Cumberland as *regulus* or *king*, according to the expression of the English chroniclers; and Malcolm Ceanmore was consequently thirty-three at his accession, about forty-four when he married the princess Margaret, and about sixty-nine at the epoch of his demise, in 1093. From this inquiry into the age of Malcolm III. and his father Duncan, we may see the absurdity of the notion that Malcolm was not the son, but the grandson of Duncan. Enquiry, 1789, v. ii., p. 203.

(*v*) Of his bounty to Macduff there is no direct evidence. It seems certain, however, that in very early times the Maormors, or Earls of Fife, were entitled (1), to place the king on the inaugural stone; (2), to lead the van of the king's army into battle; (3), to enjoy the privilege of sanctuary to the clan Macduff. Wyntoun, v. i., p. 240-2; Sibbald's Fife, ch. ii.; Douglas' Peerage, p. 274; Lord Hailes, *Ans.*, v. i., p. 4; but the calling of a Parliament at Forfar is a mere modern fiction.

(*u*) The silence of the Saxon Chronicle and of Florence confirm the fact which is mentioned in the text. He is said to have visited Edward in 1059. *Sim. Dun.*, p. 190.

(*w*) *Id.*

(*x*) *Ib.*, 193.

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married (*y*). He now engaged more intimately in the troubles of England, without any apparent motive; and in 1070, he marched through Cumberland into Teesdale, and putting to flight all who opposed his progress, he carried his gory sword through Cleveland and Durham (*z*). In his rage of devastation, he did not even spare the churches. Gospatric, who now ruled Northumberland as Earl, emulated Malcolm in the spoil which he meanwhile made in Cumberland. The Scottish king led so many captives with him into Scotland, that the English prisoners were for many years to be heard in every village and in every house (*a*).

The time was now at hand when William the Conqueror was to revenge his wrongs on Malcolm. But his policy was first directed to the calming of the disturbances in Northumberland. By making it a desert, he ensured its peace. Many of the Northumbrians sought their safety beyond the Tweed. In 1072, William invaded Scotland by sea and land, with design perhaps to chastise, rather than subdue a valorous people in a barren land. Malcolm advanced to obstruct his progress. The two kings met in conference at Abernithi, the mouth of the Nith in Dumfries-shire (*b*). Malcolm agreed to do homage for the territories which he held in England, and gave his son Duncan as a hostage (*c*). On that occasion it probably was that William deprived Malcolm of Cumberland, which the English king transferred to Ralph Meschines, to be held by the tenure of the sword (*d*). Edgar Ætheling was probably included in that treaty, as he left Scotland in the subsequent year, returned to England, and thence going into Normandy, made peace with William (*e*).

During seven years both the kings appear to have kept their engagements; and the two kingdoms enjoyed a repose which was equally beneficial to both. Malcolm, however, still recollected that he had lost something either of ter-

(*y*) Flor., Wig., p. 432; Sim. Dun., p. 194-9.

(*x*) Sim. Dun., p. 200-1.

(*a*) Simeon, p. 201-2. Bromton's Chronicle.

(*b*) There have been some doubts entertained about the place where this famous conference was held. Lord Hailes An., p. 13. But Florence, p. 438, is positive that the name of the place was *Abernithi*. Simeon, p. 203, calls the place of meeting *Abernithi*: this, then, was obviously the mouth of the *Nith*, in Dumfries, as we know many of the names of places in that shire remain in their *British* form to this day. These circumstances evince that the invasion of William, both by land and sea, was made along the western coast.

(*c*) Id. Sax. Chron., p. 181, which says, however, that William led his army to the *Ge-waede*; *ad Twedam*, says Gibson.

(*d*) Camden's Britannia; Dugdale's Monast., v. i., p. 400.

(*e*) Flor. Wig., p. 439.

ritory or character in his late transaction with William; and while the English king was engaged abroad in civil war with his son Robert, the king of Scots, during the year 1079, carried his devastations into Northumberland as far as the Tyne (*f*). Many he killed, says Florence, more he captivated, and with much plunder returned (*g*). As Robert was now reconciled to his offended father, he was entrusted with the command of the army, which was sent, in 1080 A.D., to chastise Scotland; but as Malcolm remained behind the Forth, Robert could only march over barren moors to *Egglesbrech*, without effecting any exploit, which could do honour to his character, amidst cold and want (*h*). During his inglorious return, he built on the coaly Tyne a *new Castle*, which has since given a celebrated name to a commercial emporium (*i*).

William the Conqueror died on the 9th of September, 1087, and was succeeded by his second son, William Rufus. Malcolm was little gratified by the attentions of the new king, while the English sovereign withheld from him Cumberland, his ancient possession, with some lands that Malcolm perhaps inherited from his father. Exasperated by other mortifications, the Scottish king entered England in May, 1091, during the absence of William in Normandy; but, learning, when he had penetrated to Chester-in-the-street, that an army was marching to oppose his advance, Malcolm thought it prudent to retire without risking a battle. In retaliation, the king of England prepared a mighty armament to invade Scotland by land and sea. The English fleet was dispersed by an autumnal storm, and many of the English cavalry perished from want and cold; yet William marched forward to encounter his antagonist. Malcolm, willing to meet his opponent, crossed the Forth into Lothian; but Robert, the Duke of Normandy, and Edgar Ætheling, who then lived with Malcolm, negotiated a peace between the hostile kings, which rather prevented action than promoted reconciliation. Malcolm promised the same duty which he had yielded to the conqueror. William engaged to restore

(*f*) Sax. Chron., p. 184; Sim. Dun., p. 210.

(*g*) Flor. Wig., 443; Sim. Dun., p. 210.

(*h*) Sim. Dun., p. 211. Lord Hailes thought he could ascertain the position of *Egglesbrech*, and he accordingly placed it at Bride-kirk, near Annan. 1 Anl., p. 19. The name of the place has been variously spelt by chroniclers, as he studiously shows: the true spelling is *Eglesbrec*, the old name of *Falkirk*. If Robert had penetrated to *Annan*, he must have entered Scotland from Cumberland on the west; but as his irruption was bounded by Falkirk, he must have come down to this well-known town, the scene of so many conflicts, through Northumberland, whither he certainly returned.

(*i*) Sax. Chron., p. 184; Sim. Dun., p. 210; Fordun, lib. v., c. xvii.

to the Scottish king twelve manors which Duncan had held in England, and to pay twelve marks of gold annually to Malcolm (*k*). Yet the peace did not continue long between these angry potentates. William fortified Carlisle in the subsequent year. Malcolm resented this distrustful measure. A personal interview was promoted by those who had an interest in preserving peace. Malcolm met William at Gloucester, in August, 1093; but this interview ended unhappily, as the demand of homage was as captiously proposed as it was cautiously avoided. William was advised to detain the Scottish king; but disregarding suggestions which would only have dishonoured himself, he allowed Malcolm to depart, attended with circumstances of contempt for his power (*l*).

The Scottish king, resenting this contumely, hastened to raise an army with which he entered Northumberland. He attacked the castle of Alnwick, but he was surprised by Earl Mowbray, and slain on the 13th of November, 1093. His eldest son Edward shared his misfortune; and Margaret, his wife, who had brought him six sons and two daughters, was so affected when she heard of those sad events, that she only lived to perform those religious duties which, throughout a life of goodness, she had been studious to pay (*m*).

Such are the principal events of the long reign of Malcolm Ceanmore. But it is supposed by historians and by lawyers that Malcolm performed much greater feats than his predatory inroads into England; that he introduced surnames among his Gaelic people; that he created new titles of honour by substituting *earls* for thanes; that he introduced the feudal law among uncongenial tribes; that he held parliaments without estates (*n*). There are, however, a thousand reasons which we shall consider in our progress, for rejecting those speculative points as the most egregious fictions. Malcolm III. had neither authority from law nor influence from character which could have enabled him to make such innovations among such a people. There is no evidence that he made any innovations; but there is the strongest proofs that the Gaelic inhabitants would neither receive any strange people nor admit any novel practices. Malcolm may be allowed to have been a vigorous character; to have been a prince without learning; a soldier without conduct; and a

(*k*) Sax. Chron., p. 198; Florence Wig., p. 457; Sim. Dun., p. 216; Fordun, lib. v., ch. xix., who quotes William of Malmsbury, his usual authority.

(*l*) Sax Chron., p. 189, 190; Flor. Wig., p. 459; W. Malmsbury, p. 122.

(*m*) Sax. Chron., 189; Flor. Wig., 459; Sim. Dun., 218; Fordun, lib. v., c. xx.-i.

(*n*) Boece, lib. xii.; Lord Kames's Essay on British Antiquities; Lord Hailes An., v. i., p. 26-7; Enquiry, 1789.

statesman without policy : that he should have been able to maintain his independence and the rights of his people, in opposition to two such antagonists as William the Conqueror and William Rufus, is a strong proof of his magnanimous perseverance ; yet must it be remembered that, amid his struggles, either of ambition or resentment, he lost that part of Cumbria which lay to the southward of the Solway. A weaker prince would have lost his crown, considering its unstableness ; and his country, allowing for its wildness.

The length of the reign of Malcolm ; the day of his death ; and even his filiation, are disputed (*a*). During the reign of Malcolm, the Gaelic bard finished his poem : “ Malcolm a nosa asrigh :” Malcolm *now is king* : “ Mac-Donnchaidh datha dreachbhi :” Mac-Duncan, the *Jolly* : “ Mac-Donnchaidh dreachruire :” Duncan’s son, the celebrated figure ; and thus the contemporary bard applied to Malcolm III. two epithets, the one implying that he had a handsome person, and the other that he had a cheerful mind. He is better known to history as Malcolm *Ceanmore* or *great head*.

Every point in the history of Scotland which is obscure, difficult, and unintelligible, has been referred by historians and lawyers, genealogists and antiquaries, to the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore for its origin ; because this period was heretofore in itself sufficiently dark, and its darkness equally concealed both truth and falsehood. So much has been done for illustrating the obscurities of this reign that it cannot hereafter be the refuge of ignorance, the

(*a*) See the Chronological Table ; Sax. Chron., p. 199 ; Flor. Wig., p. 459 ; Sim. Dun., p. 218 ; and Fordun. l. v., c. xxv. ; all concur in saying that Malcolm was slain on the day of St. Bricius ; so Lord Hailes was right in fixing it on the 13th of November. Annals. v. i., p. 24 ; and consequently the Enquirer, 1789, v. ii., p. 203, was wrong in placing the same event on the 6th of June, 1093. This last writer has a peculiar conceit about the filiation of Malcolm, which is, that he was not the son, but the *grandson* of the *gracious Duncan*. But for this notion there is not the smallest foundation in any chronicle, or the slightest tradition of any age ; and we have already seen, from an inquiry into the age of these two kings, that it was not possible, in the course of nature, that Malcolm III. could be the grandson of Duncan. Florence, p. 416, indeed calls Malcolm *regis Cumbrorum filium* ; as the same Florence has equally spoken of *Malcolmus, rex Cumbrorum*, in 973. Flor. Wig., p. 359. But for those times this was a very slight inaccuracy, as Duncan was certainly *regulus* of Cumberland, who married Siward’s *sister*, with whom he received, as her marriage portion, twelve manors. These manors, which Malcolm enjoyed from his father Duncan, had been seized by William the Conqueror, were returned by his son at the peace of 1091 to Malcolm. Flor. Wig., p. 457 ; Sim. Dun., p. 215. The Enquirer, 1789, v. ii., p. 234, only mistook the Gaelic bard when he supposed that the Duan had given two different epithets to Duncan, so as to imply that Duncan, the father of Malcolm III., was not Duncan the king of Scotland. Malcolm was probably born about the year 1024, as we have seen, and was near seventy when he fell under Alnwick castle.

shelter of self-sufficiency, or the reproach of system. Yet are we still confidently told that Malcolm III. married, for his first wife, Ingibjorg, the widow of Torfin, the earl of Caithness, by whom he had a son, Duncan, who succeeded him in the throne (*b*). But Torfin, the son of Sigurd, by a daughter of Malcolm II., was born in 1009 A.D., and died about the year 1074, aged sixty-five (*c*). Now it is certain that Malcolm III. married the princess Margaret in 1070; and Duncan, the son of Malcolm, was given as a hostage to the English, as we have seen, in 1072 A.D., when he must have been fifteen years of age, as he was soon after knighted and obtained a command in the English army. Duncan, therefore, must have been born before the accession of his father to the throne in 1057, and of course could not be the son of Ingibjorg, who only became the widow of Torfin in 1074. Yet Malcolm may have married Duncan's mother, whose name may have been Ingibjorg, who may have been confounded with the widow of Torfin. Malcolm III. was probably thirty-three years of age at his accession, and it is equally probable that he may have been married before that period, considering how early princes married in that age. He must have married of consequence while he was an exile in the north of England, and while he was yet unknown to fame; and from this obscure marriage may have sprung his eldest son, Duncan, who has generally been regarded as a bastard (*d*).

Donal-bane, the brother of Malcolm III., assumed the difficult government of his brother, according to the ancient usage of the Scottish nation, while he must have been well advanced in life. At the demise of the late king, his children were all under age. A Gaelic people gratified their national hate by

(*b*) Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 65; *Orkneying Saga*, p. 99; Macpherson's *Note on Wyntoun*, v. ii., p. 472.

(*c*) Snorro, t. i., p. 352-3; Torfæus's *Orcades*, p. 33-65; *Orkneying Saga*, p. 5-87.

(*d*) William of Malmesbury was the first who applied to Duncan the epithet *Nothus*. p. 185. He was followed by Fordun, l. v., c. xxviii.; who has been copied by Boece, l. xii.; by Buchanan, l. vii.; and by Lord Hailes. *Annals*, v. i., p. 44. The ancient *Chronicles in Innes*, No. iv. and v.; the *Chron. Elegiacum*; the *Irish Annals*; the *Saxon Chron.*; *Flor. Wig.*, p. 462; *Sim. Dun.*, p. 214-19; all speak of Duncan as the son of Malcolm, without applying to him any debasing epithet. The *Saxon Chron.* and *Florence*, indeed, mention Edward, who was slain with his father, as the eldest son of Malcolm III. In two charters of David I. to Dunfermline, and in other grants, he calls Duncan "frater meus." In the dubious charter of Duncan to St. Cuthbert, he calls himself "Ego Duncanus filius regis Malcolumb constans hereditarie:" and he gave the lands "pro anima patris mei, et pro fratribus mei, et pro uxore mea, et pro infantibus meis." Edgar, his successor, is one of the witnesses to this supposed charter; but Duncan says nothing in it of *his mother*. *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. i.; *Smith's Bede*, p. 760; *Robertson's Index*, p. 152.

expelling the English who had lived under the protection of Margaret and Malcolm (*e*). Donal, however, did not long enjoy his good fortune, whatever may have been his pretensions or his popularity.

DUNCAN,

The son of Malcolm, who first appeared as a hostage in 1072, and who afterwards married Ethreda, the daughter of Gospatric, now served under William Rufus as a military commander (*f*), and besought the king of England for leave to invade Scotland (*g*). Duncan entered Scotland with a numerous band of adventurers, English and Normans, by whose assistance he easily overturned the government of Donal, and assumed the sceptre which his feeble hands were unable to support, without foreign aid. These events occurred in May 1094 (*h*). Yet such was the general indignation against foreigners, that the Scots obliged Duncan to engage that he would not again introduce among them either English or French (*i*); and being unsupported either by power or by popularity, Duncan was assassinated by Maolpeder, the Maormor of the Mearns, at the instigation of his uncle Donal and his brother Edmund (*k*). Thus Duncan only enjoyed a feverish and oppressive reign of six months. Drawn into the Mearns, on whatever occasion of business or pleasure, Duncan was slain by Maolpeder at Monachedin, on the banks of the Bervie (*l*). An upright stone stills forms the unlettered memorial

(*e*) Sax. Chron., p. 199; Flor. Wig., p. 460.

(*f*) Sim. Dun., p. 203-6-10; Dug. Monasticon, v. i., p. 400; Crawford's Peerage, p. 309; Douglas Peerage, p. 438.

(*g*) Sax. Chron., p. 199; Flor. Wig., p. 460; Sim. Dun., p. 219.

(*h*) Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews; Chron. Rythm.; Chron. Elegiacum; Lord Hailes' An., v. i., p. 45.

(*i*) Sax. Chron., p. 200; Flor. Wig., p. 463; Sim. Dun., p. 220.

(*k*) See the Chron. Table; Ulster Annals, sub an., 1094; the Chron. No. 4 in Innes's App.; the Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews; the Chron. Elegiacum; the Sax. Chron., and the Chron. of Mailros, all concur in establishing that Duncan was assassinated in November, 1094. By following Fordun, l. v., ch. xxviii., by mistaking the Sax. Chron., and by overlooking the ancient Chronicles in Innes, Lord Hailes has erroneously placed that atrocious event in Autumn 1095. Annals, v. i., p. 46. Florence also states distinctly the assassination of Duncan in 1094.

(*l*) The Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews, in Innes, p. 803, says that Duncan was slain by Malpeder Macloen, in *Monachedin*. The Chronicon Elegiacum concurs with it. Fordun, l. v., c. xxviii., repeats that Duncan was slain by Malpeder at Monathechin, alias Monythine. This place is recognized, by several chapters of the 13th and 14th centuries, as a barony on the Bervie river, in the

of his odious end. Duncan left by his wife Ethreda a son, William, who flourished under David I., and was sometimes surnamed Fitz-Duncan. He married Alice, the daughter and heiress of Robert de Romely, the lord of Skipton, and by her he had a son, who was popularly called the Boy of *Egremont*, and who died under age; and three daughters, who carried vast estates into three of the greatest families in England (*m*).

DONAL-BANE,

On the assassination of Duncan, with circumstances which sufficiently evince the savage manners of the age and of the country, again seized the gory sceptre. Two years closed his career in misery. At length William Rufus, commiserating the family of Malcolm, or perhaps fearing the irruptions of his northern neighbours, allowed Edgar Ætheling to assemble an army for their relief. Edgar marched into Scotland, overcame Donal, who seems to have been surprised, and taken after a short conflict in September 1097 (*n*). The aged king was imprisoned; and being deprived of his eye-sight, according to the

Mearns. William the Lion granted to the monastery of Arbroath one carucate of land in *Monathen*, “super aquam de Bervie.” Chart. Arbroath. Richard Frumit granted to the same monastery, “illa terra in territorio de *Monechethy*, propinquam aqua de Bervie.” Ib., 127-129. David II. granted to Walter Pitcarne the barony of *Monethin*, in the shire of Kincardine. Robertson’s Index, p. 35-86. By a *retour*, which is dated in 1560, it appears that the same family of Pitcarne possessed the same lands by the name of *Mondynes*. The evidence, then, that those lands, which are bounded on three sides by the Bervie water, are the same, amounts nearly to demonstration. See *Mondynes* on the river Bervie, in Garden’s Map of Kincardineshire. Near the house of “*Mondynes*, in a field, there still remains a large, rude, upright stone, six or eight feet above the ground, but without any carving or “ornament.” MS. Communication of Mr. Prof. Stuart of Aberdeen. Here, then, probability fixes the scene of the murder, and the stone of Duncan. Yet Boece, Buchanan, and their followers, carry this event, with the scandal resulting from it, into Monteith.

(*m*) Dugdale’s Monast., p. 400; Dugdale’s Bar, v. i., p. 89. William, the son of Duncan, succeeded, as the heir of Allan, the son of Waldeve, the son of Gospatric. Dug. Monast., v. i., p. 400. But it is not true, as Dugdale intimates, that William Fitz-Duncan was Earl of Mureve. His wife, even in her widowhood, always call herself in her charters Alice de Romely. Dug. Monast., v. i., p. 400, &c. In 1187 there appeared, indeed, in the North of Scotland, Donalbane, the son of William, and grandson of Duncan. Lord Hailes’ Annals, v. i., p. 130, with his authorities. This person pretended a title to the crown. He may have been the bastard son of William, the son of Duncan: he was probably an imposter.

(*n*) Saxon Chron., p. 206. See the Chron. Table; the Chron. No. 5 in Innes, p. 803, which specially states the facts of the reign and death of Donal. The Chron. Rythmicum, and the Chron. Elegiacum, concur generally with the former.

odious policy of a barbarous age, died at Roscobie in Forfarshire. With him may be said to have ended the series of the Scoto-Irish kings (*o*).

(*o*) Donal-bane had a son, *Madach*, who was the first earl of Athol during the reign of Alexander I. Madach married a daughter of Haco, the earl of Orkney, by whom he had a son Madach, who had a son Malcolm, who was earl of Athol in the reign of King William; and Malcolm had a son Henry, who died in the reign of Alexander II., without male issue. Torfæus's *Orcades*, l. i., c. xxii.; *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 176; *Chart. Scone*, No. i.; *Chart. Dunferm.*; *Dalrymple's Col.*, p. 378, 388. In Torfæus, and in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, Donal is blunderingly called by the same name as his brother Malcolm, whom they call Melkofr; and from this mistake the editor of *Wyntoun* was misled to suppose that Duncan had a third son named Melmare. *Wyntoun*, v. ii., p. 470. Kennedy, in his *Account of the Stewarts*, p. 194, mentions, upon very slight authority, a third son of Duncan, named *Oberardus*, who, after the murder of his father, fled into Norway, and afterwards settled in Provence. John Cumyn, the lord of Badenoch, during the great competition for the crown, claimed the succession as heir of Donal-bane through the female line. The genealogy which he gave in on that occasion is more likely to contain the true descendants of Donal-bane than any loose intimations of ill-informed writers. *Rym. Foed.*, t. ii., p. 577.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Ecclesiastical History during this Period.

AT the commencement of the Pictish Period, Christianity had been introduced into North-Britain; but we have seen during that Period neither the establishment of the Church, nor the introduction of the Culdees into that country, either from the east or from the west; and we must look for those interesting events in some subsequent period of greater certainty and more civilization. If we might believe the life of Ninian, as the same has been collected by the learned Usher, we ought to infer that he ordained presbyters, consecrated bishops, and divided the whole land into certain *parishes* (a).

At the memorable epoch of the Union of the Picts with the Scots, the bishopric of Lindisfarne extended far into Lothian (b). Long after the episcopate of Durham had succeeded to the church of Lindisfarne, Teviotdale continued a part of that extensive diocese (c). In Lothian, the religious houses of Melrose, of Coldingham, of St. Balthar at Tynningham, of Pepperham, and of Abercorn, had been long established (d). There is reason to believe, that as parishes had been laid out in Northumberland, prior to the age of Bede, those ecclesiastical

(a) *Primordia*, p. 668. But whatever there may be in this loose assertion, certain it is that the term *Parochia* signified, in early times, a much larger ecclesiastical district than a modern parish. The provinces of bishops among the Britons were denominated *Parochia*, according to Gildas; and even Cowel informs us that *Parochia* anciently signified the diocese of a bishop. *Law Diet.* in vo. Parish; and see Kennet's Glossary to his *Par. Antiquities* in vo. *Parochia*, where the same ground is taken.

(b) Smith's *Bede*, l. iv., cap. xxvi., App. No. ii.; Simeon of Durham, col. 69-139. Egred, the bishop of Lindisfarne, who died in A.D. 845, built the two villages of *Geddeworde* and *Geinforde*, in Roxburghshire, with the churches thereof, which he gave to the bishopric, with other towns. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i., p. 698.

(c) *Ib.*, p. 708.

(d) Simeon of Durham, p. 69; Hoveden, p. 418.

districts must have been equally settled in Lothian during the subsequent century (*e*), since churches were built, and priests were appointed for administering the accustomed rites of the Christian dispensation (*f*).

In Galloway, the bishopric of Whithorn had fallen amidst the distractions of revolution in Northumberland, soon after the ninth century commenced. There seems to have been an early connection between the Galloway Irish and the monks of Iona, as might easily be expected; and the Galloway-men derived the benefits of instruction from the religious teachers of that learned establishment. This monastery certainly acquired the patronage of various churches, which were built in this Gaelic country, during a rude but religious age. After the dissolution of Iona, amid the savageness of the vikingr reign, William the Lion granted to the monks of Holyrood the churches and chapels in Galloway that had belonged to Icolmkill (*g*). In Cumbria, throughout its whole extent, the episcopate of Kentigern seems to have existed in the fond recollection of the Cumbrians, long after the founder and *many of his successors* had perished amid the irruptions of paganism, and the savageness of anarchy. In the mean time, many churches were dedicated to Kentigern, and numerous lands were appropriated by the piety of the *Cumbrenses* to the service of religion throughout the Cumbrian provinces, as we may perceive by retrospect at the dawn of record (*h*). The *Inquisitio* attests that many churches, with their appropriate districts, existed within the episcopate of Kentigern, during the Scottish period.

In the United Kingdom, beyond the friths, there remained at the epoch of the Union in 843 A.D., various cells which had been settled in early times by Columbans; and still continued the abundant fountains, whence flowed religious instruction to a confiding people. One of the first acts of the reign of Kenneth, was to show his respect for the memory of that Apostle of the Scots and Picts, by building a church, wherein the reliques of the Saint were deposited

(*e*) See Whitaker's *Manchester*, v. ii., p. 369.

(*f*) *Anglia Sacra*, v. i., p. 698.

(*g*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's *Coll.*, p. 271.

(*h*) See the curious *Inquisitio Davidis*. [In the *Chart. Glasguensis*, and Dalrymple's *Collections*, App. No. 1, and in Gibson's *Hist. Glasgow*.] The churches which are enumerated by the *Inquisitio* lay in Strathclyde, Annandale, Nithsdale, Teviotdale, Tweeddale, in Galloway, and in the north-east of Cumberland. There are, indeed, in Cumberland several churches which were dedicated to St. Mungo, or Kentigern, as the founder of the Cumbrian episcopate. Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, vol. ii., p. 518. There were many other churches dedicated to St. Mungo throughout every district of North-Britain.

in A.D. 849 (*i*). The site of this sacred depository has not yet been fixed by antiquaries. Yet, was it at Dunkeld where Kenneth built the church, which he dedicated to Columba (*k*). Thus Dunkeld and its church, became sacred to Columba, who equally became the patron saint of both. A religious house was here built, upon the same system as the original establishment at Iona. In it a bishop resided; over it an abbot ruled; and this seems to have been the ecclesiastical plan of almost all the religious establishments in North-Britain, during the Scottish period. From the epoch of 848, the church of Dunkeld appears to have formed the primacy of Scotland for several ages, till it was supplanted in its turn by St. Andrews. The abbots of Dunkeld were persons, as we have seen, of the first consequence (*l*). The first bishop of

(*i*) Chron. in Innes's App., No. 3; Smith's Life of Columba, p. 152. But Iona was not held sacred by the Danish pirates, who had not yet felt the influence of Christianity. The Ulster Annals are filled with their devastations on the isle, which was revered in Ireland, in Scotland, and in Northumberland: and the reliques of Columba were no longer safe at Iona, which seems to have been the marked object of the viking's rapacity. See the Ulster Annals, under the year 848, where Jurastach, the abbot of Iona, is said to have brought Columcill's *oaths*, or *sanctified things*, into Ireland, which is mistakingly put for Scotland, into which they were brought at this epoch.

(*k*) St. Columba's day has long been revered, and must for ever be remembered at Dunkeld, as the patron saint of the place as well as of its cathedral. James IV. granted two charters to the bishop and Church of Dunkeld, confirming sundry privileges to the town of Dunkeld, and granting an yearly fair at this place on the day after St. Columba's day. MS. Charters to the Religious Houses, p. 59, 60. The annual court of the Chapmen Society, which was established by the charter of James V., is held at this fair on the day after St. Columba's festival. Stat. Acco., v. xx., p. 433. One of James's charters runs: "Pro specialem devotionem, quam habemus gloriosissima confessore *Sancto Columbo* dictæ civitates patrono." The other runs: "Pro singulare devotione quam gerimus erga sanctum reverendum in Christo confessorem S. Columbam *ecclesia cathedralis Dunkeldæ patronum*." As Columba died on the 9th of June, this day has heretofore been celebrated, especially in Ireland, as a breviary of that country attests. Porter's Flowers of the Saints, p. 564; Keith, p. 232.

(*l*) The Ulster Annals, under the year 865, state the death of Tuathal Mac-Fergus, the *archbishop* of Fortren, and abbot of Dunkeld. The annalist merely means to speak of the *primate* by the florid expression of *archbishop*. Under the year 872 the same annals state the death of Flavertach Mac-Murtach, the *primate* of Dunkeld. The foregoing notices evince, in opposition to the claims of the Register of St. Andrews, that Dunkeld long held the primacy of the United Kingdom. Duncha, the abbot of Dunkeld, was slain at the battle of Duncrub, in attempting to dethrone Duff. Chron. No. 3. in Innes; and the Ulster Annals, under the year 964, assert that Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, married Bethoc, the daughter of Malcolm II., and fell in battle during the year 1045, in a gallant attempt to restore her grandson to the throne. Ethelred, the son of Malcolm III., was abbot of Dunkeld. Crawford's Officers of State, p. 430.

Dunkeld, who came out conspicuously on the stage of life, was Cormac, who appears under Alexander I. (*m*). Yet it is certain that there were bishops at Dunkeld before the early age of Cormac.

If we might credit the legend, there was founded by Hungus, the Pictish king, who died in 833 A.D., a religious house at Mucros, Kil-rymond, or Kil-rule, the church of Regulus, who brought the reliques of St. Andrew to the promontory of Swine (*n*). If we might believe tradition, we ought to regard Kenneth, the conqueror of the Picts, as the founder of the see of St. Andrews. Yet is there reason to believe that this diocese was founded during the rule of Grig, who ceased to reign in 893 (*o*). The bishops whose names and whose festivals the zeal of Innes has collected, seem to have existed in some prior reigns (*p*). But Kellach, who was the first bishop of any determinate see, performed his episcopal functions at the demise of Grig. He continued to discharge those duties under Donal IV. and Constantin III., and in 909 A.D., he held an ecclesiastical council on the *Mote-hill* of Scone, where Constantin and Kellach swore to maintain the faith and discipline of the Scotican church (*q*). Kellach was succeeded by Fothad, who was expelled by Indulf,

(*m*) Cormac, the bishop of Dunkeld, was a witness to the charter of Scone in 1115; and he witnessed another charter of the same king to the same monastery. Cormac is also a witness to two charters of David I. to the monastery of Dunfermline. Pref. to Keith's Bishops, p. ix.; Chart. of Scone; Sir J. Dalrymple's Col., p. 373; MS. Charters in my library.

(*n*) See the Legend, in the Register of St. Andrews. Mucros appears to have been the ancient name of the promontory whereon was founded the city of St. Andrews. The origin of the name of Mucros is doubtful. *Mug-ros* means the *holy* promontory; *Much-ros* signifies the promontory of *smoke*; *Muc-ross* denotes the *swine's* promontory. In fact a large district which lies around St. Andrews is still known by the name of the *Boar-chase*; a considerable village and adjacent lands in the parish are called the *Boar-hills*; and the arms of the city are a *Boar* leaning on a tree. *Kil-ri-monadh*, in the Gaelic, signifies the cell or church on the *King's moor*. *Kil-rule*, in this language, signifies the cell or church of St. Rule or Regulus. The Gaelic people of North-Britain apply the name of *Kil-rule* to the town of St. Andrews even in the present times.

(*o*) The Register of St. Andrews, which is obviously partial to Grig, says: "Et hic primus "dedit libertatem ecclesiæ Scotticanæ quæ sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex constitutione [consuetudine] et more Pictorum." Innes, App. No. 5, p. 801. The Chronicon Elegiacum, copying the Register of St. Andrews, also states, under Grig: "Qui dedit ecclesiæ libertatis "Scotticanæ, qui sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit." These imitations seem to attest that Grig either formed a church establishment at St. Andrews, or granted some privileges to the Scotican church.

(*p*) See before, Book II., Ch. V.

(*q*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes, p. 785, and also p. 558; and the same Chronicon in the Enquiry, 1789. v. i., p. 493; wherein this curious passage is more fully stated than in Innes.

in 953, and died under Duff in 962 (*r*). After Fothad followed a succession of bishops in the see of St. Andrews, till the commencement of the Scotto-Saxon period introduced a new system of ecclesiastical affairs (*s*). There was a religious house at St. Andrews as well as an episcopal seat. Like other monasteries, that establishment formed originally the residence of the bishop (*t*). It was to this house that Constantin III. retired, when fatigued with the infirmities of age and the savageness of the times, he resigned his sceptre to Malcolm I. during the year 944, and assumed the staff. Here the aged king acted as abbot of the Culdees, and at the end of five years, finished his joyless career in this dreary pile (*u*).

At Brechin, also, there was a religious house, which, according to the custom of the age and of the country, equally formed the seat of a bishop. It owed its establishment to the piety or contrition of Kenneth III. (*x*). This monastery was filled with Culdees, who were ruled by an abbot; and in the progress of ecclesiastical establishments, Brechin formed the see of a bishop long before the end of the Scottish period (*y*).

At Dunblane there was also a religious house, which was early in this period settled with the usual establishment of Culdees, and formed into the seat of a bishop, according to the accustomed practice (*z*).

(*r*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes, p. 787.

(*s*) Fothad was succeeded by Malisius, who died in 970 A.D., the last year of Culen. *Ib.*, p. 788. Malisius was succeeded by Kellach II., the son of Ferdulaig, in 971, and after he had governed the see five-and-twenty years, died under Kenneth V. in 996. *Id.* Kellach was succeeded first by Malisius, and afterwards by Malmerius, who died in 1031 A.D. Alwin, who succeeded, ruled this see during troublous times, and died in 1061. Tuthal, who followed him, died in 1065; he was succeeded by Fothald, who died at the same time with Malcolm-Ceanmore in 1093. The Ulster Annals state, under this year 1093, the death of Fothad, the *archbishop* of Scotland. After him were successively elected, though not consecrated, Gregory, Cathar, and Godric, between the years 1093 and 1107, when the celebrated Turgot became bishop of St. Andrews. Ruddiman's Introduction to Anderson's Dipl., p. 16-19.

(*t*) Under the year 872 the Ulster Annals state the death of "Bishop Colman, the abbot of St. Andrews."

(*u*) The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, p. 786, says he outlived his abdication *ten* years. The Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews says that Constantin, at the end of *five* years, died and was here buried; and with this concur the Chronicon Elegiacum, and Usher's Prim., p. 59.

(*x*) The Chron. No. 3, in Innes, says of Kenneth, whose life satiated the revenge of Finella in 994: "*Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechen domino.*"

(*y*) Keith's Bishops, p. 92. That there was a bishop established among the Culdees at Brechin before the erection of the bishopric by David I. is certain from his charter of erection, which was granted, "*Episcopo, et Keledeis, in ecclesiæ de Brechen.*" Dalrymple's Col., p. 219.

(*z*) Keith's Bishops; Chart. of Cambuskenneth; and Crawford's Officers of State, p. 6. St. Blaen was the patron, as he was the chief of this religious establishment, being a bishop here about 1000 A.D. Keith's Bishops, p. 100.

At Abernethy, the ancient metropolis of the Picts, there was in an early age a religious house, which, according to the Gaelic practice, was soon made the see of a bishop, though it never formed a regular bishopric (z).

Soon after the battle of Murlach, in 1010 A.D., a religious house was founded by Malcolm II., near the scene of his victory over the invaders of his people (a). Like other monasteries in that age, this establishment at Murlach, became the residence of a bishop; and the inaccurate writers of the middle ages, from this circumstance, suppose a regular bishopric was here established at that early period (b). The fact, however, appears to be, as hath been already intimated, that a religious house was endowed with some lands, wherein a bishop fixed his residence, for the performance of the episcopal functions among a rude people; but a regular episcopate was not formed till a subsequent age, which was more congenial to such establishments. Beyn was certainly the first bishop of Mortlach, and he is said to have been consecrated by Benedict VIII., who ruled the Catholic Church from 1012 to 1024 A.D. (c). There appears also to have been a religious house and a bishop at Aberdeen, in early times. St. Machar, as he was the patron of the establishment, was probably the first bishop (d); and all those churches with the revenues belonging to them, were formed by the reforming hand of David I. into the bishopric of Aberdeen (e).

(z) The Ulster Annals, under the year 864, speak magnificently of the death of Tuathal, the *archbishop* of Fortren or Abernethy.

(a) Of Malcolm II., who reigned from 1003 to 1033 A.D., the Chronicon, No. 4 in Innes, says, “*Ipse etiam multas oblationes tam ecclesias quam clero ea die distribuit.*”

(b) Fordun, l. iv., c. lxiv. The supposed charter of foundation by Malcolm to Bishop Beyn, which is set forth with all the distinctness of truth by Sir J. Dalrymple in his Coll., p. 135, may be regarded, however, as a palpable forgery.

(c) Fordun, l. iv., c. xlv.; and Boece, in the History of the Bishops of Aberdeen, gives a regular series of the bishops of Mortlach from Beyn to Donort, from him to Cormac, and from Cormac to Nechtan, who certainly lived under David I.

(d) In the Scotican church the festival of St. Machar was held on the 12th of November.

(e) The charter of David I., which accomplished this policy, with other documents, were unfortunately destroyed. There happily remains, however, a genuine bull of Adrian IV., who ruled the church from 1154 to 1159. This Pope confirms to Edward, the bishop of Aberdeen, with other churches, lands, and revenues, “*Villam et monasterium de Murthlach, cum quinque ecclesiis et terris eisdem pertinentibus,*” and also “*Monasterium de Cloveth.*” Chart. Aberdeen. In the *Taxatio* of the churches in the 13th century, the church of Mortlach, with those of Cloveth and Dumeth, which belonged to it, are included in the bishopric of Aberdeen, and are classed in the deanery of Mar, though they are not locally situated in that district, Chartulary of Arbroath. Those genuine documents support the facts that are stated in the text.

Thus much, then, with regard to bishops and episcopates, during those early ages. The United Kingdom of the Picts and Scots was formed under the regimen of parishes, though neither the times, nor the circumstances of this formation can be clearly ascertained amidst the gloom which hangs over the Scotican church during the Scottish period. We may easily suppose that those ecclesiastical districts were gradually established subsequent to the great epoch of 843 A.D. They were pretty generally settled during the Scottish period, though they were inconveniently large. They were established by private persons rather than by public authority; but that parishes existed during the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore, is undoubtedly certain from unquestionable records (*f*).

It seems equally certain, amidst so much doubt, that when churches were erected, parishes laid out, and parochial duties were statedly performed, ecclesiastical dues must have been incidentally paid. In the charters of Alexander and of David, tithes are mentioned as if they were familiarly known and had been long established (*g*). It is certain that tithes were paid to the clergy

(*f*) See the charters to the monastery of Scone by Alexander I. Chart of Scone; and particularly the charter of David I. to the monastery of Dunfermline, wherein he says: "Preterea pater meus et mater mea dederunt ecclesiæ, sanctæ trinitatis *Parochiam* totam Fotherif, et sic concedo." But *Schira* is the common expression in that charter for a parish. MS. Charters, p. 105; Dalrymple's Col., App. No. 3. See Spelman's Gloss. in vo. *Schira*, and Cowel in vo. *Parochia*.

(*g*) There is an assize of David I., who died in 1153, which enforces the payment of tithes as an established right. Chartulary of Moray. There is a charter of the same king to the prior of Wetheral, in Cumberland, giving to that priory the tithes of the village of Scoteby, "Sicut ab antiquo data eis fuit." Dugdale's Monast., t. i., p. 399. David I. granted a charter commanding the payment of tithes to the monks of Rindalgrös. Chart. of May, No. 10. There is, in the Chartulary of Glasgow, a charter of Malcolm IV., "De decimis solvendis. He enjoins all his people, Normans, English, Scots, Welsh, and Galloway-men, to pay their tithes and other ecclesiastical dues, *which the law of God enjoins to be paid*. Chart. Glasgow, p. 203; and this was followed and enforced by a charter of King William to the same purpose. Ib., 205. Malcolm IV. granted a charter commanding the tithe of fish, caught about the Isle of May, to be paid to the monks of May. Chart. May, No. 15. This was followed by a charter of King William to the same purpose. Yet, says Forbes, "the learned Craig will have the custom of tithing among us to be much of a date with the famous Lateran Council, in 1179." Forbes's Treatise on Tithes, 1705, p. 228-31; Craig on Feuds, book i. But why would not the learned Craig look into the records of his own country? If he had he would not have been so positive "that the first payment of tithes among us (the Scots), was merely the effect of "episcopal tyranny, introduced about the twelfth century." To see a progress in knowledge is always pleasant. "The right of tithes," says Erskine, "appears to have been received with us as far back as David I., by two charters of that king in Anderson's Diplomata. Our first statute concerning teinds [tithes], is David II., ch. xlii." Institutes, p. 226. The more diligent Erskine, however, did not advert that tithes had been granted to the monks of Scone by Alexander I.

during the reign of Malcolm-Ceanmore; it is probable that such ecclesiastical dues were payable as early as 910 A.D., when Constantin the king and Kellach the bishop solemnly vowed to observe the faith, the discipline, and the rights of the churches (*h*). To that era then, if not to the prior reign of Grig, may probably be traced back the payment of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues within the United Kingdom (*i*).

(Chartulary Scone, No. 1, Stormont copy); and enforced by an assize of David I., which was in fact a statute.

(*h*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes, p. 785: Wilkins's Concilia, v. i., p. 204, from the Colbertine MS.: Enquiry, 1789, v. i., p. 493.

(*i*) The probability, which is mentioned in the text, is carried up to certainty by the fact. Fothald, the bishop of St. Andrews from 1065 to 1093, granted to St. Servan and the monks of Loch-Leven the church of Hirkendorach, with the accustomed privileges and dues: "Iste sunt, saith the Register, antique prestationes et canones quas prefate ecclesie solvebant antiquitus: seviz, triginta panes decoctos, cum antiqua mensura farine ibi apposita, triginta caseos, quorum quilibet facit *chudreme*, et octo *male* de braseo, et derchede-*male*, et chedher-*male*." This is a very curious but obscure extract from the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews. Crawf. Off. of State, p. 431; Rud. Introd. Dipl. Scot., § 18. It is apparent, however, that all those prestations were customary dues of ancient times before the age of Fothald, the word *canon* being formerly used for any prestation, pension, or customary payment. Cowel in vo. *Canon* and Dufresne. The *Chudreme* is the Irish *Culthrom*, the (*th*) being quiescent, which signified *weight*. Shaw's Dict.: Macfarlane's Vocab., p. 85. So *Clach-ar-cudrim* means literally a *stone-weight*; *punt-ar-cudrim*, a *pound-weight*. Macdonald's Gael. Vocabulary, p. 120. David I. granted to the monastery of Cambuskenneth, "viginti *cudremos* caseis," out of his rents in *Strirling*. Chart. Cambus., No. 54; Nimmo's Stirling, App. No. 1. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV., by King William, and by Pope Celestine, in 1195: but they call the *Chudreme* "viginti *cudrimis* casei." Chart. Cambus., No. 29, 54, 56. Alexander II. made an exception of the said *Cudreme*, which he personally struck out of his charter by the name of "viginti *cudrimi* casei," for which the monastery was promised satisfaction in some other way. Ib., No. 57. He, indeed, granted to that monastery "viginti *tonegall* [rather *cowgall*] casei," to be received yearly from the *firm* of his lands of Tullymurthae, by the hands of his sheriff of Stirling, "pro viginto *cudrimis* caseis," which the same house was wont to receive of the baillie of Strirling, under the grant of David. Ib., No. 229. As this grant is entitled, "Donatio centum *petrarum* casei," it is apparent that the *Tonagall* or *Cowgall*, which I never met in any other place, was some weight equal to five stone. The *Male* seems also to be a *Celtic* term for some payment; *Mal*, in the Irish, signifies a rent, a tribute, a tax. O'Brien's Dict. The British *Mael* has a similar signification; and the British *Mal* signifies money, or coin, or tribute. Davies and Richard's Dict. The British *Mael* also signifies a hollow vessel of wood, a milk tray, a vessel of earth or wood to hold milk in a dairy-house. Id. See Spelman, Dufresne, Cowell, in vo. *Maille*. The Scottish law has at this day its *mailts* and its *duties*. There was an inquest in the 20th of Edward III., within the county of Lancashire, whereby the jury found certain profits called "*Cow-male*," and "*Geese-male*." Cowell in vo. *Maille*. To those Lancashire *males* may be opposed the Barley-*male*, the Derchede-*male*, and the Cheder-*male*, of the Register of St. Andrews. There was also an ancient customary payment, which is mentioned by the name of *Cuneveth*, or first fruits. See an account of it among the terms of the law, ch. ix.

Yet the secular clergy seldom or never appear in the Scottish history during the Scottish period. The bishops, indeed, and the abbots, appeared very conspicuous; and the Culdees we shall discover in their cells, though their origin be extremely obscure. They were neither mentioned by Bede, nor known to Nennius, nor acknowledged by Adamnan. Yet were not the Culdees peculiar to North-Britain. They were equally recognised by the same name in the ecclesiastical systems of Ireland (*k*), of Wales (*l*), and of England (*m*).

The Culdees were undoubtedly monks in all those countries, as the name implies, though they acquired their distinguished appellation at different epochs in those several nations (*n*). In the United Kingdom of the Picts and Scots, the name seems to have been unknown, if we may determine from the silence of Bede, of Nennius, and of Adamnan, till the establishment of a monastery at St. Andrews; and here were they first distinguished by the significant name of *Culdees* (*o*). They were obviously an order of Celtic monks who performed the functions of secular priests among the Celtic people under a Celtic government, as the faith and discipline of the church had come down to them from Constantin and Kellach.

Of Culdees, there existed in North-Britain, during the Scottish period, religious houses at Abernethy, Dunkeld, St. Andrews, Dunblane, Brechin, Mortlach, Aberdeen, Monymusk, Loch-leven, Portmoak, Dunfermline, Scone, and at Kirkcaldy. This form of a religious establishment seems to have existed

(*k*) Ware's *Antiq.* by Harris, p. 236; Usher's *Prim.*, p. 637; Ledwich's *Antiq. of Ireland*, p. 55, 66.

(*l*) Geraldus *Itin. Camb.*, v. ii., p. 6.

(*m*) Dugdale's *Monast. Ang.*, v. ii., p. 366-7; Lloyd's *Church Gov.*, ch. vii.

(*n*) Their name was probably derived from the notion of their retreat and seclusion. In the Welsh, *Cél*, which means shelter, a *hiding*, would form the name in the plural, thus: *Celydi*, *Celydiaud*, *Celydion*, *Celydwys*. In the Gaelic, *Culdee* signifies a monk, a hermit; the name of *Cuideach* is commonly given at this day, says the learned and reverend Dugal Campbell of the Isle of Mull, to persons who are not fond of society. *Stat. Account*, v. xiv., p. 200. In the Gaelic also, *Ceile* signifies a servant; hence *Ceile-de*, the servants of God, *de* being the genitive of *Dia*, God. See O'Brien's *Dict.* in vo. The topography of North-Britain does not throw any light on the obscure name of the Culdees, as there does not appear to be any appellation in the maps of Scotland which bears the least analogy to the Culdean monks.

(*o*) Register of St. Andrews. The first authentic notice of the Culdees is in a charter of David I. There is no mention any where of Culdees till after the year 800. Lloyd's *Ch. Gov.*, ch. vii. They were first brought upon the obscure scene of Scottish history by Fordun. Sir James Dalrymple says that Bishop Lloyd rashly asserts the Culdees to have been a monkish dream. Dalrymple *Col.*, p. 279. The Bishop only spoke contemptuously concerning "that monkish dream of an ancient church government in Scotland by *Presbyters*." *Church Gov.*, ch. vii.

among the Picts and Scots, even from the age and example of Columba. During the Pictish period there was endowed at Abernethy, a religious house, which was dedicated to Brigid. Here it long flourished in usefulness, under the patronage of the Scottish kings; and here the Culdees continued till they were suppressed in the thirteenth century, after religious novelty had removed many ancient foundations (*c*). 2. Dunkeld owed the erection of a religious house to the pious gratitude of Kenneth, the son of Alpin. It immediately assumed the form, which was known and practised within the united kingdom, during that age. The house was filled with Culdees, who were governed by an abbot; and with them resided a bishop, who performed independently the functions of his office. The abbots of Dunkeld, for many ages, acted a conspicuous part in the bloody scenes of the Scottish government; and the monastery with the Culdees and their abbot, continued amidst many reforms, till the maiden reign of Malcolm IV. (*m*). 3. At St. Andrews, a religious house with

(*c*) William the Lion conferred on his favourite monks of Arbroath the church of Abernethy, with the several chapels and lands belonging to it: “Cum medietatem omnium decimarum pervenientium ex propria abbatis de Abernethy, quarum alteram medietatem habuerunt *Keledei* de Abernethy: et preter decimas de dominio ipsius abbatis quas *Keledei* de Abernethy habere solebunt.” Chartulary of Arbroath, No. 63. Such a disposition of such rights necessarily produced dispute. A lawsuit ensued, which was long agitated as well in the King’s court as in the judicatories of the bishop of Dunblane, between the prior and Culdees of Abernethy, and the abbot and monks of Arbroath. At length Abraham, the bishop of Dunblane, after consulting lawyers, gave judgment against the Culdees, in presence of Brice, king William’s judge; and both parties swore to the perpetual observance of this adjudication. *Id.* Keith’s Bishops, Pref., p. 15, 16.

(*m*) The establishment of a regular bishopric at Dunkeld, by the projecting policy of David I. does not seem to have affected the prior rights of the Culdees and their abbot, who continued to act as the dean and chapter of this episcopate. It is supposed, though without foundation, that the Culdees were expelled by David I. to make room for a bishop at Dunkeld; but, as we have seen, a bishop already existed there when that rational reformer reinvigorated the episcopate. Dalrymple’s Coll., p. 244; Lord Hailes’s Annals, v. i., p. 95; Keith’s Bishops, Pref., p. 9. After that event David I. granted to the favourite monks of Dunfermline, “Octavam partem de omnibus placitis et lucris meis de Fife, et de Fotherif, exceptis rectitudinibus que abbate de Dunkeld pertinent,” &c. MS. Monast.; Scotiæ, p. 105. Yet David I. gave to Andrew, bishop of Caithness, this monastery, with its pertinents. After the death of Andrew, Malcolm IV. granted to the monastery of Dunfermline, “Ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis de Dunkelden cum terris ad illam pertinent. et cum aliis rectis pertinentijs suis,” &c. This grant was confirmed by a charter of James II. *Id.*, Dal. Col., 247-8. This abbey of Dunkeld is mentioned neither by Spotiswoode nor by Keith, among the religious houses of Scotland. The armorial bearings of the town of Dunkeld have been blazoned, with a view to the dedication of its church to *Columba*: “Sable a dove argent, holding in its beak an olive branch proper: the shield is surrounded with a ribbon, *or*, whereon is written CALEDONIA, and in

its usual concomitants, existed when the union of the Scots and Picts took place. The abbots here were also distinct, and they had the honour to enumerate several kings in their list (*n*). Here the Culdees maintained their purity and usefulness for many an age (*o*). A priory was founded at this ancient seat by Alexander I., and canons regular were introduced here in 1140 by Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews (*p*). 4. At Brechin, as we have seen, a religious house was settled as early as 994 A.D. (*q*). The Culdees of the monastery of Brechin continued for many ages to act as the dean and chapter of this episcopate, and they seem not to have been reformed by the introduction of canons regular, till the recent accession of Robert Bruce (*r*). 5. The religious house at Dunblane is of very ancient foundation, as we have seen. The Culdees and their Prior retained possession, and here performed their functions, during several ages of reform. They were superseded, however, by canons regular, some time before the middle of the thirteenth century (*s*). 6. A religious house, which was dedicated to St. Servan, was erected

“the bottom part of the shield is a *thistle* proper. The whole is encircled with two palm branches “*vert.*” MS. Cumin.

(*u*) Constantin III., in 944 A.D.; and the king of A'clath, who died here in A.D. 1033. Ulster Annals, 944-1933 A.D.

(*v*) After the introduction of the canons regular, in 1140 A.D., they joined the Culdees, who acted before, as the dean and chapter, in the election of the bishops. In 1272 the canons regular began to make the elections alone; but against this exclusion the Culdees appealed to the Pope in 1297, yet without success. Keith's Bishops, Pref., p. 8, and p. 13. 14-237. In the Reg. of St. Andrews, Part i., No. 6, there is recorded “*Decisio controversiæ inter Keledeos et episcopum [St. Andrea] de jurisdictione agri per T. Ranulphum Guardianum citra mare Scotticum, an^o 1309.*” And No. 11 is “*Petitio Keledeorum et subjectio eorum episcopo St. Andrea.*” Reg. of St. Andrews; Dalrymple's Col., p. 284.

(*p*) Keith's Bishops, p. 237.

(*q*) Chron. No. 3 in Innes, p. 788.

(*r*) Chartulary of Arbroath. The prior of the Culdees at Brechin is a witness to many charters. Id. The prior and Culdees here gave many charters confirming the grants of the bishops of Brechin to the monks of Arbroath. Id.; Keith's Bishops, Pref., p. 11, wherein Maelbryde, the prior, and the Culdees, are called *the chapter* of the church of Brechin: “*Maelbryde, prior et Keledei ceterique de capitulo Brechynensis ecclesiæ.*” Id. Maelbryde was succeeded by Mathew as prior of the Culdees here, and Mathew issued a writ “*ad visitandas ecclesias,*” as prior of the Culdees. Chartulary of Arbroath, No. 187. The Culdees of Brechin were superseded by canons regular before the year 1308. Dalrymple's Coll., 249.

(*s*) The prior and Culdees of Dunblane were frequent witnesses to the grants of the bishops of this see. Malpol, the prior, and Michael and Malcolm, Culdees, were witnesses to a charter of bishop Simon, at the end of the twelfth century. Crawford's Officers of State, p. 16. Cormac Malpol, the prior of the Culdees, witnessed a charter of William, the bishop of Dunblane (from

in the earliest times, on an islet in Loch-Leven (*t*). Successive kings, Macbeth, Malcolm III., and Edgar, and his brother Ethelred, with the bishops Maldwin and Modoch, were all studious to endow the Culdees of Loch-Leven (*v*). Here they performed their usual functions till the reforming hand of David I. fell upon them. To the priory of St. Andrews this pious prince gave the monastery of St. Servan with the island of Loch Leven; and with an intimation that if the Culdees would live peaceably they should be protected, but if they should resist the royal grant, that they would be expelled the holy isle of Servan (*u*). The Culdees were expelled, though it is not easy to ascertain the time and circumstances of that event, which arose from the violence of the canons, and the connivance of the bishop, who usually supported the canons against the Culdees (*w*). 7. At Portmoak, on the eastern margin of Loch-Leven, and the northern efflux of the Leven river, there was founded, during the ninth century, by Ungus the Pictish king, a religious house (*x*). Here the Culdees, under the usual rule of their abbot, performed their accustomed functions for many a savage reign. They were reformed during

1210 to 1220). to the Monastery of Cambus-Kenneth. Chart. of Cambus., No. 127. Keith supposes the Culdees to have been superseded in 1240 by a mandate of Gregory IX. Keith's Bishops, Pref. x., and p. 100. But there is a *charter of the dean and chapter* of Dunblane, confirming to the monks of Cambuskenneth the kirks of Kincardine, Tulybody, and Tulycultry, &c., dated the 3rd of the kalends of February, 1239.

(*t*) Keith's Bishops, p. 237. The Register of St. Andrews relates that Brude, the king of the Picts, gave the island of Loch-Leven to St. Servan and the Culdees.

(*v*) Macbeth gave the Culdees the lands of Kirkness, and also the village of Bolgy. Malcolm III. and his pious queen granted them the town and lands of *Balchristie*. From Edgar they got Pitnemokin. Ethelred gave them the lands of Admore. Malduin, the bishop of St. Andrews, granted them the church of Seone; and from Fothald, the bishop of St. Andrews, they got the church of Hurkendorach. Reg. of St. Andrews. David I. granted to the monks of Dunfermline, "*Balchristie cum suis rectis divisio, excepta rectitudine quam Keledei habere debent.*" MS. Charters, 104. A dispute ensued between the prior and canons of St. Andrews, who came in the place of the Culdees, and the monks of Dunfermline, about their respective rights to Balchristie. King William determined that the monks of Dunfermline should have Balchristie, subject to the rights which the Culdees had in it during the reign of David I. Charty. of Dunfermline; Dalrymple's Coll., p. 283. The church of Alva, in Stirlingshire, was dedicated to St. *Serf*. In 1272 Alexander Dominus de Striveling granted to the church *Sancti Servani* de Alveth an acre of land in the manor of Alveth. Chart. Cambus-Kenneth, No. 15.

(*u*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 12.

(*w*) Spotiswoode, p. 417; Keith's Bishops, p. 237.

(*x*) See the Maps for the site; and the Stat. Acco., vol. v., p. 171. Spotiswoode and Keith erroneously place the monastery of Port-moak on St. Servan's isle, so as to confound it with the priory of Loch-Leven.

the general reformation of the worthy David. They, too, became the prey of the prior and canons of St. Andrews, though the time and circumstances of the depredation cannot now be ascertained. 8. The splendid abbey of Dunfermline owed its inconsiderable foundation to Malcolm Ceanmore, its completion to Alexander I., and its reform to David I. The monastery of Dunfermline was dedicated, like the other Culdean establishments, to the Holy Trinity. Here the Culdees with their abbot, discharged their usual duties during several reigns; and David I., who lived much with Henry I. of England, upon his accession, introduced among the Celtic Culdees thirteen English monks from Canterbury (*y*). 9. We may easily suppose that when the *fatal stone* was transferred by Kenneth, the son of Alpin, from Argyle to Scone, a religious house would be established at this ancient metropolis. A Culdean church was here dedicated in the earliest times to the *Holy Trinity*, like other Culdean monasteries (*z*). The Culdees were at length reformed in 1115 A.D., by Alexander I., who “dismissed the Culdean churchmen, and committed the custody of the church of Scone to canons regular of St. Augustine,” with a prior at their head (*a*). 10. At Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire, there was also, in ancient times, an establishment of Culdees. Here, with their prior, they performed their usual functions for many ages without complaint. The superintendence of this house was transferred by David I., while he panted for reform, to the bishop of St. Andrews. The several pretensions of the dependant and superior soon produced controversies. These disputes were settled by a reference from Innocent III. in 1212 A.D., which gave them a new constitution (*b*). Yet did the bishop of St. Andrews, in opposition to a solemn promise, suppress those Culdees, and place canons regular in their room at Monymusk, which became thenceforth a cell of the priory of St. Andrews (*c*).

(*y*) Spotiswoode, p. 436; and Keith, p. 246.

(*z*) Buchanan and others state that there was at Scone an establishment of Culdees before the age of Alexander I. Spotiswoode, p. 414; Keith, 236. The charter of Alexander I. attests the fact. Chart. Scone, No. 1; Dalrymple's Col. App., No. 2.

(*a*) Chron. Melrose; Dalrymple's Col., p. 374-5.

(*b*) The deed of settlement is in the Chartulary of Aberdeen, No. 9. By this settlement the number of Culdees was fixed to twelve, with a prior. They were to have one refectory, one dormitory, one oratory, with a cemetery in the church of Monymusk. Their elections of the prior were to be made by choosing three of their own number, out of whom the bishop was to elect a superior. The Culdees were not to become canons regular without the consent of the bishop. They were restricted as to the holding or acquiring of lands; and the bishop promised, for himself and for his successors, that the Culdees should in future enjoy the privileges which had thus been settled by the Pope's referees.

(*c*) Spotiswoode, p. 417-18; Keith, 238.

11. In addition to all those Culdean houses, there appears to have been an establishment of the Culdees at Kirkcaldy, in Fife; whence the place was named Kil-celedei, which was changed during the Scoto-Saxon period to *Kirk-caledie* (*d*).

Such then were the originals, the nature, and the end, of the Culdees in North-Britain. Yet system has concurred with ignorance in supposing that the Culdees were peculiar to the united kingdom of the Picts and Scots, and actually possessed rights, and exercised powers, which were inconsistent with the established laws of the universal Church in that age (*e*). A retrospective view of ecclesiastical history, from the epoch of the introduction of Christianity into North-Britain, would show to a discerning eye that the doctrines, liturgical forms, and the monkish discipline of the Britons, the Irish, the Scots, and the Picts, were extremely similar; as all those people were indeed congenerous (*o*).

The church judicatories of North-Britain, during the Scottish period, are involved in the same obscurity which covers and confounds her general history. If any one were disposed, indeed, to regard as genuine the Macalpin laws, which are recorded by Fordun and recited by Boece, he must equally believe with Innes, that the first national council of the Scottish Church was convened by the son of Alpin (*f*). But the MacAlpin laws, as they have been published, are undoubtedly spurious. Grig is said, by the ancient chroniclers, to have established the liberties of the Scottish Church (*g*). In 910, Constantin held a council of the church at Scone, with Kellach the bishop as its head; wherein both the king and prelate, solemnly vowed to observe the laws and discipline of the faith, and to maintain the rights of the churches (*h*). The active zeal of Innes has discovered some other ecclesiastical councils, which he sup-

(*d*) Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ; Dalrymple's Coll., 132.

(*e*) Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, which are filled with the prejudices of his age and country.

(*o*) See Usher's most learned discourse on the religion anciently professed by the Irish and British; Lloyd's Historical Acco. of Church Government in G. Britain and Ireland, ch. iii. to vii.

(*f*) Critical Essay, p. 587.

(*g*) Chron. in the Register of St. Andrews; Innes, p. 801. The Chronicon Elegiacum concurs with this.

(*h*) That some event of such a nature at that time occurred, we have the authority of one of the most ancient chronicles for believing. Crit. Essay, p. 588; Ap. No. 3, p. 785; Enquiry, 1789, v. i., App. 493; and see Wilkins's Concilia, v. i., p. 204, for the "Concilium Scoanense in Scotia," from the Bibl. MS. Colbert., Paris, in support of the same position.

poses to have been held in the united kingdom, at Forteviot in 860 ; at Forfar in 878 ; at Perth in 1020 ; and a sixth council under Macbeth, in 1050 (*i*). But the laws of the son of Finley are undoubtedly spurious, and the supposed councils of Perth, of Forfar, and of Forteviot, require better authority than the loose assertion of Boece, to enforce conviction or even to induce regard.

An age arrived, however, when councils of the Scottish clergy were to be called. Before the reign of Malcolm Ceanmore, *novelties* had crept into the Scottish church. These abuses were seen and lamented by a pious queen, and a council was convened in 1074, during the episcopal rule of Fothad, for the correction of those erroneous practices, particularly those which regarded the keeping of Lent. A difficulty soon occurred when the council met. The Scottish clergy could only speak *Gaelic*, Margaret, who was the principal prolocutor, could only speak *Saxon*. The king, *who understood the English language as well as his own, acted as interpreter* between them, in imitation of Oswald the Northumbrian, at a similar conference in a prior age (*k*). At the end of three days the clergy, conscious of their own ignorance, dutifully acquiesced in the dictates of a learned queen, as delivered by the royal expositor (*l*). From those instructive intimations, it is sufficiently apparent that the church of the united kingdom was Gaelic in that Gaelic reign. We might from that circumstance easily suppose, if there were not facts which establish the certainty, that the people were also Gaelic ; because there would be no congruity between a Celtic clergy and Teutonic parishioners. We shall see in our progress the Scotican church undergo the greatest changes during the successive reigns of the more intelligent sons of Malcolm and Margaret.

(*i*) Innes's Essay, p. 588. Wilkins, indeed, has published in his Concilia, v. i., p. 310, "*Leges Ecclesiasticæ Maccabæi!*"

(*k*) See this very curious passage in the Life of Margaret by Bishop Turgot, who was present. *Vitæ antiquæ Sanctorum*, 1789, p. 339 ; with the illustrative commentary of Lord Hailes. *Annals*, v. i., p. 35.

(*l*) Lord Hailes's *Annals*, v. i., p. 35.

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